GUIDE TO THE MA11 KURD FILE

[This file is concerned with the Kurds, a number of closely related Moslem tribes speaking similar dialects and inhabiting the mountainous crescent that stretches from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshan in Iran. This area is commonly referred to as Kurdistan, which has neither political nor geographic unity, being a semi-continuous territory divided among the modern states of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria and the U.S.S.R. A great many of the approximately three million Kurds in this area are urbanized, Arabized or Turkicized, and are Kurdish by descent only and not by traditional culture. The majority of Kurds are subsistence farmers, many of whom practice local transhumance. Two basic and distinctive types of social organization are found: a tribal system based on descent, and a feudal system based on class and land ownership.

There are eleven sources in the Kurd file, all of them in English. The major sources are 2: Masters, 4: Hansen, 7: Barth and 8: Leach. 2: Masters, by an ethnologist who was in the field in 1951, is a study of the Kurds of the town of Rowandux in Iraqi Kurdistan. Masters gives a general ethnographic sketch, and describes the social organization and the relation of Rowandux to the central Iraqi government. 8: Leach, by a social anthropologist who was in the field in 1938, also presents a general ethnographic sketch of the Kurds of Rowandux. Both 4: Hansen and 7: Barth are concerned with the Kurds of the area to the west of Rowandux. 4: Hansen, by an anthropologist in the field in 1957, is a general study of women's role in Kurdish life, with a great deal of ethnographic detail, complementing 1: Garnett's

much earlier study (dating from the 1880's) on the same topic. 7: Barth, by an anthropologist in the field in 1951, concentrates on an analysis of the social structure of the Kurds in this area, with the blood feud being discussed as well. 3: Barth is a short theoretical analysis of a type of marriage found in this area. 5: Edmonds and 10: Johnson and 11: Johnson are general sketches of the culture of the Iraqi Kurds. 9: Roosevelt is a history and political analysis of the short-lived Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in Iran. 6: Vinogradov is a cultural summary of the Kurds, based on material in this file, and provides a good introduction to the Kurds. This is a generally good file for comparative studies. Most of the material is specific to a definite area in northeastern Iraq, and, except for 1: Garnett, there is not a great time spread involved in the data. The file was processed between 1962 and 1974.]

101

101 IDENTIFICATION--name of the society or cultural group; alternative names bestowed by selves and others; meanings of names; location of group with reference to comparable and larger groups; names given by selves to other groups; affiliation with a culture area or subarea; period as of which the culture is described, and its relationship to other time periods; local and temporal subdivisions employed in the classification of data; specification of date and locale of field study; etc. See also:

Territorial organization 63
Location 131
Cultural distributions 171
Intracultural differences 184
Linguistic relationships 197
Ethnic stratification 563

113, 101, 221, 619, 463 Kurd MAll

[For information on the Kurd see 1: Coon, Ml Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 215-217.]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

THE Kûrds are to be found scattered all over the Eastern Highlands of Asia Minor, from the Taurus to the Caucasus, as well as in Kûrdistan proper, where the population is equally mixed. Under the name of Kûrd, however, two distinct races are included, who form as great a contrast to each other in physiognomy as in character and manner of life. The one race is nomad, warlike, and full of vivacity, the other is agricultural, pacific, and not remarkable for intelligence.[1] The features of the peasantry are much softer and less pronounced than those of the tribesmen, who have long and rather aquiline noses, prominent foreheads, keen, deep set eyes, generally black, but sometimes grey, or even blue, small mouths, and pointed chins. Their step is firm, their bearing proud and dignified, and at the first glance one sees that they are the lords of the country.

The Kûrds generally are strong, healthy, well-built people, and in spite of the inequalities of climate of the country they inhabit, live to a good old age. The children are clear-skinned, rosy-

[1] The Turkish proverb, "Stupid as a Kûrd," applies only to the peasants of this nation.

[Page 113]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kūrdistan, the Kūrds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kūrdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and nugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

Abstract

ROWANDUZ: A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE
AND MERCANTILE CENTER

by William M. Masters

121
105 This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to wider cultural horizons in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as detailed, localized treatments of the Kurds have not been previously attempted, this study of Rowanduz is able to contribute to the ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Muslim people [101] numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous [161] region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, [131] and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within [114] which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) [128] the administrative center, 2) the mercantile center, 3) house, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers [161] about 5000 and is basically made up of merchants,

[p. i(a)]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER I

KURDISTAN AND ROWANDUZ

Kurdistan, "the land of the Kurds," is an area of the Middle East which cannot be defined by its environmental peculiarities or its political unity. The Kurds, a Muslim people whose numbers are estimated at several millions, occupy that mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet, an arc of land extending approximately from Aleppo to Tabriz. This corresponds to the southern portion of the complex of mountains sometimes called the "Armenian Knot," in which the Taurus and Black Sea ranges of Turkey join before fanning out as the Elburz and Zagros formations of Iran. Politically, Kurdistan is divided between five governments, and for centuries has been a party to the frontier warfare of Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. Until recent decades the "Armenian Knot" has been the home of peoples who have resisted absorption into the larger nations of the Middle East, some by force of arms and others peacefully as relics of almost forgotten Christian and Muslim sects. Of such groups, one might mention the Armenians, historically the northern neighbors of the Kurds, the Nestorian and Chaldaean Christians, the Yezidis of Jebel Sinjar, and the Druzes of Lebanon and Syria. To the north, in the Caucasus, were the Christian

Georgians and Muslim Circassians. In addition to being 101 ●
inhabited by those noted for their tenacity, this country has been the meeting place of empires and cultural traditions, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The Kurds, because of their numerical strength, emphasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the upheavals of the first World War than some of their Christian neighbors.

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethic unit or nation whose most distinctive characteristics are its language and costume. Coupled with these are a large number of minor peculiarities which differentiate it from other Islamic peoples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam 105
in which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian, and Turk are easily discernable and many things, such as orthodox religious practices, may be assigned definite historical origins. Despite the abundance of foreign elements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. 114
history of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored, and those few treatments which have appeared are, for the most part, disappointing, for they have been written by persons whose aims were far from academic or whose scholarship is doubtful. Without entering the controversies which 175
surround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to appear first in classical literature as the Karduchi of Xenephon and the Gordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people occupying much the same area as they do today.[1] Their 174 197

[1]Driver, 1922, pp. 491-493.

and herds. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the matter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted to move the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were once nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Medieval days but a generic term for such wanderers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the kotchir, with their mobility and firepower (the nomad of the Middle East emphasizes weapons to a much greater extent then the agriculturist), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with kotchir groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

[1] Mazaheri, 1951, p. 254.

Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, and Turks. There are Persian 563
minorities in the cities of central and southern Iraq, but they fall under the religious classification of Shi'ah and there seems to be no conflict between them and Arabs of their own persuasion. The Turks are few in number and are concentrated in the middle and upper classes. In the days before the liberation of Iraq, there was bitter enmity toward the Turks as the representatives of Ottoman rule, but this has disappeared in recent years and there is no restriction, as, indeed, there never was, on marriage be- [582]
tween members of this class and Sunnite Muslims, Arabs and Kurds, of comparable status. A survey of the lists of officials and army officers reveals the remarkable extent to which the survivors of Ottoman rule have retained their position in the government service. The Turkomans are gathered in central and northeastern Iraq, mainly about Altun Keupri and Koi Sanjaq, and have been unspectacular in national affairs, largely farmers and shepherds, a remnant of the famous Horde of the White Sheep. Again, [582]
there appears to be no restriction on marriage with Sunnite Muslims, but there is little reason for an Arab, Kurd, or Turk of the upper classes to take an illiterate, impoverished bride from among them.

The matter of Arab and Kurd is quite otherwise, for 186
in the case of the latter there is a well-armed minority 648
population, Muslims, and hence free of the susceptibilities 101
of religious attack, with a strong base in agriculture and animal husbandry. They are estimated at 400,000 persons,

and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are hard by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Xenephon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Rowanduz was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not assume that marriage relations and maternal ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the tira varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Wurda Shetri (location: centering in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several tiras may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Louis J. Luzbetak, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1951).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. R. Leach, *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 3, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1963. MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the *shafi'ite* rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to-day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzurum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Senna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakks and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 5 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

[P. 5]

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

563 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A.1 Despite special pleading by Wigram and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Bates, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

• 101 We distinguish area B therefore by the mildness of its climate; its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as now existing.

[102] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and scrubbed cinder dry for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillsman. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years.
172 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the
162 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi-
523 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to
174 May (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Dizai tribe. The evidence for this
101 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts, the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ
184 so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this must be a very recent development but similar conditions are described by May writing in 1920.

1/A [See map, cat. 116, p. 71 -- Dealyst].

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Berki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organization at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups' though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Berki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organization of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Surau and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

'The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Berki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Berki and Jamil Agha of Baburika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jamil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Berki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

102 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

• 101 622 The Suran group whose full tribal name is Surani Begzadeh (i.e. 'descendants of the Begs of Suran') are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mallasherifi, Shevdini and Bukri, of which Mallasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mallasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Walash - Sheikh Mohammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Walash, Bust and Gelala. The Bukri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Walash.

794 162 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shiru i Sheikh require special mention. (See May pp. 255 and 257 where Khalan is called Dar ul Asam). The heads of these two villages, *Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Obaidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhschwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by May are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

9: Roosevelt G-8 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

101 131 648 In September 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, toppling over the structure painfully erected by Reza Shah Pahlavi. As his soldiers scattered, they sold or surrendered their arms to the tribes which still roamed the desolate mountains of Iran, holding to their organization, mores, and way of life in spite of the old Shah's efforts to subdue them. Among those thus benefiting from the Iranian collapse were the Kurdish tribes occupying the mountains along the Iraqi and Turkish borders from Maku, in the shadow of Mount Ararat in the north, to Qasr-i-Shirin, on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road in the south.

In the north, the Kurdish tribes in the mountains west of Lake Urmieh found themselves contained by the strong Soviet garrisons in Rezaieh, Shahpur, Khoi, and Maku. In the absence of effective Iranian authority, the Soviets maintained direct relations with the tribes — the Jalali in the north, the Shikak in the mountains west of Shahpur, and the Herki west of Rezaieh. The chiefs of these tribes were allowed to manage their own affairs by the Soviets, who only required that they maintain security and provide grain for the Red Army. At the southern extreme of the Kurdish area, near the Kermanshah-Baghdad road — one of the main supply links between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union — British troops kept the tribes quiet.

622 668 It was in the large area between the British and Soviet forces, in the vacuum left by the fleeing Iranians, that the Kurds were able to regain their autonomy. At first the two main centers of disturbance were Merivan and the Avroman Mountains, where Mahmud Khan of Kani-Senan established a precarious hegemony; and Baneh, where Hama Rashid Khan, long in exile in Iraq, built up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. Both of these tribal chiefs were recognized for a time by the Iranian Government as semi-official governors of their areas, but were then driven into Iraq by the reorganized Iranian Army. By the fall of 1945, all of Kurdistan south of the Saqqiz-Baneh-Sardasht line was again firmly in government hands. The vacuum was thus reduced to the small area between this line and the Soviet forces based on Rezaieh, in which there was only one town of any size — Mahabad, formerly known as Sauj Bulagh, a few miles south of Lake Urmieh.

10:Johnson G-8 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

175 in the Persian plains, lost through contact
178 with the outside world. By the time recorded history begins, Kurds and Persians were already recognized as distinct
[101] peoples, the former being known as Medes.
792 Some 600 years before the birth of
771 Christ and 1200 before the spread of Islam, a Kurdish prophet, Zerdusht (Zoroaster), grew up among the mountains of the Azerbaijan district near the Caspian Sea. The gospel that he preached, in its primitive and simple form, is to a greater extent the basis of Christianity and Islam than the adherents of those world religions usually admit. The Kurd of today, however, knows nothing of this. He is nominally a Mohammedan, and has even on occasions been stirred by the call of "Jihad"—the holy war—in the name of Islam. But beneath the surface there lurk some curious remnants of Zoroastrian tradition.

[A 383 (e)]

leaders in Moslem armies, from Saladin (Salah ad Din) in the hosts that opposed the Crusaders, to the late Bekr Sidqi in the army of Iraq; but they have never drawn attention to their Kurdish origin, as the name 'Kurd' implies a shepherd, which in the East is considered a lowly occupation not worthy of great men.

Some have carved for themselves small kingdoms among the tribes of their own race. But that very martial spirit which makes the Kurd proud and independent, and forbids him to acknowledge the sovereignty of anyone outside his tribe for long, has prevented the Kurds from becoming united under any one chief and thus imprinting their name on the history of the world.

In the history of the new state of Iraq individual Kurds have already made their impression. The best-known is Shaikh

[p.390 (B)]

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Kurd MA 11

PRESENT POLITICAL GROUPING

M
563

It has largely been inevitable that the present national frontiers, drawn in lands where sectarian and social divisions are strong, and where political consciousness is merely in the first stage of development, should in some instances give incomplete realisation to the political needs and aspirations of Middle Eastern peoples. Although it is probably impossible to devise frontiers which would be even moderately satisfactory in this respect, present boundaries offer a number of outstanding difficulties. Palestine is a problem on its own, but in addition three other communities—the Kurds, the Armenians, and the Assyrian Christians—find themselves without a political future, and present special problems to the national governments of the various states in which they live.

K
101
221
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The Kurds are a semi-nomadic pastoral people, living in the highlands of eastern Anatolia and the north-western Zagros. Transhumance between summer pastures on the higher mountain slopes, and winter quarters in the valleys and lowlands (sometimes involving movement between widely separated districts), has brought the Kurds into conflict with the four national governments, because their homeland is now divided among Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. It has been said of this people that they have claims to racial purity and to continuity of culture that are stronger than those of any European nation, since the Kurds have been settled in their present home since about 2400 B.C.; but the term 'culture' must be taken in a limited sense, for the Kurds are renowned as a fierce and predatory people, and their social organisation has not progressed beyond the level of tribal grouping. Their occupation of eastern Anatolia and the northern Zagros has given them command of a number of important trade-routes, from which they have derived considerable revenue by means of heavy exactions on trading caravans. The Kurds have the reputation of being pre-eminently a people that it is unsafe to trifle with, and their tendency to shoot on sight at moving objects has kept outside interference to a minimum.[1] Even the Ottoman Turks could do little to subjugate them, and they remained free from Turkish taxation and military conscription.

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The Kurds were, however, employed by the Turks as agents in persecuting Christian minorities—chiefly the Armenians. The Kurds

[1] This is the verdict of a succession of travellers in the region, from Alexander the Great and Xenophon to Marco Polo and the Peace Treaty Commission of 1919.

55: Kappers D-5 (ca. 1933) 1934 M1 Middle East M1
KURD MAN

CHAPTER V.

Persia: Kurds, Circassians, Guebers and Turkomans.

The name Persia only indicates a geographical territory. If, and in how far, it is possible to disentangle the anthropology of its inhabitants will be discussed below.

For this purpose a study of the first-mentioned races may precede. According to SPEISER[1]) the Kurds are the descendants of the ancient Guti or Qurti. At the present time most of the Kurds live in Kurdistan, a territory belonging partly to Persia, partly to Turkey, lying approximately between 35° and 40° N. lat., including the Ararat slopes and extending west to the Antitaurus in Central Turkey, and east to Hamadan in Persia (i.e. approximately between 37° and 47° E. long.). Besides, a large Kurdish colony, originating from S.E. Turkey (the Kommagene, Diarbekr and Mardin) has settled in Damascus. It is this colony that I examined with Mr. MIRZO, a student of the American University of Beirut and a Kurd himself, to whom I wish to express my thanks for his help.

The literature concerning the Kurds is somewhat contradictory, as appears from the data concerning their cephalic index.

POLAK[2]) describes them as a Nordic race. DUHOUSSET[3]), who measured five Kurds, found them to be brachycephalic (86.2).

CHANTRE[4]) who examined 332 Kurds (272 males and 60 females) from Kurdistan and Caucasia, found an average index of 78.53 (with variations from 70.04 to 86.4) for the males. A similar male average (78.48) was found by NASSONOW[5]) with

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[1]) SPEISER. (Mesopotamian origins) supposes the Qurti or Guti to belong to the Ponto-Zagrian or Hurrian brachycephalic race. Although with 48 Kurds measured at Mosul the KRISCHNERS found the prevailing index to be 84—85, the great majority of the present Kurds are mesocephalic.

[2]) POLAK. Persien. Das Land und seine Bewohner. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1865. p. 18.

[3]) DUHOUSSET. Etudes sur les populations de la Perse. Paris 1863. Quoted from KHANIKOFF. The original not being at my disposal, I cannot say where the Kurds measured by DUHOUSSET lived.

[4]) CHANTRE. Recherches anthrop. en Asie occident. Arch d. Musée d'hist. nat. de Lyon, Tome IV, 1895. See also CHANTRE: Aperçu sur les charactères ethniques des Ansariés et des Kurdes. Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Lyon, Tome I, 1881—1882, p. 165 and CHANTRE: Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans l'Asie occidentale et spécialement dans les régions de l'Ararat et du Caucase. Arch. des missions scientifiques et littéraires, 3ème série, Tome X, 1883. In this paper (p. 40) CHANTRE emphasizes the variations in the Kurdish index, according to the people amongst whom they live. I am greatly indebted to Dr. CLAUDE GAILLARD of the Museum des Sciences Naturelles de Lyon for the loan of these valuable papers.

[5]) NASSONOW. Table of Kurdish measurements. Reports of the Anthropol. Soc. of Moscow 1890. Résumé in the Arch. f. Anthropologie, Bnd. 24, 1897, p. 646.

2: Field--5

MAI Iran (Northeast)
Turcoman
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Iran (West Central)
Kurd
Sinjabi

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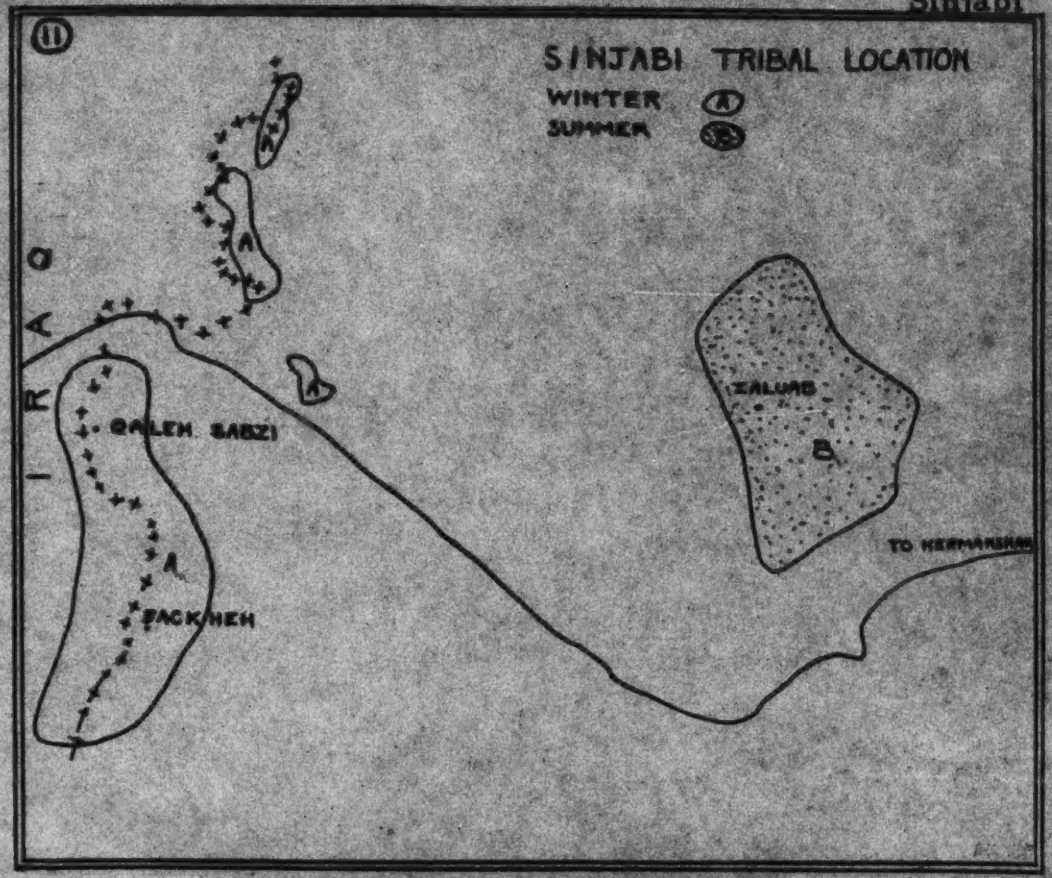

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11

now remain; there are only a few degenerate and impoverished families in the south of the province, constituting a starving nomad tribe.

The Turks are still numerous, and there are many invaders of quite recent origin, such as the Kurds, who came here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Timuris and the Baluchis, who extended their wanderings further and further north. The latest immigrants are Mongols, the so-called Barbaris, or Hazara, who are still continuing to come in numbers. It will be better to deal with each tribe separately.

Kurds.—It is difficult to find if any Kurdish tribes were living in Khurasan before the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the surnames of many different celebrities who are natives of this province the term "Kurt" is often met with. Even a dynasty of this name ruled south of Herat in the hill districts (643–791 A.H., or 1245–1389 A.D.). Kurd and Kurt are undoubtedly the same as they are to-day; but if there had been some Kurdish people in Khurasan, they must have mixed with Persians. When under the Safawides the necessity arose of defending the northern frontier of Khurasan against the inroads of the powerful Uzbegs and Turkomans, local means were not sufficient, and the Shahs tried to institute a measure similar to that of the Cossacks in Russia, *i.e.* they settled some warlike and virile people in the threatened area. Therefore some tribes of Kurds from Kurdistan proper were transferred as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the seventeenth century a new party had arrived; some of these tribes still live there, like the Kaiwanlu, the Shadillu, etc. Some more of them arrived later on in the eighteenth century, under Nadir (like the 'Amarlu). At present there is no connection with the West, and the Khurasani Kurds are gradually undergoing "Turkomanization."

With regard to the racial and tribal names, it may be observed that they are utterly unreliable for the purpose of establishing any conclusions to ethnical connections. The tribe is usually called after the surname of the chief or of the place of settlement, and very soon the whole of the tribe, to which several sub-divisions belong, becomes named after the section which was most prominent and important among them. In practice there is nothing more difficult than obtaining exact information of the name of a tribe with its sub-divisions. In Khurasan the difficulty is still greater because there are no distinct sub-dialects, and the idiom of the Kurds appears practically uniform. Many sub-sections are closely connected with the Turks, and experience real difficulty in deciding whether they are of Kurdish or Turkish nationality.

These continual changes of names make it difficult to draw up a systematic table of sub-division. Of the four tribes which are traditionally regarded as the original, namely 'Amarlu, Za'faranlu, Shadillu and Kaiwanlu, the first and last appear to-day as small tribes, while the other two are mostly Turkish-speaking and have ceased to be regarded as Kurds. The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principal

14g Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd MAII

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The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principle sub-divisions of the Kurdish-speaking tribes; they are mentioned in order from north to south, and according to the area which they inhabit:

1. Melanlu, in Qushkhaneh, the northern part of the districts of Isfarain, Juwain, and the extreme north of Nishapur.
2. Bajgiranlu, a small sub-tribe, living near Bajgiran.
3. Aghazlu, near Aghach and along the frontier.
4. Hiwalanlu, near Quchan, and in Darreh Gaz.
5. Qasmanlu, near Nawukh, Dizawun, etc.
6. Shadillu, in Bujnurd, etc., mostly speaking Turkish only.
7. Za'faranlu, in Shirwan, have now lost their former importance; very few speak Kurdish.
8. Kuranlu, north of Quchan.*
9. Mashkanlu, near Mashkan, in the district of Quchan.
10. Burji, *ibid.*, near Radqan.
11. Kaiwanlu, *ibid.*, in Juwain and in the northern parts of the Nishapur district.
12. Mazhdakanlu, in northern part of Nishapur and the Quchan districts.

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All these tribes represent forms of transition between pure nomads and the ordinary peasant. Many of them are half-nomads, *i.e.* they cultivate fields in the summer and are nomads in the winter, when they shift to some warmer district. It is specific that the transition from the nomadic to the settled life is very gradual, and that it is going on in every tribe.

Some other tribes consist chiefly of nomads, such as the following:

13. Rashanlu, in Khakistar, Lain, near Kaakhka.
14. Briwanlu, near Kaakhka, and in the summer in Kelat.
15. Hafshalanlu, Darreh Gaz in the winter and Quchan valley in the summer.
16. Badiwanlu, in the same places.
17. Jafkanlu, in the winter at Chamakalur and in the summer at Kuh-i-Daulat.†
18. Karamanlu, in the northern parts of the Nishapur districts.
19. Waranlu, a small tribe in the same place.
20. Tupkanlu, in the district of Juwain, partly in Nishapur; in the winter they migrate to the Dasht-i-Taqi.‡
21. 'Amarlu, north-west from Nishapur, in and around the village of Marushk (also called Marush).

* Their name resembles the Gurans of Kurdistan proper, and the connection is quite probable.

† These may be connected with a western Kurdish tribe of Jafs, who are very numerous along the Mesopotamian frontier.

‡ Their migrations extend over a very long distance, taking weeks for a journey with their live-stock. It is remarkable that their passage is never accompanied with any accident or robbery.

4: Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
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Kurd MH1

B 619 558 178 461 a severe slump in the camel market. Slowly and very reluctantly the bedouin are turning to cultivation and feel themselves immeasurably lowered in the process. Strangely enough, they are also to be found in greasy overalls, working on the rigs of the Mosul Oil Companies. In this work they do not lose caste as they do if they become cultivators.

B 6a3 Shaikh Ajil al Yawar is the paramount Shaikh of the 'Iraqi Shammar. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular astuteness he has managed to control his tribesmen, keep on the right side of successive governments and at the same time amass a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab steed or liver-shaking "dhillool" (trotting camel).

Turkomans

I 173 162 Leaving the Arabs, we come to the Turkomans. They are the remnants of ancient immigration and are to be found in Tel Affar town between Mosul and Sinjar and in a string of villages across to Altun Keupri and Kirkuk. Arbil is also largely a Turkoman town. The village of Nainawa, the ancient Nineveh, just across the Tigris from Mosul, is Turkoman. In a mosque built on unexcavated Assyrian remains it contains the reputed tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the vertebræ of the whale!

I 162

Kurds

K 101 149 619 Next we come to the Kurds, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages well south of the mountains. The Kurds are Aryan in origin and Sunni Muslims by religion. The mountain Kurds and in fact all the mountaineers of Kurdistan bear a close resemblance to the Scottish clans of two hundred years ago. They are still organ-

K 6a3 657 644 276 619 ized on a tribal or clan basis, though the increase in government control and influence is naturally tending to destroy this organization and undermine the power of the chiefs, or Aghas as they are called. Aghas may, however, still be seen proceeding to town or market with a "tail" of armed henchmen and even a pipebearer. The Kurdish pipebearer is, however, concerned with the Agha's tobacco pipe and

ooo not with music. Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

Figure 1. Sketch Map of the Middle East

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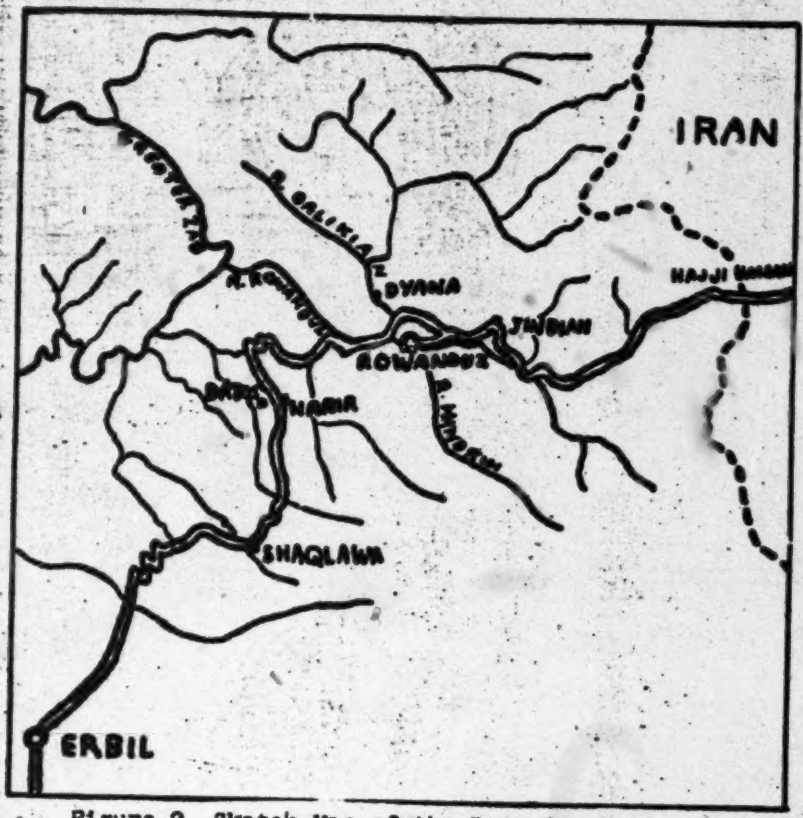

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Figure 2. Sketch Map of the Rowanduz District

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Figure 3. Sketch Map of Rowanduz

1. Isma'il Beg. 2. Court House. 3. Police Post. 4. Tobacco Monopoly. 5. Girl's School. 6. House of Qaimmaqam. 7. Sayyid Heusni. 8. Primary School. 9. Veterinarian. 10. Serai. 11. Communications Office. 12. Sadiq Agha. 13. Hospital. 14. Ra'uf Effendi. 15. Lower Residential Area. 16. Bazar. 17. Cemetery. 18. Garage. 19. Ashi Shaykhi. 20. Garage. 21. Great Mosque. 22. Upper Residential Area. 23. Shakir Effendi. 24. Nuri Bawil Agha. 25. Women's Mosque. 26. Club.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

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were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Balkha and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used; hired cars, primitive local buses, mules and horses. If no private homes were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every forthnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshāra, I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May–5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connexion with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Topzawa-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Serkan, making a lengthy trip to Rowanduz via Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an elder brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Lokal map of the area visited. The area is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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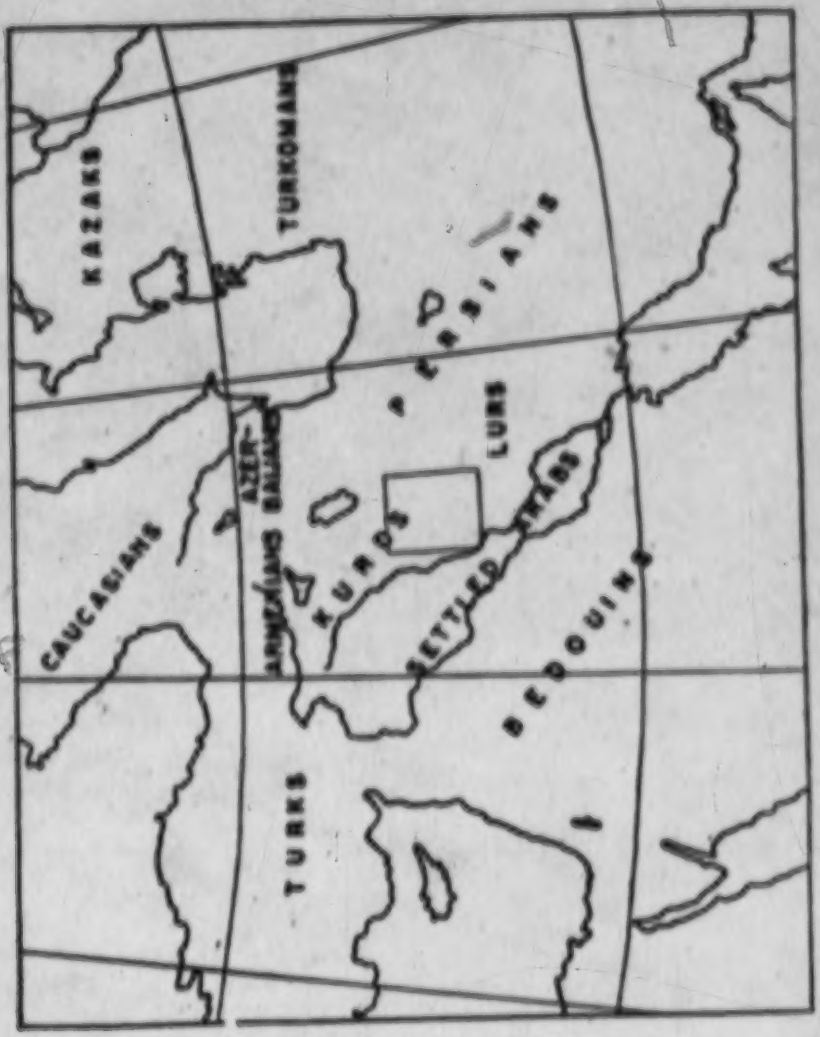
7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll



Map No. 1: The Middle East.
(For detail on the area of study, enclosed in small square, see Map. No. 2.)

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Map. No. 2. Southern Kurdistan — The territory of the old Baban Pashalik.
Dotted Line: Iraq—Persian border.

Villages studied:
1—3. Tenant villages of the Suleimani valley.
4. Shaikh Mahmud's village of residence.
5. Village of residence of Darwish Lander.
6—8. Hamawand villages.
9. Tenant village of the Germian lowlands

page 2.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

554 addressed by it. Ali Agha of Hayat's full title is Hajji Ali Agha and he is sometimes addressed simply as Hajji. The nephew of Hamid Amin of Hamparian had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Hajji.

The title Sayyid implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The descent is probably in most cases mythical; anyway the Sayyids whom I met had every appearance of being pure bred Kurds. In the Balik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two Sheikhs of Khalan and Zinu-Alauddin and his uncle Obaidullah.

554 609 The turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables who have no tribal linkage and thus cannot be called Aghas:- thus Mustapha Effendi, the leading notable of Rowandus. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known everywhere as Kharis Effendi.

Hakim (arabic 'doctor') is applied only to foreigners. I acquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a 'Lord' or a 'Major'.

The field of investigation

• 102 The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the contour features of the country at all adequately and altitudes are merely indicated in figures. The area is covered by sections I 38 and J 38 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowandus area appears on section 1. D on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102 131 Map 1 which shows the whole of the Erbil liwa of Iraqi-Kurdistan is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic and ethnographic significance.

[487] A. Rowandus. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some ten years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Practically the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bandit infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous *Rowandus Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowandus itself is some 3,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 12,000 feet. Cool and well watered it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparitively little land is suitable for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of agriculture.

* For photographs see Hay pp. 200, 222.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowandus and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowandus with subsidiary police posts at Rayat and Gelala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winter; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various valleys; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Rayat valley.

B. Foothill Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.M.Hamilton - Road through Kurdistan.

1/1 [Rowanduz - - Analyst]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

563 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A.[1] Despite special pleading by Wigram and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Batas, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 We distinguish area B therefore by the mildness of its climate; its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as now existing.

• [102] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and scorched cinder dry for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillsman. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years. 172 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the 162 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi- 523 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to 174 Hay (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Dizai tribe. The evidence for this 101 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts, 184 the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this must be a very recent development but similar conditions are described by Hay writing in 1920.

1 [1 See map, cat. 116, p. 71 -- Analyst].

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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102 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Soran group whose full tribal name is Soranî Begzawada (i.e. "descendants of the Begs of Soran") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

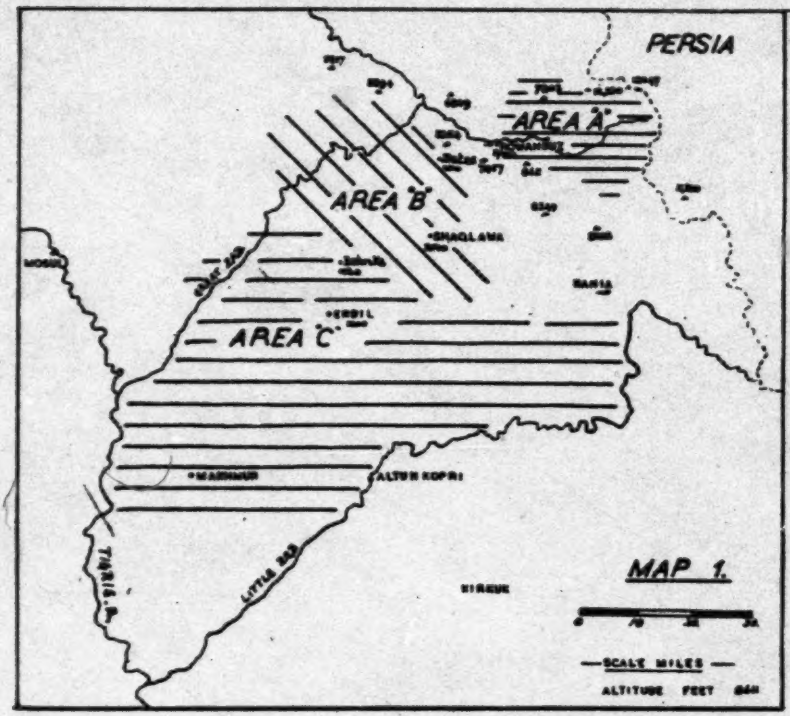
The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mullasherifi, Shevdini and Sukri, of which Mullasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Rayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Rayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mullasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Walash - Sheikh Mohammad Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Walash, Rust and Gelala. The Sukri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammad Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Walash.

794 162 439 The two villages of Khalan and Zhimi i Sheikh require special mention. (See Hay pp. 255 and 257 where Khalan is called Dar ul Amm). The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Obeidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhschwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

P. 71



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8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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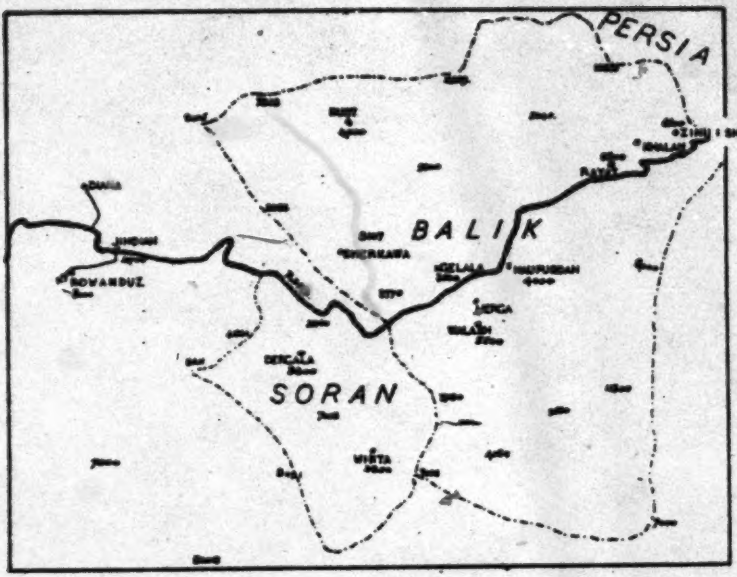

SCALE MILES
ALTITUDE FEET

—MAP 2.—

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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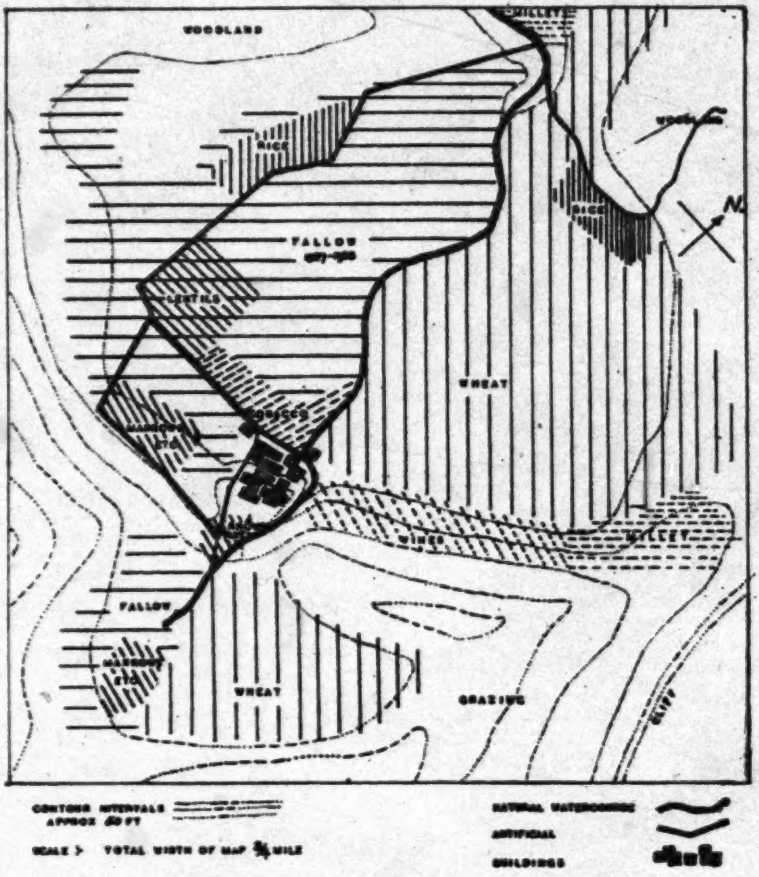


— LAND UTILISATION —
— WALASH VILLAGE SUMMER 1938 —

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

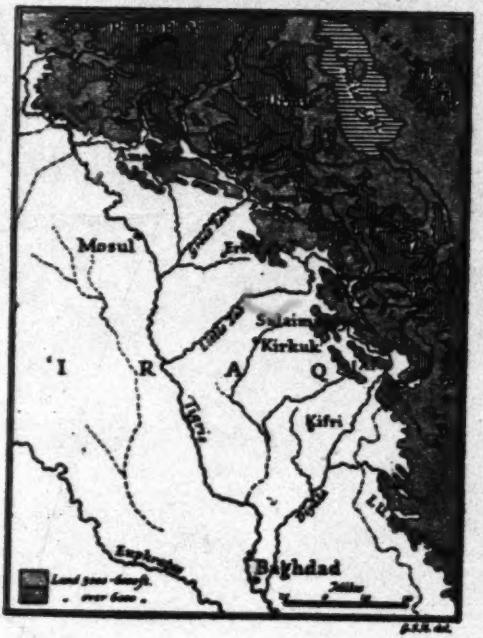
• 102

Northwestern Iran, 1946

[p.249]

132 221 We have already seen that the Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains. In the latitude where they live—approximately that of Greece—winter at sea-level may be mild, while in the mountains it is harsh. The cool summer breezes and green meadows of the higher mountains turn to snow, avalanche, and the rigours of a highland winter. So to save his flocks the Kurdish shepherd long ago became nomadic, making annual treks to the warmer valleys in the lower hills to obtain 221 winter grazing. The nomadic life, however, provides but a limited diet and the desire to supplement it by agriculture is a

• [102]



4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

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were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Balkha and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used; hired cars, primitive local buses, mules and horses. If no private homes were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every fortnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshāra, I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May–5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connexion with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Topzawa-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Serkan, making a lengthy trip to Rowanduz via Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an elder brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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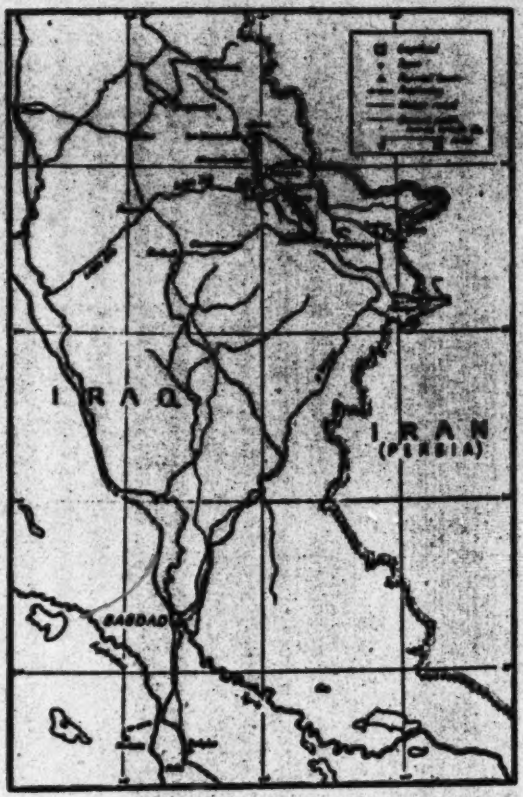

Local map of the area visited. The area is covered by R. A. F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet[1] of Mosul: Mosul (35% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (52%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas*[1] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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[1] [Territorial-administrative units, with vilayets sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.--Analyst]

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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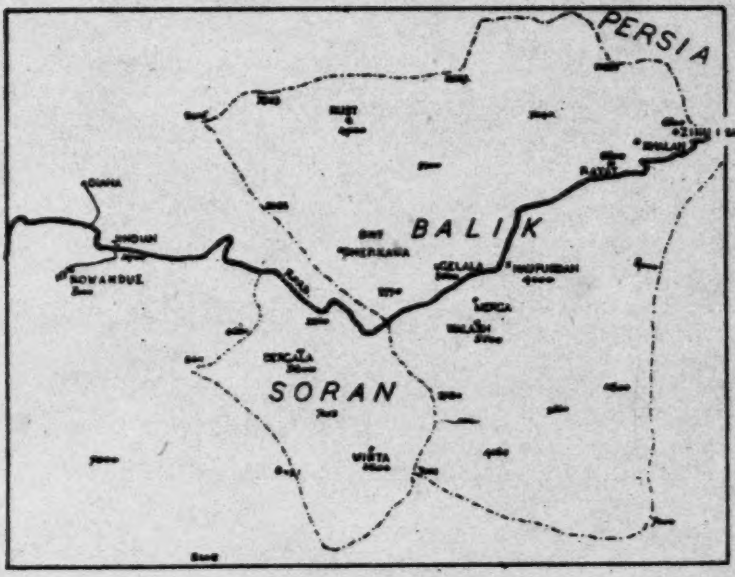

SCALE MILES
ALTITUDE FEET

—MAP 2.—

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Crary of the University's expedition have continued as sources of leadership and inspiration. Gratitude must be expressed to Professor H. Marbury Efimenco and Mr. Ernest H. McCarus of the University of Michigan, the former for his help in checking the points related to government administration and the latter for a careful review of the foreign words and phrases. Lastly, it remains to thank the townspeople of Rowanduz and their mukhtar, Ra'uf Amin al-'Abbasi, for their friendship and generous hospitality without which this investigation would have been impossible. It is hoped that a study of their life and problems will in some way repay them for their kindness.

Words from Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, and other languages have been underscored in the text, but accent marks have been omitted. The reader will find in the appendix a glossary of these words in complete transcription.

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APPENDIX

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS

Kurdish and Persian are written in the Arabic script, with the addition of the consonants zh, g, p, and ḧ, and the investigator has chosen that system of transliteration into the European alphabet in use by the foremost scholars of Islam today, such as Gibb, Hitti, and Tritton. The apostrophe, for those unacquainted with this arrangement, indicates the Arabic consonant ayn. Two exceptions have been made. In Kurdish the dipthong "ow," as in English "cow," and the long vowel "o," as in English "go," are both written in Arabic with the same dipthong. The investigator has chosen to use "aw," the conventional transcription, for the former and "o" for the latter. Secondly, the conventional English spelling, to be found in most of our dictionaries, of widely-known Turkish words, such as effendi, pasha, or serai, has been retained. The letter "A" following a transcription indicates the word is Arabic, "G," Greek, "K," Kurdish, "P," Persian, and "T," Turkish.

'abā	A	cloak, robe
adhān	A	call to prayer
agha	T	title of nobility
amirīya	A	land of the state

[illegible]	A	paternal uncle
[illegible]	A	paternal aunt
Awqāf al-Qaṣṣarīa	A	Administration of orphan's property
ʿaraq	A	arrack, liquor distilled from grapes or dates
asbī	K	mill
ʿashīra	A	tribe
atar	K	itinerant trader
av	K	water
awqāf	A	properties willed to the faith
ʿayd al-kabīr	A	"The Greater Feast"
ʿayd al-saghīr	A	"The Lesser Feast"
ʿaysh	A	life, bread in Egyptian Arabic
bāpīr	K	grandfather
bāb	K	father
badalwīa	K	blood money
baladī	A	municipal, rustic, countrified
baraka	A	blessing
bāzār	K	market
bāzargan	K	wholesale merchant, entrepreneur
bazza	K	cloth-seller, draper
beg	?	title of nobility
biryānī	K	lamb roasted whole
brā	K	brother
būk	K	bride, daughter-in-law

104.

chanfiya	A, Iraq	Arab headcloth
chalabī	?	gentleman
chapay-ī	K	a dance step
chava xir	K	evil eye
chayxānī	A, Iraq	owner of a tea-shop
chaytxāna	A, Iraq	tea-shop
chilaw	K	mountain partridge
dē pīr	K	grandmother
dēz, dayk	K	mother
dāmī	K	draughts, checkers
dantoq	K	food of curdled milk and grain
darwīsh	A	"poor," religious mendicant
Dhū al-Ḥijja	A	The twelfth lunar month
dīnār	A	unit of Iraqi money, equivalent to an English pound
dishdāsha	A, Iraq	cloth garment, caftan
dīwānxāna	K	guest-room
diyā	K	wet-nurse, foster mother
dolma	K, etc.	vegetables stuffed with meat and rice
effendī	?	title of a gentleman
fallāḥīn	A	peasantry, particularly of Egypt
fāmīlīya	K	noble clan
fārsī	A	Persian
fātiḥa	A	"opening," the first chapter of the Quran

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ʿen	A	unit of Iraqi money, the thousandth part of a dinar
fundeq	A	hotel, hostelry
gī	K, etc.	clarified butter, cooking oil
ghelām, gholām	A	servant, bodyguard in Kurdish
ghusl	A	the greater ablution before prayer
ḥājjī	A	pilgrim to Mecca
ḥakim	A	judge
ḥalayvāt	A	candy, sweets
ḥammāl	A	porter
ḥammām	A	bath
ḥamidīya	A	irregular troops of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid
ḥarīm	A	women's apartments in a house
ḥashīsh	A	narcotic manufactured from hemp
ḥāshīya	A	mill
hatīw tān	K	homosexual
hawar zindān	K	afterbirth
idda	A	period which must elapse before divorcees can remarry
imām	A, Iraq	priest of the Shiite Muslims
īmān	A	creed
islām	A	"submission" to God, the religion of Muhammad
istikān	K	glass, tumbler for tea
jāmiʿa	A	mosque
jāmiʿa al-kabīr	A	the great mosque
Jayjāī Qurbān	K	"The Greater Feast," beginning on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month

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ǰayǰāī ramẓān	K		"The Lesser Feast," ending the month of Ramadan 104
jihād	A		the holy war against unbelievers
jik	K		game of knucklebones
jinnī	A		a spirit, usually malevolent
kabāb	A		grilled meat
kabābchī	A, Iraq		roaster of meat
kabkāb	K, from A		wooden clog or sandal
kaldānī	A		member of a certain Christian sect
kapir	K		brush arbor or shelter
karmānj	K		the Kurdish language; the villager as opposed to the nomad
kātib al-'adil	A		government notary
kīrī chārshima	T		"Black Wednesday," a festival of spring
kīsī	T, from A		administrative district
khāl	A		maternal uncle
khāla	A		maternal aunt
khalīfa	A		"successor," title of a dervish
khān	K, etc.		hotel, room, a title of nobility
khānchī	A, Iraq		hotel-owner
khasū	K		mother-in-law
khasūr	K		father-in-law
Khiḍir	A		"The Green One," personage of folklore
khizām	A		nose-ring
khūn	K		blood

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khanjir	K, etc.	dagger
khashk	K	sister
kich	K	girl, daughter
kuḥl	A	powdered antimony used as a cosmetic
kutchir	K	nomad
kurr	K	boy, son
Laylat al-QĀdir	A	"The Night of Power," the twenty-seventh evening of Ramadan
līmūn dūsī	A, Iraq	crystallized lemon used in tea
liwĀ	A	"banner," province of Iraq
ma'adĪn	A	"savages," Marsh Arabs of Iraq
mahr	A	dowry
majlis al-a'yĀn	A	senate, upper house of the Iraqi legislature
majlis al-nuwwĀb	A	"Chamber of Deputies," lower house of the Iraqi legislature
mĀl	A	property
mĀl	K	house, family
mām	K	paternal uncle
mamūr	A	officer, official
mard	K	man, husband
mast	K	curdled milk, yoghurt
mastĪka	A, from G	a resinous gum
mawlid	A	birthday
mazĀ	K	a type of charm
mezze	G	hors d'oeuvres

aĪr	K, etc.	title of nobility
airtĪ sher	K	corpse-washer
aiḫrīb	A	niche in the wall of a mosque
aisbar	A	pulpit
au'edhdhin	A	reciter of the call to prayer
au'akher	A	portion of a bride's dowry
au'aẓẓin	K	reciter of the call to prayer
audĪr	A	"director," government official
Muharram	A	the first lunar month
aulla	A, Iraq	priest of the Sunnite Muslims
aukhtĪr	A	head-man of village or town
auqqadan	A	portion of a bride's dowry
Muslim	A	adherent of Islam
autesedrif	A	governor of an Iraqi province
zabĪ	A	prophet
zĪdi	A	club
zĪhiya	A	Iraqi administrative district
zĪn	K	breed
zawa	K	grandchild
zewrūz	P	New Year's Day
zijis	A	defiled, unclean
zimĪk	K	exchange of bread and salt
ouzou	O	arrack, a liquor
pasha	K	headcloth, veil
pĪshĪ	T	title of nobility
pilk	K	aunt
pĪqlawa	K	candy, a sweet
qĪdhĪ	A	Iraqi administrative district

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qaimmaqām	A	government official
qala'a	A	fortress
qarwānsara	P	hostelry, inn
qibla	A	direction of Mecca
qubqāb, qabqāb	A	wooden clog or sandal
Qurān	A	the Muslim holy book
qurṣ	A	female ornament, a metal disk
Rabī' al-awal	A	the third lunar month
raīs baladīya	A	municipal governor, mayor
rak'a	A	"bowing," a part of prayer
raki	T	arrack, a liquor
Ramaḍān	A	the ninth lunar month
rasūl	A	apostle
raw'īn	K	a dance step
ridā	A	cloak, robe
roshūna	K	daily allowance
sadaqāt	A	alms, optional
sa'īdī	A	inhabitant of Upper Egypt
sajara	K, from A	tree
salā, salawāt	A	prayer, blessing
salām	A	peace
sanjaq	T	Ottoman administrative district
saypay'ī	K	a dance step
sayrān, sayrānī bahār	K	spring festival
sayyid	A	lord, descendant of the Prophet's tribe
shahāda	A	profession of faith

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shā'ī	K	wedding celebration and dance
shajara	A	tree, genealogy
shayṭān	A	satan, devil
Shawwāl	A	the tenth lunar month
sharqī	A	"easterner," term for a Bareh Arab of Iraq
shaṭranj	A	chess
shaykh	A	"old man," religious leader, holy man
shī'ah	A	"party," the following of 'Ali and his sons
shiūwī sayaw	K	baked apples
shīr	K	milk
shirwāl	A	trousers, particularly those of Turkish style
shubāna	A, Iraq	bodyguard, private policeman
subḥa	A	rosary
sunna	A	"custom," example of the Prophet, orthodox Islam
sūra	A	chapter in the Quran
ṭāifa	A	tribe
ṭallaqa	A	to divorce
ṭarbūsh	A	fez, conical felt hat
ṭawlī	A, Iraq	backgammon
tasbiḥ	K	rosary
tapū	T	registered category of land
tika	A, Iraq	grilled meat
tūmān	P	Persian coin
'umda'	A, Egypt	head-man of a village or town

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vilayet	T	Ottoman province
waqf	A	bequest to the faith
wudū	A	the lesser ablution before prayer
zakāt	A	alms, mandatory
zava	K	bridegroom, son-in-law
zhin	K	woman, wife
zibīb	A, Egypt	arrack, a liquor

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4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

ء '		*alif hamza*, glottal plosive '.
		in initial position: *á, a, á, e*; followed by *ş* or *y*: *í, é*, or *á, é*; in medial or final position *á, á*.
ب	*b*	voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive like Engl. *b*.
پ	*p*	voiceless, generally aspirated, bilabial plosive, German *p*.
ت	*t*	voiceless, generally aspirated, dental plosive, German *t*.
ث	*t, s*	in Arabic, voiceless dental fricative *t*, — *th* in Engl. *thank*, in Persian, voiceless alveolar fricative *s*.
ج	*j*	voiced post-alveolar plosive, — *j* in Engl. *jam*.
چ	*č*	voiceless post-alveolar fricative, — *ch* in Engl. *chalk*.
ح	*h*	in Arabic and Kurd., voiceless pharyngal fricative, in Persian, voiceless glottal fricative — Engl. *h* in *hell*.
خ	*x*	voiceless velar fricative, — *ch* in German *Chor, Nacht*.
د	*d*	voiced unaspirated dental plosive like Engl. *d*.
ذ	*ð*	in Arabic, voiced dental fricative, — *th* in Engl. *that*, in Persian, voiced alveolar fricative *z*.
ر	*r* / *rr*	voiced alveolar with weak roll, in Kurd. with a single flap. / voiced alveolar roll.
ز	*z*	voiced alveolar fricative, — *s* in French *hanche*, *z* in Engl. *zeal*.
ژ	*ž*	voiced post-alveolar fricative, — *j* in French *jour*.
س	*s*	voiceless alveolar fricative.
ش	*š*	voiceless post-alveolar fricative, — *sh* in Eng. *sharp*.
ص	*ş*	in Arabic, voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative, in Persian, voiceless alveolar fricative *s*.
ض	*ð*	in Arabic, voiced dental emphatic plosive, in Persian pronounced as voiced alveolar fricative *z*.
ط	*t*	in Arabic, voiceless dental emphatic plosive, in Persian voiceless aspirated dental plosive.
ظ	*ẓ*	in Arabic, voiced alveolar emphatic fricative, in Persian, voiced alveolar fricative *z*.
ع	'	in Arabic and Kurd., voiced pharyngal plosive, in Persian, not pronounced in initial position, in medical position pronounced as a glottal stop.
غ	*ġ*	voiced or voiceless velar fricative, cf. *g* in *Tage* as pronounced in the Northern parts of Germany.
ف	*f*	voiceless labio-dental fricative.
ق	*q*	voiced or voiceless uvular plosive.
ك	*k*	voiceless aspirated velar plosive, if followed by *a, o, u, ai, au*, else voiceless aspirated, palatal.
گ	*g*	voiced unaspirated velar plosive, if followed by *a, o, u, ai, au*, else voiced unaspirated palatal plosive.

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ل	l	voiced dental lateral.
ڵ	ł	voiced velarized, dental lateral, cf. *ll* in Engl. *will*.
م	m	voiced bilabial nasal.
ن	n	voiced dental nasal.
	ŋ, ng	velarized n, = *ng* in Engl. *hang*.
ڤ	f	voiced labio-dental fricative.
و	v	voiced bilabial fricative.
		As vowel-letter: *û, o, ö*; second element in diphthongs: *ew, ow*. In Persian not pronounced after ڕ: پەڕ *pir* = *pêr, pêr*.
ه	h	voiceless glottal fricative, = Engl. *h*.
ی	y	semi-vowel, as *y* in Engl. *yes*.
		As vowel-letter: *î, i, ê*; second element in diphthongs: *ai, êi, ai, ei*.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

LIST OF KURDISH TERMS EMPLOYED

Normalized by Professor K. Barr

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Mukri words quoted with page and line from:
Oscar Mann, Die Mundarten der Mukri-Kurden I (Oscar Mann, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen IV, III, I) Berlin 1906.
Words from Gōrānī dialects (Kändōlāyī etc.) from:
Die Mundarten der Gūrān besorgtet von Karl Hadank = Oscar Mann, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen III, II, Berlin 1930, quoted as: Mann-Had., Gōr.
Bābā words are quoted from: A. v. Le Coq, Kurdische Texte II. Berlin 1903.
Bakhtyārī words from: D. L. R. Lorimer, The Phonology of the Bakhtiari and Madaglashai Dialects of Modern Persian, London 1922, quoted as: Lor.
A few Kurdish words are quoted from: E. B. Soane, Grammar of the Kurmanji or Kurdish Language. Luzac's Oriental Grammar Series, Vol. VI. London 1913.

Abbreviations:

Ar.	=	Arabic.
Ar.-P.	=	Arabic words in Persian.
BSOAS	=	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
P.	=	Modern Persian.
T.	=	Turkish.
T.-P.	=	Turkish words in Persian.
Zing.	=	Zingānī, a Southern Kurdish dialect.
Känd.	=	Kändōlāyī, a dialect of the Gōrānī.

abā (Ar. *'abā'*)	cloak-like garment of wool, worn by men, of black silk, worn by women.
adrəsxāne (= P. *dārū-xāne*)	latrin, "house of decency".
āgā = T.-P.	squire.
ambār = P. *anbār*	silo.
amdād	father's brother's children.
amdāīn	father's brother's wife.
ārd = P.	flour.
asp = P. *asp*	horse.
āv	water.
āwāl-kərās	woman's trousers (literally 'companion of the shirt').
bādingān = P.	eggplant, aubergine.
bāf = T.-P.	elder sister.
bāmyā	ladies' fingers, hibiscus esculentus L.
bāpīr	mother's father, father's father.
barak = P. *bārak*, garment made of camel's hair	woollen rug.
bārān = P. *bārān*	rain.
bāvk	father.
bāvʾīn (Mukri *bāvāīn*, 94/10)	fun.
bāzār, cf. *zāq*	market.
bāzin	bangle.
bārd	stone.
bārmāl = Mukri *bārmāl* 12/11, 125/21	prayer rug. Cf. *sajjādə*.
bārmāra (only Soane)	necklace.
bāwār	urine discharge pipe.
bə-bʾrāz	waistcoat with sleeves for a man.
bərāžn	brother's wife.
brinj = P. *berenj*	rice.
bʾzin	goat.
brā, bʾrā	brother.
būk	bride, son's wife.
byəlka (definite form -*ka*, -*ə* of *belk* = T. *bəlik*)	cradle.
čakat, jakat (Ar. *jukka(t)*)	jacket.
čāy = P.	tea.
čāy-xāne = P.	tea house.
čāqā (Mukri *čāqā*, Wolljacke 256/14)	woollen jacket for men.
dāya	mother, grandmother.
dāyīk	mother.
dāpīr	father's mother, mother's mother.
dās = P.	sickle.
dast = P. *dast*	hand.
dasmāl (Mukri *dāsmāl*, Kopftuch 33/4)	woman's neck veil.
dawāza (Mukri (Rowanduz) *dāwāzā*, Wickelband)	padded bandages for cradle.
dāzgyā (Mukri *dāzgā* 174/21)	drawers for a man; vulgar name for woman's trousers.
dība = P. *dībe*	clay vase.
dōšāk = P.	mattress (for cradle).
dūg = P.	buttermilk mixed with water.

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fārdaǰ — felt waistcoat (cf. Mann-Had., Gör. 247).

fārī — P. — carpet, mat (also used for bed-clothes).

fāz (?) — yarn of goat's wool.

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gā — ox.

gāzīst (< *gāv-dāna*, cf. P. *gāv-dāna*) — plough-share.

gāz — P. — "one yard" measuring rod.

gezī — brush.

gul — P. — rose, flower; temple ornament.

guwī, dialect form of P. *gundr* — lump of dough.

gwīs (— Mukrī) — rope.

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halīzā (— Kānd. *halīzā*, Schlauch für Buttermilch, Mann-Had., Gör. 235) — leather sack for milk.

hammām, *hammām* (< Ar. *hammām* – bath(house)) — bathroom.

hawǰār (— Bājalānī *hawǰār* plough-arm, MacKenzie BSOAS XVIII, 1956, p. 435) — handle of plough.

hāwīn — summer.

hawīr (Mukrī *hawīrd* 192/10, Ar.-P. *zhāīr*) — dough.

hezīr (Mukrī *ḥezīr* 296/5) — mule.

heywān (— P. *ayvān*, antechamber, hall, portico. Mukrī *hāywān*, Hallo 247/10, Ar. *īwān* (< *al-īwān*) — three-walled central room.

hilāl (Ar. new moon, half moon) — crescent-shaped pendant.

hilka — egg.

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jājim — P. — woollen rug.

jamāne — turban cloth.

jandarr — threshing machine.

jilā — woman's dress as a whole.

jinn — Ar. — demon.

jūt — plough.

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[601] *kāk* — elder brother.

kandī (— Zāzakī *kend*, Kānd. *kāndī* (< *kāndā*, grosser irdener Topf für Speichern des Getreides, Mehle u.s.w. Mann-Had., Gör. 259) — silo of clay.

kanīk — ladle, spoon.

kawdī (< *qabā'*, Mukrī *kāwd* 96/10, 212/21, overgarment with long sleeves, not specially a woman's garment. — caftan for a woman.

kāwī, Mukrī *kāwī* — cloth shoe, in Persian called *gīve*, *mālīdā*.

kebāb Ar.-P. — roasted meat.

kefen Ar.-P. — winding sheet, grave-cloth.

kepīr (Luri *kapīr* – P. *čapīr*, bundle of wattled twigs, a fence, an enclosure. P. *kapar*, a lodge, a hut) — hut, hut.

kēr — donkey.

kešköl (P. *kaškūl*, coco-nut, the beggar's bowl hanging in a chain around the neck) — amulet necklace with a small beggars' bowl of silver.

kerī (— Northern Kurdish *kerf* "collyrium". Mukrī *kīl*, make up for the eyes, collyrium (antimony, 241/19, 265/10) — eye make-up.

kerī-dān (Mukrī *kīrd*, sack, P. *dān*) — bag of brocade for collyrium.

kerī-dīv (Mukrī *kīl-dīv* 241/23 Cf. Mann, Mukrī II, p. 378, n. 28) — stick for putting on collyrium.

kīlle — key.

kerāw (Garzoni: *kerav* "sac fait de laine ou de poil de chèvre". (Jabe-Justi, Dict. kurd-français) — woven sack.

kirās, Mukrī *kārās*, man's shirt — man's shirt, woman's gown or kirtle.

kermāk Mukrī *kirmāk* 64/20 "Halskette" *Bihē kirmāq*, "Halsband", v. Le Coq, II p. 108 — cap chain for a woman.

kerr (— P. *kārr*) — butter.

kīt — girl, daughter.

kīsā — P. — small leather sack.

kolaka (Mukrī *kālāk*, Pfeiler, cf. Mann-Had., Gör. 262) — side-poles to vertical beam.

kolāw (Mukrī *kalāw* 129/20, P. *kalāh*, the conical felt cap) — skull-cap for man and woman.

kumī, *kume* (Cf. Zāzakī, Kārmānkī *kūm*, Kānd. *kumī*, Wasserschlauch, Mann-Had., Gör. 282) — water skin.

kurr — boy.

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lēfe (cf. Mukrī *lafī*, Schlafdecke 190/17) — quilt.

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Bkdil (Mukri 22/29)	felt mat.
libās — Ar.-P. libās, dress, garment	
lūle (— P. lūle, pipe)	Arabian drawers for a man.
	cylindrical amulet box of silver, iron spout, urine discharge pipe of bamboo for babies in the cradle.
lūwanke (lū, nose. Cf. mīlwanke)	nose ornament for women.
mada (?)	pillow for baking.
maḥma'a, Ar.-P.	meat tray of metal (brass or copper).
makā, P. **makā**	shuttle.
mal	the most common Kurdish word for house (house).
mām	father's brother.
mār — P.	curds.
mārāw	curds diluted with water.
mašk — P.	churning sack of leather.
mard (P. **mard**, man)	husband.
mardīrā	husband's brother.
mardnāk	husband's sister.
mīxāk (P. **mīxāk**, a clove, clover, carnation)	necklace of dried cloves.
mīlwanke (**mīl**, neck)	necklace.
mīnāl	child.
mīlī (?)	turban cloth for men.
mulle (Ar.-P. **mullā**)	a mullah.
mūsta (— P. **mūsta**, **mūsta**, a shoemaker's hunter or mallet)	cone-shaped metal hammer for a shoemaker.
muxtār, Ar.-P.	parish officer
nān — P.	bread.
nanik	father's mother, mother's mother.
pāpuš, **kāwš** (P. **pāpūš**, Ar. **kāwš**)	slippers.
pardā (P. **pārda**)	curtain around a cradle
pasā-gard (?)	shed stick.
pāṭū (P. **pāṭū**)	face veil for women (**sāḥ-o-pāṭū**, the complete outdoor costume in town).
pāw (only in Soran)	low baking table.
pāwān (Mukri **pāwān** 142/4 Ghrishchaef 166/33)	sash for a man.
pāwān	chain of coins; worn around the neck by women wearing "Perdan dress".
pe	warp. Cf. Kundev, Kurdsko-ruskij slovarj, p. 621.
pīr	father's sister, mother's sister.
pīrāt	father's sister's children, mother's sister's children.
pyāw	man.
qabqāb (— Ar. **qabqāb**)	wooden slippers for women.
qayṣūr, cf. Bjalāini qayṣūr (borrowed from Kurdish?) "iron finger-stalls to guard fingers from sickle when reaping", cf. D.N. Mac Kenzie, BSOAS xvii, 1956, p. 433	harvesting claw.
qundīrā	velvet slippers for women.
qurbān bakam	**bi-l-qurbān.**
reng — P.	colour.
rānk (Mukri **rānk**, Hawra 287/24)	trousers for a man.
rānk-o-lāpā	suit consisting of trousers and jacket for a man.
retmāl	black tent (**rā**, black).
rowgan — P.	clarified butter.
sāj (T. **sāj**, Eisenplatte, Bruttblech, Mann-Had., Gör. 278)	frying pan.
salta (— Ar. **salṭa**, Tschjacke über das lange Kleid getragen)	jacket for women and children.
sarabar — P. (from Russian)	sarawar.
sāwa	boiled wheat.
sāwāt, **sāwār** (— P. **sāwāt**, Mukri **sawāt** 276/3)	basket.
sārbāst — P.	turban cloth for married women.
sār-dār	upper warp beam on vertical loom.
sārīa (Mukri **sārīa**)	pillow.
sārpāl (P. **sārpāl**)	head cloth or head veil for women.
sejdāda, **sajdāda**	common Ar.-P. word for prayer rug.
s'anāq (— Southern Kurd. **sānaq**, **sānaq** (Ar.-P. **sanduq** meaning every sort of big chest; cf. Kānd. **sanāq**, Mann-Had., Gör. 280)	chest of wood.
sepāl (— P. **sih-pā(y)**)	tripod.
sīnī (— P. **sīnī**)	metal meal tray.
sarmā, **sarma** (cf. Ayloun. **sarmā**, blouse sans manches, Beaudicous-Christensen, Les dialectes d'Awroman et de Pāwā,	

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Kgl. Danske Vid. Selsk. Hist.-filol. Medd. VI, 2. Kobenhavn 1921, p. 126a)

alq - Ar. (*ḥalḳ* - P.)	waistcoat for men and women.
	market.
Jafle	turban cloth for men.
Jāne	comb in horizontal loom.
Jārāt (Muḳri *Jārāt-Jw*, Hanemade 128/35)	juice from grapes.
Jir - P.	milk.
Jāwrā	husband's brother.
Jmāshr, Jmāsh, Jmāsh Ar.-P. *tānūr*	earthen, jar-shaped bake-oven.
xalī (Muḳri *xālī*, Handspindel 113/3)	thread.
xāwa (P. *xīwa, xāja*, Bast. *xawwa*, girdle for baking bread, Lor, p. 112a)	frying pan.
xāxin, xāxīnḳ (Ar.-P. *xāxīnḳ*)	rosary.
xāxy	rolling pin.
xāwa	loom.
xāl - Ar.	mother's brother.
xālān	mother's brother's children.
xālāta	mother's brother's wife.
xāwāḳ (Muḳri *xāwāḳ* 170/3)	coverut for dervishes.
xawa, xāwā (Muḳri *xāwā* 117/31 (Ar. *ḥawā'*, heaven))	heaven.
xanjar P.	curved dagger.
xānā (P. *xāna*)	house.
xastexāna - P.	hospital.
xāyā	mother in law.
xazā	father in law.
xazā	bread.
xāṣ - P.	mud brick.
xāṛ (?)	sheep's wool.
xaṣṭ	sister.
xāṣ-dān	salt-bag.
xwē, xē (Bāhd. *xwēd, xēd*)	salt.
xāwā (= P. *dāmād*)	sister's husband, daughter's husband, bridegroom.
xā-dān	chin cloth for shall-cap for women.
xā-dār	lower warp beam on vertical loom.
xā-kirās	shift for woman.
xīr	milk.
xāṣrā	wife's brother.
xāwāṣ	wife's sister.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Abstract

ROWANDUZ: A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE
AND MERCANTILE CENTER

by William M. Masters

This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to wider cultural horizons in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as detailed, localized treatments of the Kurds have not been previously attempted, this study of Rowanduz is able to contribute to the ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Muslim people numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) the administrative center, 2) the mercantile center, 3) house, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 5000 and is basically made up of merchants,

[p. i(a)]

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121 craftsmen, laborers, and servants. The town dominates a large district of agricultural villages both as a center of government administration and as one of commerce. Detailed descriptions of the aspects of life pertinent to the areas of discussion are given.

The most important focus of investigation, connected with the second object of the study, is found to be the society of the town. Formerly, Kurdish society, a composite of both tribal and feudal systems, was "primitive" or "pseudo-primitive" in character. It consisted of a mass of commoners, tenants or tribesmen, ruled by a hereditary aristocracy, and advancement from the first class to the second was impossible. The incursion of the modern state has added a new class to this society, a government elite, and offers the possibility of attaining the highest social rank through education to the commoners of the older systems

The conclusions implement the two purposes of the study. 1) Kurdish culture, as represented in Rowandux, is discovered to be strongly regulated by Islam and to have many general similarities to that of Islamic peoples elsewhere, in spite of numerous peculiarities. 2) The impact of the modern state is changing the structure of Kurdish society and threatens to eliminate the native aristocracy by replacing it with the government elite. The Kurdish chieftains have reacted to this with a series of revolts, while many of the commoners are being absorbed into the new order, particularly in towns like Rowandux. Popular understanding of the reaction, as well as of the transformat

[p. i(b)]

of the commoners into a body of citizenry, is obscured by a nationalistic ideology directed against the rulers (who belong to other ethnic groups) of the Kurds. A movement such as this has important relevance to the contemporary Middle East at large. 105 ● 121

[p. i(c)]

Georgians and Muslim Circassians. In addition to being 101
inhabited by those noted for their tenacity, this country has been the meeting place of empires and cultural traditions, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The Kurds, because of their numerical strength, emphasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the upheavals of the first World War than some of their Christian neighbors.

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethic unit or nation whose most distinctive characteristics are its language and costume. Coupled with these are a large number of minor peculiarities which differentiate it from other Islamic peoples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam 105
in which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian, and Turk are easily discernable and many things, such as orthodox religious practices, may be assigned definite historical origins. Despite the abundance of foreign elements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. 114
The history of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored, and those few treatments which have appeared are, for the most part, disappointing, for they have been written by persons whose aims were far from academic or whose scholarship is doubtful. Without entering the controversies which 175
surround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to appear first in classical literature as the Karduchi of Xenophon and the Gordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people occupying much the same area as they do today.[1] Their 174
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[1]Driver, 1922, pp. 491-493.

The most productive comparisons would be with the Turks or the Persians, but, unfortunately, no such monographs are as yet available. To utilize the scanty and widely scattered materials on Turkish or Persian life would be at best haphazard. This study of Rowandus, with certain exceptions, stands by itself, in the belief that it will afford accurate data for the comparative treatments of the future.

Something of the content of Kurdish life, as observed in Rowandus, has been presented. It has been seen that the town dominates, partly in an administrative and partly in a commercial way, a large agricultural district. The bulk of the townspeople are merchants, craftsmen, and servants who depend for their livelihood on commerce with the villagers and the patronage of government personnel. The basis of the town's importance is both economic and political. Life within the household, the structure of society, and religion have been treated. What is perhaps of great importance is the ample demonstration that the Kurds are not savages devoid of culture, that they are not all "robbers" and need not "kill six or seven men" in order to be respected. With the exception of revolts and blood feuds, the district is relatively peaceful and normally one is rarely in danger of molestation. The old brigandage, carried on largely by the chieftains as a lucrative diversion, was directed against commercial travelers who could protect themselves from it by the simple expedient of making "gifts" in advance. A district population of some fifty thousand

could scarcely support itself by robbery alone. It is interesting that the Arab Bedouins, among whom the vendetta and brigandage are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Bedouin, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticised rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of Medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been moulded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is mute testimony to the character of Islam and to the force of its protagonists in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not mean that marriage relations and marriage ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountain core and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today sedentary farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found, a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the *tira* varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the ideal ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Warde Shawi (location: summering in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several *tira* may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Louis J. Luschnig, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1951).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. B. Soane, *Social and Economic Organization of the Hamawand Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 1, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village; and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting types of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the «vertical», Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mobtainous crescent stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this crescent is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 50 to 300 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exhibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1913), assuming them to be the Carduks who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Sultan Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

[text continues on p. 2]

THE KURDS

Orientation

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The term Kurds refers to a number of closely related Moslem tribes speaking similar dialects and inhabiting the mountainous crescent that stretches from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia. This area is commonly referred to as Kurdistan. Kurdistan has neither political nor geographical unity being a semi-continuous territory divided among the modern states of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and the U.S.S.R. In 1920, at the treaty of Sèvres, it was initially proposed that Kurdistan be made a political unit. The proposal was dropped, however, and Kurdistan never came into being as a nation. Most of the region is in the high mountains of the Armenian Knot and the Zagros Range, but it also extends into the foothills and the plains of northern Iraq. The Kurdish tribes are historically ancient. They are probably descended from people known variously as Guti, Qurti, and Karduchai who were living in the area at about 2000 B.C. They are also assumed to be the same Carduke (Karduchoi) who harried the retreat of Xenophon's army in 400 B.C.

Modern Kurdish nationalism places great emphasis on the unity of the language. The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and is very similar to Persian. At the same time it exhibits

105 features which suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. At present there are three major dialects spoken by the various Kurdish tribes. Estimates for the total population of the Kurds have ranged from 1.5 million to 4 million. The Royal Institute of International Affairs gives a figure of 3 million including those living in the U.S.S.R. The largest single concentration is on the Turkish-Iraqi border where they number approximately 2 million. The census of Iraq for the year 1947 listed 1 million Kurds concentrated in the north and northeast of that country. A great many Kurds are urbanized, Arabized or Turkicized and are Kurdish by descent only.

The large majority of the Kurds belong to the Shafi'i school of Sunnite Moslems. In Persia several tribes belong to the radical Shi'ite sect of Ahl-il-Hakk or Ali Ilahi. Though the Kurds were early converts to Islam, independent Kurdish principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasside Caliphate (around 1258). They generally played a minor role except for producing Saladin at the time of the third Crusade. A large part of Kurdish territory was conquered by Sultan Selim I (1500), but even then they managed to retain considerable local autonomy leading to adjustment rather than replacement of traditional Kurdish organization.

Economy

The Kurds today exhibit a considerable diversity in their economic patterns ranging from pure nomads to settled farmers. This diversity of economic patterns is reflected in their social organization. Many urban

105 Kurds have been partially assimilated into the various national cultures where they reside. The overwhelming majority, though, are subsistence farmers, many of whom practice localized transhumance. These farmers live in what is essentially a feudal situation. Subsistence among the settled population is based on cereal agriculture combined with herding. Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; rice, peas, lentils, and garden vegetables are secondary. Tobacco is the major cash crop. Goats and sheep are the important domestic animals, and their goat hair, wool, and dairy products are always in demand in adjacent towns. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven by both nomads and villagers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys generally are used only as a means of transportation. Some horses are kept, but these are definitely luxury animals and only the rich can afford them. In most cases productive techniques in agriculture are underdeveloped with the result that the per capita yield is very low. The nomads move within prescribed territories following their herds of goats and sheep into the mountains in summer and down to the plains in winter.

The daily diet of the majority of the Kurds is built around bread, dairy products (especially curdled milk called <u>mast</u>), dates, tea, and meat. The wealthy have a more varied diet and consume more rice, meat, and fruits; pork and alcoholic beverages are tabooed.

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Clothing

The Kurds are notable for their elaborate and colorful national costume, in which they use both imported and locally woven fabrics. Briefly, the men's costume consists of baggy colored trousers and a plain shirt with huge sleeves split at the wrist and tied above the elbow. Over the shirt is worn a very colorfully embroidered vest. The waist is bound with a large fringed sash tied in heavy knots and used to hold tobacco, money, and the traditional dagger. A skullcap is worn on the head and over it two rolled scarves are bound to form a heavy turban. The women's dress is heavily and brightly embroidered. They do not use the veil, although a head scarf is worn. In towns, many Kurds have either modified or completely abandoned the traditional dress in favor of Western-style clothing.

Social Organization

Throughout Kurdistan, two basic and distinctive types of social organization are found: a tribal system based on descent, and a feudal system based on class and land ownership. All nomadic tribes belong to the first type (descent), while the settled population may be dichotomized between those of freeholding, tribally organized farmers (descent) and those of nontribal sharecropping tenants (feudal). The feudal type village structure is being progressively assimilated into the modern structure of the state and is difficult to evaluate at this time. The intricacies of the class and near-caste systems and differential contacts and reactions

105 due to many subcultures, render analysis of the Kurdish towns (which also serve as trade and administrative centers) too complex to permit valid generalizations. The rural areas on the other hand show greater uniformity in patterns; the tribal areas are organized and separable and the villagers in their small endogamous communities have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally owns and works his own field or hires outside labor to assist him. Mutual renting or borrowing of livestock may occur, especially in harvest time when cattle are used for threshing. The grazing areas belong to the village as a whole, and herding the individually owned animals is usually delegated to one or more full-time shepherds, serving the whole community. The village is made up of individual households that are economically independent. Each household typically consists of one nuclear family, although some may include an extended patrilineal family. The division of labor within the house is very clear-cut and follows the traditional rural pattern of men working the fields and women attending to the household chores.

Marriage

Marriage patterns are based on Koranic law. A man is forbidden to marry any of his father's wives, his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or his stepdaughter, or any woman who was nursed by the woman who nursed him (be it his own mother or an unrelated wet nurse).

105 At the same time it is recommended by the Koran that he marry within the kin group. The Kurds, like all Moslems, practice close family endogamy with preferential father's brother's daughter (parallel cousin) marriage. Statistically, this type of marriage is also most prevalent. Bride price is not fixed but varies with the wealth and the status of the families involved. The bride price is usually lower for father's brother's daughter than for less preferred arrangements. Another prevalent marriage pattern is for two men to exchange sisters thus eliminating the bride price completely. Marriages are usually festive occasions accompanied by public feasting and dancing by the men. The women take no part in the public celebration or dancing but hold their own celebration within the house. Although polygamy is allowed by Islam, plural wives are rather uncommon except among a few wealthy individuals. The levirate is frequently practiced, but more as a convenience, especially where there are children, than as an established rule or right. The sororate is not known as a marriage practice. Following the Moslem pattern, the male has the right to divorce his wife at any time and no reasons need be advanced. After divorce, the woman goes back to her father's house leaving the children (unless very young) with the father. (Procedure for divorce and remarriage, settlements, inheritance laws, etc. follows the Moslem religious law, Al-Shari'a. For a detailed description see Levy 1962.)

Postmarital residence is ideally patrilocal. The typical household however usually contains one nuclear family, indicating a trend towards

105 neolocality. The position of the bride in her new home is strengthened by the birth of a son. This enhances her status as a woman also and divorces rarely occur in families with male children.

Childbirth and Childhood

Parturition takes place in a sitting position. The mother is assisted by an experienced older woman from the village who acts as midwife. Birth takes place in one of the rooms in the house and the father may be present if he so wishes. The umbilical cord is cut with a pair of scissors or a knife and the newborn infant is wrapped tightly in a cotton blanket. For the first seven days, it is placed on a circular inverted grain sieve which is covered with a thin mattress. (The use of a sieve for the first bed has been reported from Egypt and Iran and is said to be a measure to protect the baby from the evil eye.) After the first week, the infant is placed in a wooden cradle to which it is tightly strapped most of the day. As a rule, children are nursed until their second birthday. If the mother has no milk, a wet nurse is employed.

Boys are preferred to girls; a man will often marry a second wife should the first one fail to have any sons. The Kurds circumcise their sons when they are five days old, or wait until the child is seven years of age. Naming takes place on the seventh day. A mullah (Moslem religious teacher) takes the infant on his knees and whispers the given name to it, repeating the formula seven times: "I call thee....., son (daughter) of our great mother Eve." Following the Arab custom, Kurds have no

105 surnames; the child is addressed by his given name plus that of his father.

Childhood in Kurdistan is a period of preparation for the adult role. Children rarely play and toys of any kind are practically non-existent. At the various age levels, children have specific duties to perform. Girls assist their mothers around the house while the boys work with their fathers in the fields and look after the goats and sheep. Children are well trained with an assured feeling of their position and what is expected of them. There are no recognized transitional periods and they arrive at adulthood with no visible personal or social upheavals.

Family Relations

The ideal for both adults and children is a calm dignified behavior at all times. Children are taught to be obedient, unobtrusive, polite, and industrious. Disobedience to parents, especially to the father, is regarded by Moslems as a cardinal sin.

Following the Moslem pattern, the father or the senior adult male, in theory at least, has complete and unquestionable control in the household. In practice, however it has been observed that Kurdish women often have considerable influence within the family circle and few have even attained prominence on a tribal level. The father's absolute authority is often challenged by his grown sons as indicated by the high incidence of neolocal residence. Obedience of the female to the male and of the young to the old, however, is still both the ideal and the general rule.

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Kinship

A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms employed, totaling twelve in all. In general, especially as far as the male is concerned, affinal relatives are of secondary importance and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult sister and brother suffice. The group of relatives covered by these basic twelve terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents are members during their lives. The suffix -aza, literally "child of," indicates removal by one descending generation from this group; repetition of the term indicates two generations' removal. Ascending generations are categorized by constructing similar bilateral units with ego's father or grandfather in the position of ego.

Kurdish kinship terms are thus purely descriptive, in that they measure only genealogical distance between near kin without showing unilineal emphasis.

Political Organization

Kurdish tribal organization is based on a segmentary lineage system of a simple type. A large tribal confederacy called ashiret is divided into a number of tribes or subtribes called tira. The tira is the primary political and landowning group. Membership in it is patrilineally inherited and the tira itself approximates a maximal lineage.

105 It is the largest kinship unit and members must be able to trace their descent from one common ancestor. Genealogical depth of the tiras varies; for some tribes such as the sedentary Hamawands of Iraq, the common ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation. The nomadic Wurda Shatri nearby hold their common ancestor to be twelve generations removed. Each tira is led by a hereditary rais (leader). The leader's position is hereditary within the clan and a new leader must have the approval of the senior male members of the tira. The tiras have traditional rights to specific pastures. Growth of population and internal tension may lead a branch of a tira to split and in time form a new tira. In case of wars or tribal feuds, the leaders of all the tiras meet in council. This council reaches agreement through discussion and has no formal powers. The whole confederacy or ashiret is led by a paramount leader called beg. This position, too, is inherited within one tira or clan. A levy tax is imposed on the member tiras who are required to contribute a number of armed men and servants who serve in the camp of the beg. The whole tira rarely camps in one unit, but generally divides into several tent camps called khel, roughly corresponding to a lineage segment. It is held together by both economic and kinship ties. The khel is led by an older man informally elected because of his prestige, power, and capabilities. Each khel in turn is made up of a number of households (frequently some twenty to thirty). These approximate in size, composition,

105 and roles those of the sedentary village Kurds previously described. Rather than being farmers, the men here are engaged in full time herding and stockbreeding. Thus, primarily due to the close endogamy practiced by the Kurds, the genealogical and the local groups usually coincide, and those same groups are also the organizational units in the formal political sense. Or, stated in a different way, the localized territorial groups occupying separate villages are in effect lineage segments, whose corporate unity is expressed in communal ownership of land, cooperation in herding and irrigation, and the over-all political unity of the tira and ultimately of the ashiret.

The political organization of the nontribal areas is much simpler. Immediately above the village level, external administration takes over. In the village itself, a mukhtar (mayor, headman) is elected to serve as intermediary between the villagers and the administration. More often he is appointed from above in an attempt to achieve a balance of power in the village or to assure full cooperation with the national governments.

External Relations

The Kurds have always been restless under civil governments. No less than six major armed rebellions (some common to more than one government) have been quelled with difficulty in the past twenty-five years. In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian empires, a number of quasi-independent Kurdish principalities survived until the

105 middle of the nineteenth century. After the suppression of these, periodi
revolts occurred against the central authority in which the leaders appeal
to racial and ethnic sentiment to rally their followers. The political hist
of the Kurds after 1900 is interwoven with that of the Ottomans and inter-
national politics. A small Kurdish colony of 20,000 in Soviet Armenia ha
been encouraged recently in developing national consciousness and is
acting as an example for the rest of the Kurds. The Kurds of Iraq are
today in a state of war with the national government and the outcome is
unpredictable. This, however, may be the initial step toward the final
realization of Kurdistan both as a geographical and a national entity.

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111 MA11 Kurd

1: Garnett, Lucy M. J, Women of Turkey and Their Folk-Lore. II. The Jewish and Moslem Women. London: David Nutt. 1891.

Only pp. 113-189 of this source(dealing with the Kurds) have been processed for the Kurd file.

Yale: Ngk95 T5 890g v. 2

/This source presents general ethnographic information on the Kurds from the point of view of the women and their role in Kurdish society. In additon there is some information on religion, marriage, funerals and a representative sample of Kurdish folktales.-- Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1880
Analyst: Robert Theodoratus

Evaluation: Folklorist - 4, 5
Processed in 1962

MAll Kurds MAll

2: Masters, William M. Rowanduz: A Kurdish Administrative and Mercantile Center. A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan: Ann Arbor, Michigan. 1953.

Pp. vi (3), 358; preface; 3 maps; 2 charts; bibliography; glossary.

HRAF Copy

/This study is entirely devoted to the Kurds who reside in the town of Rowanduz. The author had three objectives in this study: to describe the social organization of Rowanduz, to present a general ethnographic sketch, and to describe the relationship of Rowanduz to the Central Iraqi government and the influence of these relationships on Kurdish life in Rowanduz--Analyst/

Field date: 1951
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1962

3: Barth, Fredrik. Father's Brother's Daughter Marriage in Kurdistan. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 10, pp. 164-171. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1954.

3 tables; bibliographical references in footnotes.

HRAF copy

[This is a theoretically oriented article containing only a modest amount of ethnographic data. Barth presents an interpretation of the function of patrilateral parallel cousin (FBD) marriage which differs from the standard explanation centering on the desire to keep property within the family in the face of Koranic inheritance laws. His basic hypothesis is that this marriage pattern "plays a prominent role in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle." He believes this hypothesis will apply to many other Middle Eastern groups, and thus serve to distinguish them from the African systems in which the relationship between lineage structure and marriage patterns has a different functional basis. In view of the potentially broad significance of Barth's article, as well as its importance in our understanding of Kurdish social structure, it may be noted that a contrasting interpretation - drawing

3: Barth, Fredrik.

mainly on Bedouin data - is presented by Murphy and Kasdan in The Structure of Parallel Cousin Marriage, American Anthropologist 61:17-29, 1959. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1951
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1962

4: Hansen, Henny Harald. The Kurdish Woman's Life: Field Research in a Muslim Society, Iraq. Copenhagen Ethnographic Museum Record, No. 7. København: Nationalmuseet, 1961.

Pp. ix, 213; 2 maps; 99 plates; tables; notes; bibliography

Harvard Peabody: Mus. 35. 6. 3. 10.5

[This is an excellent ethnographic monograph on the Kurdish woman's life written by a woman anthropologist of the Danish Expedition team. The author had access to the most intimate aspects of the Kurdish woman's life, which in Muslim society, is difficult for any male investigator to attain. During her four months stay in Kurdish homes, the author with the aid of an "intelligent" Kurdish woman interpreter, collected data on almost every phase of their life. Hansen, in polemic against previous male authors on this topic argues that "the Kurdish women" does not constitute a homogeneous group. She classifies her data under four different subgroups, namely that of village aristocrat, peasant women, educated urban women and uneducated urban women. In her study, she includes the analysis of the latent and manifest functions of Kurdish woman's activities and of psychological factors,

4: Hansen, Henny Harald.

thus challenging the previous writers' ethnocentric and male view on the Kurdish woman's status. Interesting correlations between variables such as marital status, place of residence, level of education, use of face veil, woman's status in the house, etc. are cited to attack the often undefined and indiscriminate use of the concepts "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it). This source contains comprehensive data on the material surroundings of the Kurdish woman such as dwellings, clothing, food, domestic implements, and on daily routines, life cycle, child care, and their religious activities. The discussions included in the last chapter on the woman's position in the community, and the structure of the Kurdish woman's cultural pattern in the light of the coming "emancipation" well demonstrates the author's analytical mind and the meticulous handling of ethnographic data. List of Kurdish terms employed, and the list of ethnographical specimens are added at the end of the monograph: i.e., category 116, pp. 205-208. For the explanation of foot notes, see category 116, pp. 187-197.--Analyst]

Field date: 1957
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1962

5: Edmonds, C. J. The Kurds of Iraq. Middle East Journal, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 52-62. Washington, D. C.: The Middle East Institute, 1957.

HRAF copy

[The first few pages of this article provide a good survey of Kurdish territorial boundaries, population distribution, economic activities, major crops, relevant government development programs, plus various other data. The remainder of the paper traces the history of the Kurdish national movement from the 19th century to the present. Emphasis is given to the relations between the Kurds and the Iraqi and Turkish governments, the British forces in Iraq, and various international treaties. In closing, the author briefly summarizes the contemporary social and political conditions of the Iraqi Kurds. --Analyst]

Field date: 1923, 1945
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Government Official-5
Processed in 1962

6: Vinogradov, Amal. Kurd Cultural Summary. Unpublished manuscrpt. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1965.

Pp. 13 (typescript)

HRAF copy

/This brief source is a summary of the contents of the Kurd file as of late 1964. Mrs. Vinogradov is a professional anthropologist with a specialty in the cultures of North Africa and the Middle East. ---Analyst/

Fielddate: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4
Processed in 1964

Ti Barth, Fredrik. Principles of social organization in southern Kurdistan. Oslo. Universitetets Etnografiske Museum. Bulletin. 7. Oslo. Brødrene Jørgensen A/S. 1960.

148 p.: 3 tables: 9 diagrams: 2 maps: 3 appendices: bibliography.

Yale: Nk57 Oslo. 7.

[This work describes the culture of the Kurds of southern Kurdistan with particular emphasis on the social structure, in which light the blood feud is discussed. Very little material culture is described.]

Field date: 1951
Analyst: Elizabeth Young

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1955-1974

MA11 Kurd

8: Leach, Edmund Ronald. Social and economic organization of the Rowanduz Kurds. London School of Economic and Political Science. Monographs on Social Anthropology, 3. London. 1940.

74 p.: 16 plates: 1 table: 2 diagrams: 3 maps.

Yale: Nh10. M62. v. 3-4.

[Having spent a short time among the Rowanduz Kurds in 1938, preparatory to the writing of a monograph about the tribe, the author, prevented from returning to the field, wrote this cultural resume, with apology, to fill the need for such a work as that originally proposed. In this summary of the culture, Leach manages to include a great deal of factual information, and to give some insight into the functional workings of the society. For bibliographical references see the entire source, category 116.]

Field date: 1938
Analyst: Elizabeth Young

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1965-1974

R Roosevelt, Archie, Jr. The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad. Middle East Journal. 1 (1947): 247-269. Washington, D. C., Middle East Institute, 1947.

Tele: Rjl0e. MSS. v.1.

[This article describes the events leading up to the establishment of the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in 1945, its activities as an independent Republic, and its reintegration within Iran in 1946. Soviet influence on the development of nationalistic feeling among the Kurd tribes is carefully analysed by the author as are the conflicts of the Kurds with one another, with the Azerbaijani "democrats" and finally with the central Iranian government. The author was Assistant Military Attaché in Tehran from March 1946 to February 1947 and was one of four Americans to visit Mahabad during its brief existence.]

Field date: 1946-1947
Analyst: Mary Lou Bartlett

Evaluation: Government Official--1
Processed in 1965-1974

10: Johnson, J.C.A. The Kurds of Iraq. I. Geographical Magazine. 18 (1945): 382-393. London. Chatto and Windus, 1945.

Take: Ell. G13. v. 10.

[The author of this source was an officer in the British Army who had numerous contacts with the Kurds of Iraq. In this article he briefly discusses their dwellings and clothing, and gives information on their customs, religious beliefs, language, social system and moral characteristics.]

Field dates: no date
Analyst: Majed Khan

Evaluation: Government Official--3
Processed in 1955-1974

11: Johnson, J.C.A. The Kurds of Iraq. II. Geographical Magazine. 11 (1940): 50-59. London. Geographical Magazine, Ltd., 1940.

Yale: E10. G13. v. 11.

[This is the second of two articles, the first of which is 10: Johnson in this file. In this second article the annual activities of the nomadic, semi-nomadic, and settled Kurds, the life history of a Kurd from birth to marriage and the tobacco and mercantile business among the Kurds are described. The attitudes of the Kurdish people, and the pertinent economic and social changes, which tend to keep the Kurds a "backward" tribal group, and to make them settle and become an integral part of the modern world, are discussed.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Elizabeth Young

Evaluation: Government Official--3
Processed in 1965-1974

113, 101, 221, 619, 463 Kurd MAII

[For information on the Kurd see h: Coon, Mi Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 215-217.]

[For comparative Anthropometry of Southwestern Asia see i: Field, MAI Iran, category 116, pp. 436-489.]

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CHAPTER 1

Introductory

121 The following account is based upon a five weeks field survey carried out during the summer of 1938. It was intended to follow this up with an intensive study of one locality over a period of twelve months. Political developments in Europe made this project impracticable at the time and the notes here presented

For the facilities afforded me in Iraq I am particularly indebted to Mr.C.J.Edmonds, Adviser to the Iraq Government, Captain Hyman Hall, Oriental Secretary at the British Embassy Baghdad, and His Excellency Ahmad Beg & Tawfiq Beg, Mutasarrif of Arbil, in whose province this research was carried out.

The justification for publishing the somewhat superficial data contained in this monograph lies in the absence of any strictly comparable material elsewhere. The general form of Kurdish social organisation as here described is probably fairly typical of that of a large number of Mohammedan peoples scattered throughout the mountainous areas of western Asia. Concerning such peoples there is at present available very little ethnographic material of any kind and the particulars that the Kurdish form of society is typical is put forward as an hypothesis open to correction in the light of further study.

121 121 Of more immediate relevance is the close correspondence that undoubtedly exists between Kurdish social forms and those of Arabia in general. This fact is of interest since linguistically the Kurds are of "aryan" rather than "semitic" stock. Concerning the "manners and customs" of various Bedouin and Semitic groups there is of course an enormous mass of literature available, some of it of the highest scientific quality, but the emphasis in every case has been to make an historical record of ethnographic fact rather than to study any particular group as a society in functioning existence at the present time. The work of Thesiger, Musil, Lane, Dresser and Murray to name but a few, though admirably detailed, is by modern standards somewhat lifeless, since it describes the pattern of various cultural norms without, as a rule, showing their social significance or demonstrating the fundamental interrelationship between them. The earlier studies of Robertson-Smith, Frazer and Westermarck were entirely synthetic in character and gave no true picture of the functioning of any single

114 113 * A. Jaussen - Les Coutumes des Arabs au Pays de Moab
A. Musil - Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins
H.H.Lane - Manners and Customs of the Bedouin Egyptians
H.H.Dresser - The Bedouins of Iraq and Iran
C.H.Murray - Sons of Ishmael

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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114 society. Nevertheless these works continue to be of fundamental
importance as contributions to anthropological theory. There have been
• 113 important studies of particular aspects of semitic culture, notably that
of Mrs. Seligman on Kinship and Granqvist on Marriage, the latter being
at the present time unique in its wealth of documentary detail concerning
the actual position of women in a Mohammedan society, but we still
lack a continental study for any single area. Owing to the lack of
adequate empirical data the present monograph does not effectively fill
that gap, but it does provide for the first time an indication of the
practical organisation of a settled group whose kinship affiliations are
of the typical semitic pattern. The details of my account will it is
hoped be filled in and elaborated by further research.

The existing documentary material concerning Kurdistan and the
Kurds is somewhat meagre in quality. Most of it consists of highly
romanticised travel stories of which the title of Millingen's Wild life
among the Kurds (1870) gives a fair indication of the contents. The
romantic tradition is incidentally still maintained, as evidence
G.J.Meuller's Blubrush in verschiedenen Kurdistan published only in 1935

For the Southern Kurdish area in general little serious
ethnographic material is available, though Baltazar Christoff's Kurdes
und Armenier dealing with the Turkish area to the north has some
relevance. V.F.Minorsky's Kurdes Notes and Observations published in
Russian in 1915 refers, I believe, in part to the area under discussion
but this has not been accessible to me.

Concerning the Rowanduz area itself there are only two books
generally accessible. A.H.Hamilton's Road through Kurdistan which is a
light hearted though highly interesting account of the construction of
the strategic motor road up to Rowanduz and on to the frontier, and
W.H.Hay's Two Years in Kurdistan. The latter deals precisely with the
same area and the same individuals as are the subject of this monograph
I shall refer to it frequently both in criticism and as providing
supporting evidence. Further local colour may be obtained from
W.A.Wigram's Cradle of Mankind, which deals with a neighbouring area
slightly to the North West; the author's religious prejudices in favour
of the Assyrian (Christian) community however give a marked bias to
many of his judgements.

12 If my own study I regret that further research will doubtless
correct my analysis on many points of detail. Nevertheless I believe
the general correlation of the elements of social organisation to be

* H.S.Seligman - Studies in Semitic Kinship (Bulletin of the
School of Oriental Studies Vol.iii)
H.N.Granqvist - Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The affair got wind, and it was everywhere reported 539
that Sätir of Begiriv had found a treasure. The news finally reached the ears of the Pasha of Van, who sent for him and shut him up in the city prison, where he lay some time. He confessed the truth, and obtained his liberty only at the price of a quantity of gold, which he gave to the Pasha of Van. In short, Sätir had to scatter his gold in all directions.

Sensible folks will, perhaps, doubt the truth of this story. It is, however, firmly believed in these districts, and often related, and, what is more, the descendants of Sätir still live at Begiriv in great prosperity. They have lands, mills, many a yoke of oxen and fine flocks, and they keep open house. One might say that it is a *tekkeh*,[1] for every one receives hospitality in this Armenian house; Moslems even are never repulsed, but welcomed with every mark of attention. From that time Sätir became well known among the Kürds, who made great friends with him, and brought him presents of sheep. It sometimes [579 happens that they are at feud with the inhabitants of 628] Begiriv, and commit robberies and depredations in 778] that town, but they always spare the house of Sätir, saying that it is as sacred as a *tekkeh*, and that not even an indiscreet glance must enter it.

The following curious story has been preserved by 538
the late Mr. Rich,[2] who took it down literally from 114
the lips of the narrator, a tribesman of the Bebbehs of Darishmani, without, as he says, adding to or

[1] Dervish monastery, where hospitality is generally exercised.
[2] *Narrative, &c.*, vol. i. p. 291.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

533 altering it in any way. The incidents it describes are
●114 totally unlike those of Kürdish stories generally, and are probably derived from real occurrences, but belonging to a date far anterior to that assigned by the story-
[176] teller, who, with the supreme disregard for accuracy manifested by persons of his calling in the East, would refer any remarkable story to the immediate ancestors of the favourite Kürdish hero, Suleiman Baba, if he could not refer them to the hero himself without being convicted of a too glaring anachronism. It may possibly be a survival of some story of chivalry belonging to the crumbling age of Saladin, whom the Kürds declare to have been a prince of their race.

A parallel to this legend may also be found in the
[177] Greek folk-tale of Ἡ βασίλισσα ποὺ πάγαινε στὸν πόλεμο, "The Princess who went to the War."[1]

The Maiden Champion.

537 There lived once in Darishmana two brothers, Fakih Ahmed and Khidder, who had suffered much from the hostility of the Bultassis, the most powerful people of Pishder. Fakih Ahmed, who was of a bold and proud spirit, quitted his village in disgust, swearing never to return to it unless he should be in a position to avenge himself. He went to Constantinople, and entered the service of the Sultan.

It so happened that the Sultan was at that time at war with the English (or Franks). In those days battles were generally decided by single combat. A champion had come forth from the Frankish host

[1] Von Hahn, Neugriech. Märchen, p. 37; and Absolon, i. p. 114.

Abstract

ROWANDUZ: A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE
AND MERCANTILE CENTER

by William M. Masters

This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to wider cultural horizons in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as detailed, localized treatments of the Kurds have not been previously attempted, this study of Rowanduz is able to contribute to the ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Muslim people numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) the administrative center, 2) the mercantile center, 3) house, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 5000 and is basically made up of merchants,

[p. i(a)]

PREFACE

This study is the result of work undertaken while the investigator was a member of the University of Michigan 1951 Expedition to Iraq and Iran. He must first express his gratitude to the director of the expedition, Professor George G. Cameron, and to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for having made this inquiry possible. The investigator lived in the town of Rowandum, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile center in northern Iraq, for a period of seven weeks in the summer of 1951, a large part of this time as a guest in the home of a Kurdish merchant. He was accompanied by an interpreter, a former employee of the intelligence service of the British Army, and the facility with which much of this information was gathered can be attributed to the ability and ingenuity of this person. The investigator is well aware of the shortcomings which can arise from the use of an interpreter and the brevity of a visit. In the first regard, however, the repetition of inquiries and the retranslation of recorded narratives to the townspeople revealed that a considerable degree of accuracy in this medium was being obtained. The teachers of the town's schools offered additional corrections and amplifications. There is still, of course, the possibility of error, but the investigator feels that mistakes must be few in number, not only because of the ability of his

interpreter and communicate, but because he found little which seemed strange or anomalous with relation to his studies of other Islamic cultures. The second failing is more annoying and the deficits in information arising from this difficulty have been indicated from time to time in the text. Nevertheless, it is felt that the limited aims of this undertaking, discussed in the initial and concluding chapters, have been achieved. The investigator was fortunate in having a plurality of informants, men of various ages and callings, with whom narratives could be rehearsed. Their services were volunteered, and the only compensation asked was a similar exposition, by the investigator, of life in the United States. The information was recorded in many places in the town, the homes, the shops, the gardens, the club, and the mosque, and supplemented by a photographic record.

The investigator must next note his deep appreciation for the aid afforded him by the governing of Ramadan, Sami 'Ali Beg, and Mr. Mahmud al-Amin of the Iraq Museum who facilitated his relationship with the local government. He is also obligated to H. E. Najji al-Asil, Director-General of Antiquities, under whose auspices the expedition conducted its work. A great debt is acknowledged to Professors Leslie A. White, Miasha Titiev, and Arthur R. R. Busk of the University of Michigan for their guidance in the preparation of the manuscript and the incisive exposition of its problems. Both Professors George G. Cameron and Douglas E.

Army of the University's expedition have continued to express 114
of hospitality and inspiration. Gratitude must be expressed
to Professor E. Harbury Allmann and Mr. Ernest H. Dobbins
of the University of Michigan, the former for his help in
checking the points related to government administration
and the latter for a careful review of the foreign words
and phrases. Lastly, it remains to thank the townspeople
of Hawassina and their mukhtar, Ra'if Amin al-'Akhsat, for
their friendship and generous hospitality without which
this investigation would have been impossible. It is hoped
that a study of their life and problems will in some way
repay them for their kindness.

Words from Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, and other 129
languages have been underscored in the text, but account 104
words have been omitted. The reader will find in the
appendix a glossary of these words in complete transcription.

Georgians and Muslim Circassians. In addition to being inhabited by those noted for their humanity, this country has been the meeting place of empires and cultural traditions, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The Kurds, because of their numerical strength, emphasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the upheavals of the First World War than some of their Christian neighbours.

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethic unit or nation whose most distinctive characteristics are its language and customs. Coupled with these are a large number of minor peculiarities which differentiate it from other Islamic peoples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam in which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian, and Turk are easily discernable and many things, such as orthodox religious practices, may be assigned definite historical origins. Despite the abundance of foreign elements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. The history of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored, and those few treatments which have appeared are, for the most part, disappointing, for they have been written by persons whose aims were far from academic or whose scholarship is doubtful. Without entering the controversies which surround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to appear first in classical literature as the Kardouchi of Xenophon and the Gordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people occupying much the same area as they do today.[1] Their

[1]Driver, 1922, pp. 491-493.

language is Indo-European, closely related to Persian, and they were probably a part of that same movement which brought others of the Indo-European linguistic group, such as the Armenians, Hittites, and Persians, into the Middle East. Racially it is difficult to give an opinion, because little work of a modern nature has been undertaken among them. In the older parlance of physical anthropology, however, they exhibit traits considered much more characteristic of the races of Europe and Central Asia than of the Arabs to the south, such as blond hair, blue eyes, fair pigmentation, and round heads. They give immediate evidence, by these older criteria, of being a mixture. In religion they are Sunnite Muslims and are thus set off from the Shiite Iranians to the east. Whether this is the result of their original conversion or the continued influence of the Sunnite Turks and Turkomans is unknown.

Ethnologically almost no systematic investigations have been made among the Kurds, although a few brief, but accurate, generalized descriptions are to be found.[1] These last, however, have been written by persons, administrators, missionaries, travelers, and the like, who are not ethnologists. This, in itself, need not constitute a deterrent, but their primary purpose in publication was not the portrayal of a culture. It is unnecessary to review here the large number of other types of references to the Kurds, extending from ancient times to the present, except to remark that their most distinctive characteristic is their prejudice

[1]For example, May, 1921.

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or mendacity. This may be seen from one of the more recent complaints:

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered worthy to live. My father once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very bashful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1]

The sanguine reputation is not wholly without reason. In older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiye, the irregular bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and spokesmen in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with outsiders, but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the

[1]Soane, 1913, p. 193.

around was the diversion of some of the chieftains at the expense of commercial travelers who, of course, had reasons to complain of the tolls exacted from them. It is ridiculous, however, to suppose that the Kurds as a body are a race of muleteers and thieves.

An investigation of Kurdish life, the first object of this study, has value, not simply because the people have so often been maligned, but for the reason that the ethnology of the Middle East, a field which has only recently begun to receive adequate attention must be built up from accurate, localized descriptions. If broader analyses of contemporary Islamic culture are to be undertaken, as well as historical studies, they demand a body of data which admits of verification, the work of observers whose motives are scientific, rather than the loose aggregation of anecdotes and generalizations one has to deal with at present. One may profitably study Kurdish life, because it has been almost untouched so far as primary observation is concerned and, as the culture of a non-Arab people whose language and background is Indo-European, an inquiry into the effect of Islam in modifying its formation would not be without regard. One may properly seek to present those elements which may be proven to be unique with the Kurds and those others which may be attributed to the influences of Islam and other peoples. It is convenient here to mention the recent monograph of E. R. Leach, Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds, which, with the exception of some studies made many years

ago and published in Russian by V. F. Minorsky, unavailable to the investigator, seems to be the first attempt to deal in systematic fashion with the people themselves.[1] Leach's study, however, is brief and neglects a number of aspects of life, for example, the ceremonies surrounding birth, circumcision, marriage, and death, of which treatment would be desirable. Secondly, the "Rowanduz area" in Leach's work includes a wide region of investigation ranging from Erbil to the Iranian frontier and, with a few exceptions, his remarks cannot be referred to a particular village or town. Lastly, he was primarily concerned with the agricultural villages and has little to say about the town of Rowanduz itself.

In addition to a primary, comprehensive description of Kurdish life, a second problem, of importance to the ethnology of the Middle East as a whole, is almost forced on one. The first facet of this is the question of Kurdish nationalism, the repercussions of which have recently directed a great deal of popular attention to this group. Nationalism, which requires no new definition here, is a variant of ethnocentrism. In its best known contemporary forms it evolved in Europe during the last two centuries. The nation, in such thinking, is differentiated from others by criteria, often highly fictional, of race or culture. The goal of nationalism is the realization of an autonomous state. In this it achieves a political aim, but its real

[1]Leach, 1940.

and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are held by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some excuse for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the populations, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time according them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Ibnaghon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Kirkuk was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

ought God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, pencils, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more muted, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a struggle usually ensues until there is an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

specialist and which can provide the material for broader analyses of the economics, society, or religion of the Middle East. The value of investigation undertaken in a particular town or locale is obvious. Too often the student of the ethnology of the Middle East is forced to glean his information from the chance remarks and anecdotes of administrators, missionaries, and travelers. If such a writer happens to comment on the wedding customs of one village, and, several pages later, notices the funeral rites of another, one cannot legitimately infer that marriage and burial are the same in both villages. A body of this type of material exists for the Kurds themselves, but it has not been thought necessary to have reference to it. One cannot take some engineer or missionary to task for an observation, seemingly incorrect, which cannot be identified with reference to a definite locale, nor does there appear to be much value in noticing their occurrence. The dangers of generalization are marked, for example, Driver, who notes:

> Kurdish women are comparatively free to come and go as they like; they are wooed and won by open courtship, for in almost all tribes they are unveiled.[1]

This statement, as has been seen for Rowanduz, is not valid. It has also been felt that a detailed comparison of life in Rowanduz with that of other groups in the Middle East would be worth little, for the student has at his disposal comprehensive, localized treatments only of the Arab Bedouin, the Egyptian peasantry, and certain peoples of North Africa.

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[1]Driver, 1922, p. 302.

The most productive comparisons would be with the Turks or the Persians, but, unfortunately, no such monographs are as yet available. To utilize the scanty and widely scattered materials on Turkish or Persian life would be at best haphazard. This study of Rowanduz, with certain exceptions, stands by itself, in the belief that it will afford accurate data for the comparative treatments of the future.

Something of the context of Kurdish life, as observed in Rowanduz, has been presented. It has been seen that the town dominates, partly in an administrative and partly in a commercial way, a large agricultural district. The bulk of the townspeople are merchants, craftsmen, and servants who depend for their livelihood on commerce with the villagers and the patronage of government personnel. The basis of the town's importance is both economic and political. Life within the household, the structure of society, and religion have been treated. What is perhaps of great importance is the ample demonstration that the Kurds are not savages devoid of culture, that they are not all "robbers" and need not "kill six or seven men" in order to be respected. With the exception of revolts and blood feuds, the district is relatively peaceful and normally one is rarely in danger of molestation. The old brigandage, carried on largely by the chieftains as a lucrative diversion, was directed against commercial travelers who could protect themselves from it by the simple expedient of making "gifts" in advance. A district population of some fifty thousand

FATHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER MARRIAGE IN KURDISTAN

FREDRIK BARTH

[1] THE PREVALENCE of patrilateral father's brothers' daughter marriage in the Middle East, and its association with Islam, has frequently received comment. Yet no clear picture of the possible structural implications of this form of patrilateral marriage has emerged, nor of the actual distribution and frequency of the practice. The present paper attempts to analyse the relationship between the Kurdish form of segmentary lineage organization and this marriage pattern.

[2] Any short of unilineal descent in a stable or expanding population constitutes a sorting system where succeeding generations in many lines tend to be larger and more inclusive than the preceding. It is this short, generally in compressed form, which is utilized to organize a descent group in the form of a segmentary lineage organization. This organizational form was named by Gifford and later by Firth, who called it a "lineage," and later analysed fully by Evans-Pritchard.[1] Recent work on this type of organization has been lucidly summarized by Fortes.[2]

[3] In almost all the lineage systems described in the literature, the lineage, or the clan of which it is a part, is an exogamous group. This fact of exogamy has important implications, e.g. for the development of dispersal clans and consolidation of a "daughter's son" relationship as a motivation for granting foreign lineages in the dominant lineage of an area (as described for the Nuer), and it is further frequently reflected in the whole construction of kinship terminology.[3]

Lineage exogamy is, however, an essential feature of lineage systems. We may say that the marriage pattern in a population may be, a strict short of unilineal descent offers an equally clear framework on which a segmentary lineage organization may be based. In a patrilineal system, matrilineal ties may be regarded as totally irrelevant to the political relations of segments and whole lineages—marriage partners may, as to speak, be "liberated" from their role in defining the relations between political groups. This lack of association of lineage organization and exogamy is common among Semitic and Iranian tribes of the Middle East,

1 E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Lineages and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California* (American Anthropologist, vol. 28, pp. 389-401, 1926); Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (London, 1936), E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer: Folk and Clan* (Sudan Notes and Records, 1935-1935), and *The Nuer* (London, 1940).

2 Meyer Fortes, *The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups* (American Anthropologist, vol. 55, pp. 17-41, 1953).

3 F. Eggan, *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (Chicago, 1950).

3: Barrett K-9 (1981) 1984 MA.11 Rand MA.11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, although marriage payments do not function to define the relations between lineages, they does not exclude that marriage relations and payments also have indeed an relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a payment of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Portions of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1961.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the tira, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the tira varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Warde Shami (location: summering in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several tira may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Lucy J. Lockwood, Marriage and the Family in Caucasia (Vienna, 1952).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, London, 1913); E. B. Leach, Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 3, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 The Middle East (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1958).

3: Barth E-9 (1961) 1964 MAII Hard MAII
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Subtribe	Total marriages within tribe	Known unrelated co-villagers	With strangers	Total
23 13.5%	89 52.7%	42 25%	113 67.5%	264

There is some suggestion that clan endogamy has similar factional implications in this situation as lineage segment endogamy has in the Kurdish system, but that the emphasis centers on the opposition between co-resident clans—whereas the the segment between 23 percent marriages within own clan vs. 25 percent with unrelated co-villagers, in a village where four major and six smaller clans are resident. Yet Gluckman pushes the standard explanation: " . . . marriage with the father's brother's son is preferred to any other marriage in order to preserve a stronger ultimate possession of the property and inheritance of the family."[12] This view though less explanatory is further weakened by the fact that few villagers do not observe the proper Koranic rule[13] of giving half male and female relatives of the same degree a share of inheritance, in the proportion 2:1— " . . . even if it be seldom that a man dies without leaving any sons, yet the possibility allows it as far as no other marriage between the children of brothers is equally desirable."[14]

Chagnon and Cove offer a theoretical analysis of parallel cousin marriage, with special reference to the Bedouin[15] which, if I have understood their argument correctly, emphasizes the incompatibility of a subordinate son-in-law relation to a wife-relative with a system of strong political and economic identification with the lineage segment—in this case sons as component of father, son, and father's brother. This incompatibility is then resolved by a pattern of establishing the son-in-law relationship with the father's brother, through marriage with a father's brother's daughter. This appears as a rather round-about way of avoiding the problem from the point of view developed here; but their discussion indicates that the present viewpoints are not inapplicable to this marriage pattern among the Bedouin.

The points of view expressed above might be summarized briefly. As contrasted to most African systems, marriage patterns among the Muslim peoples of the Middle East are liberated from their role in expressing the relations between segments of a larger lineage system. The potential relevance of these patterns to social structure may then theoretically be utilized in various ways.

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12 Idem, p. 78, where further references to this view are given.
13 A. S. Tritton, *Islam, Belief and Practice* (London, 1951), p. 66.
14 Gluckman, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
15 R. F. Chagnon and C. S. Cove, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York, 1960), pp. 325-326.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

INTRODUCTION

In the spring and summer of 1957 the Danish Dokan Expedition was working under Professor Harald Ingholt and Jørgen Lassøe on the Rania plain west of Lower Zab, a tributary of the Tigris in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Expedition concentrated on the excavation of the mound 'Tell Shemshâra'. Before the expedition left Denmark it offered to take with it a cultural anthropologist from the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, who, based on the excavation camp on the right bank of the Lower Zab, would have an opportunity to investigate Kurdish villages in the vicinity. The assistance of the Carlsberg Foundation enabled my association with the Danish Dokan Expedition.

Being a woman anthropologist, I was given, in addition to general investigations of Kurdish ethnography, the special task of studying women's cultural pattern, which in Muslim areas is difficult for male investigators to undertake.

The necessary female interpreter for such investigations was obtained through the former Kurdish Minister, Tawfik Wahbi, who at that time was living in Baghdad and was in touch with the Danish Chargé d'Affaires, F. Lyon, succeeded Igor in the summer of 1957 by F. de Jonquières. I left Denmark in May to join the expedition at the Dokan Dam Site, which is near the dam building over Lower Zab, the Anglo-French[1] engineering project in the Kurdish mountains started by the Iraq Development Board.

As it transpired that the neighbouring twin villages Topzawa-Rakawa, from which the British and French engineers obtained some of their workmen, offered excellent possibilities for study, it was arranged through the Resident Engineer of the Dokan Dam Site, Mr. J. G. Campbell, that, whilst waiting for a woman interpreter, I should be taken as a paying guest in Sheikh Taffik's home in Topzawa as a member of this village-owner's family.

In the course of three visits, through the good offices of Tawfik Wahbi and the mayor of Sulaimaniyeh, the capital of the Liwa of Sulaimaniyeh, touch was gained with a young Kurdish woman school teacher, Madjida Karim Sa'id, who, accompanied by her 13 year old half-brother, agreed to go with me to the villages mentioned and stay with me in the sheikh's home as long as my work out there took me. When this had ended, supplemented by a visit to and stay at the new evacuated and flooded Gerry village, Mirza Rostam, with trips over the boundaries to Sheikhs and Sergalu, the field of work was transferred to my interpreter's home in Sulaimaniyeh, a Kurdish provincial town. From here journeys

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Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

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were made into the area with maps at hand whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Balkha and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used; hired cars, primitive local lorries, mules and horses. If no private hosts were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exception of the necessary visits to the Dukan Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dukan Expedition, who every fortnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshara. I lived all the time I was in the country (3rd May - 5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connection with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Tapawra-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Sorkan, enjoying a lengthy trip to Rawanduz via Kirkuk, Mirawi and Erbil in order to determine some unknown variants. When I was to leave Kirkuk my interpreter and an older brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

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Detail map of the area visited. The area is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 346, 427 and 428.

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Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Diyala Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the women interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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Introduction

114 12 [15] of the other women, was also an intelligent representative of the slow unwinding transformation of the Kurdish woman's life pattern, doubly manifest, as in her home at Sakiwani there was, in addition to sisters who represented the same development, a group of elderly women that constituted the background on which this change is taking place.

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responsibility for a party of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1918. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Iranian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[11], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[12]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she operated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in town, and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 1. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taffik's property. Tupzawa.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[55]. A guest wing is typical of the finest houses in Kurdish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village to the squire. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Barton, Edmonds and Leach[56]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rakawa. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family house some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a loggia. The roof to this was supported by five columns of hacked, but variegated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hacked wooden blocks inserted as

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342 [55A] [114]

[Text continues Top of P. 32--analyst]

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Within Islam the contraction of marriage is signalized by two things: the drawing up of a marriage settlement and the wedding festivities.

The drawing up of a marriage settlement is, as Levy points out[367], the main—I am tempted to say the basic—feature of a contracted marriage. According to what my interpreter told me, a marriage settlement drawn up by Kurds in the urban milieu of Sulaimani demands the presence of four male members of the bride's family, the most important of whom is the bride's guardian, as a rule her father. Four male members of the prospective bridegroom's family, that is to say the groom and three others, must also be present. There is also a *mulla* and the *qādī* by whom the marriage settlement is drawn up[368]. My interpreter informed me that the prospective bride might also be present, though closely-veiled and in a somewhat passive role. Whereas the bridegroom thus has no opportunity of seeing the bride until the marriage is consummated, the bride apparently is afforded a chance of seeing her future husband. I was also told that on this occasion she is asked whether she agrees and that it is then open to her to refuse to go on with the marriage, her father being unable to force her. According to the *shafi'i* rite the bride must agree to the marriage[369]. The marriage settlement is not concluded between the bride and bridegroom, but between the bride's *wali* and the bridegroom with the others present as witnesses[370]. The bridegroom agrees to pay the bride price, its size is finally fixed, and with it the decisive point: how great a part of it is to be immediately available, before the wedding, and how much is to be held back for payment in the event of a divorce, that is to say if a man repudiates his wife (a right not shared by the latter), or in case of the husband's demise. When my interpreter's sister contracted marriage, I was told that the sum set aside for the contingency of divorce or widowhood was not, as normally[371], a half or a third, but if I understood aright—nearly four times the sum paid out, 1500 Din. (1500. The paid up part of the bride price was 400 Din. = £40). This large sum my interpreter's family demanded guaranteed to assure the sister's marital position and to prevent any repudiation in the event of another wife[372]. I cannot say whether the sum was made larger than in fact it was in order to add prestige to the family's economic reputation.

With the drawing up of the marriage settlement the man, in addition to paying out the bride price, undertakes to support his wife, give her food, clothes, and attendance commensurate with the standard obtaining in her family home[373]. A breach of this marriage settlement gives the wife grounds for divorce. The other possibility a woman has to obtain divorce is the re-payment of the bride price. Apart from these instances the right to dissolve marriage lies with the man, who utters three times the word *talāq*, "I repudiate thee", or better, in Juynboll's[374] translation: "I renounce all rights over thee", as in some cases when drawing up the marriage settlement certain clauses, *sh'ūg*, can be inserted or attached so that definite lapses or positive actions on his part nullify his rights over the wife, thus providing her with one more possibility to obtain a divorce. On contracting marriage the wife undertakes to bear the husband children who belong to the husband, also in the event of divorce. Here it is true, the woman takes the children with her so long as they are quite small, but is obliged to send them back to the father's home when the boys are six and the girls eight years old.

As mentioned, the drawing up of the marriage settlement takes place at the *qādī*, the judge. (It was stated that in the villages only the local *mulla* was necessary). This has caused Ehrenp[375] to declare that the drawing up of a marriage settlement is a civil act, advancing as proof of this assertion that

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the deed is drawn up at the judge's residence and not in a mosque, which is a place of prayer and not (like Christian churches) a form of registration office. The same view is to be found in Blackman[108], who says that among Muslims no religious ceremony takes place—marriage is not a sacrament. Levy also states that "in Islim marriage is a secular contract and not a religious rite"[109]. This is not in accord with Kurdish conditions. That the drawing up of a marriage settlement here seems to be governed by religious precepts seems to be indicated by, for example, the presence of the mulla. According to *Juynboll*[110] matrimonial law and the rights of inheritance are generally considered more or less connected with religion, and within the dual legal system, spiritual and temporal, matrimonial and family rights fall to the spiritual judge. Islam is more than a religion, it is a whole system comprising all aspects of human life[111]. It would be highly remarkable if the drawing up of the marriage settlement should be a temporal act in view of the fact that the justification for the paying of a bride price is found in the Coran[112]. Rather can it be said that the drawing up of a marriage settlement within the *shiʿi* rite of Islim, which the Kurds follow, is an act connected with religion. What on the other hand is distinct from the drawing up of the marriage settlement is the consummation of the marriage, which failing a better expression, what can be termed "the wedding". It has nothing to do either with the secular or spiritual authorities, being a purely private affair that sooner or later, often years after the drawing up of the marriage settlement, takes place in the form of a family festival with friends. This occasion, as opposed to the drawing up of the marriage settlement, can be said to be a secular, and particularly a quite private, action.

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The social intercourse of engaged couples in the event of prospective spouses knowing each other.

In the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani I met one example of a couple who knew each other before marriage and had themselves chosen each other. This, of course, is the exception and was due entirely to their milieu.

The girl in the case was the 23 year *old sister of my interpreter*. Both she and the young man in question were primary schoolteachers who had met as colleagues and fallen in love. When the young man realised his interest in the girl he had applied to my interpreter, also a schoolteacher, as his family lived outside in one of the village areas from which no woman, mother or sister, was able to act as go-between. He told her that "he would like to be admitted to her family", and asked if she would act as his advocate and place the matter before her father. This had been done and the marriage settlement had been drawn up a year before my stay in Kurdistan. The wedding festival was imminent and took place whilst I lived with the family. In the months prior to the wedding I was able to study the pattern of behaviour applying to former colleagues now engaged, and the position of the prospective groom in the family he was to enter.

By the marriage settlement the young man became a member of the family to such an extent that he was able, with her 13 year old half-brother, to accompany my interpreter to the village of Topzawa where she was to live with me in the sheikh's house. The night he spent there in order to act as an important escort and to investigate whether conditions there were sufficiently re-assuring, he was able to sleep in the same room as her half-brother and herself. My interpreter explained that she might

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clumsy, high-legged, un-upholstered sofas and chairs, whilst the later pieces were covered in red velvet in the French fashion of the '90s.

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Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and for her personal use—purchased with the 400 Din. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expended about 130 Din. on gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

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The bridegroom received from his coming in-laws his wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirt, underwear, pyjamas, soap, shaving tackle, bath gown, small bath mat of velvet to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a hand-embroidered silk cloth[18], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Three of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed cotton for kirtles. Seven of the bridegroom's male relations received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of drawers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, whilst the other four shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of drawers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs intended to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were not cut quite as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English greys was purchased for this purpose, being cut out in the home by a seamstress who took them away to be made up.

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In addition to the expense on these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, came the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit in her family home a week after the wedding in order to take a bath. The value of these trinkets was said to be 42 Din. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my information: bridegroom and his family 400 Din.; bride's family 192 Din., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day until she left.

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Hay mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village milieu in Kurdistan in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[19] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the man pays a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dowry for the bride, receiving in return nothing whatever from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lane's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[20]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom and his relatives, plus the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts costing about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

583 does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information
114 Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lists the wedding expenses of
369 the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride-wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the farmer goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, takeable by her in the event of divorce[119], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting anyone of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

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585 291 *Wedding preparations.* Of the bride's night th satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the house where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts sukrities, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and lavender purchased in Baghdad andalaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, then a married woman, brought large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was smashed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

[777] The same seamstress cut out of a roll of Enlish greys the shirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to workon in her own home.

585 302 515 The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's ody, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the honey's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girls, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair fro her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[121]. Hairs re plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[122] use by the well-to-do, while other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "ilkin shirmet", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereasther women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[123]. At anotherplace Lane[124] refers to a depilatory, "noorah", compound of quicklime mixed with about one eight parof orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in tw minutes, after which it is washed off.

[305] This removal of hair in my interpreter's fmily thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist abut the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[126]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[127].

585 291 197 In the bride's home this form of beauty ratment in connexion with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went s far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, andattempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. I was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish-woman's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apa from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

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were exceedingly modest. Modesty, on the other hand, was of a type different from what we are accustomed to in our pattern of behaviour.

They felt dislike at displaying the naked body. All changing of clothes during the day among women took place in a squatting position without the body at any time being unwrapped. As elsewhere European summer dress in which the daughter of the Sheikh of Topzawa had wanted to be photographed caused her to break off the sitting and to dash into the dark cookhouse in the courtyard, where she sat bunched up in the corner with her naked arms clung protectively around her bare legs, when two peasant women from the village, fetching water, happened to pass the gate to the courtyard. In the urban milieu, when my interpreter and I took a steam bath together in the bathroom, she always kept her hand covering her lap when the sitting position on the small wooden stools whilst being dowsed was not sufficiently concealing.

On the other hand shyness did not apply when relieving nature. This took place collectively and in the presence of other women fetching water from the basin, where water was available for the subsequent washing, whether in the garden basin of the sheikh's houses at Topzawa and Serkan, at the more private well-like shaft in the courtyard of the Sheikh's house at Sargalu, or at one of the big public washing basins for women in the villages. This was done discretely sheltered by the ampleness of women's costumes, but was not a private but a joint undertaking, in which solitude and peace was neither sought nor expected.

The wedding. Lane[28] says that Arabs have a special preference for Mondays and Fridays for the celebration of weddings—that is to say the day on which the bride is handed over to the bridegroom—whereas, according to Hangi[29], the Turk-stamped Bosnian Muslims favour Sundays and Thursdays.

To judge by the four wedding feasts I had an opportunity of witnessing, wholly or in part, in Southern Kurdistan, the Kurds appear to follow the Turks in this matter. In the villages the two weddings took place on Sundays (16 June and 14 July, 1957), the third on a Wednesday (22 May, 1957), whilst the one wedding I was present at at Sulaimani was celebrated on a Thursday (8 August, 1957). Later my interpreter informed me by letter of her brother's wedding, which took place on a Monday (25 August, 1958). No rule can be discerned from such sparse material, merely the negative one that the Arab predilection for Friday—the most important day of the week for Islam—as the day for the handing over of the bride does not apply in the case of the Kurds. The weddings I witnessed in Topzawa and its neighbouring village, Rakawa, took place in a humble village milieu. The upper class village milieu wedding was not celebrated during my stay in Southern Kurdistan.

At two of the three village weddings I was able to observe the men's rule in the festivities, at the third the women's. In all three cases, however, I was in the bridegroom's home to which the bride was brought. In none of the cases did I have an opportunity to see what went on in the bride's home.

The fetching of the brides, All, who all came from outside, was a matter for the men[30]. At 6 in the morning a cortège of hired cars filled with men left the village for the bride's residence. Among the men, most of those in the village, was the bridegroom's father, but not the bridegroom, *abid.*

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ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[56]. Should he have pronounced 586
talaq three times or have stated it twice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage 587
with another man and must be renounced by this "straw husband" before the husband can take her back[57]. The Koran forbids the promise of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, [587]
that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's(", known as *zihar* (*zahr* = back)[58]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The 562
marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the 586
wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to 586
present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the [858]
marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[59], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being renounced (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shāfi'i* rite to which the Kurds 114
belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four homes of the 565
village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be 595
so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Sargalu, Shadala and Serkan. Soane[60] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[61]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the [848]
Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shadala. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

4: Hansen B-5 (1957) . 1961 MA11 Hans4 MA11

CONCLUSION

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned (p. 68) numbers of male travellers[1] have made statements about the position of Kurdish women in society. With the exception of Fraser[2], who distinguishes between the urban upper class and the village dwellers, Kurdish women are referred to under one heading. However, even from the limited material available to us, it is evident that there are at all events four different environments, each with its own pattern (and this division ignores the nomads). Soane emphasizes that Kurdish women are "... as free as in any European country"[3], and Rambout declares that "... la femme est considérée chez les Kurdes comme l'égale de l'homme"[4]. Even though in the case of the Kurds we must consider ourselves faced by a variant of the Islamic cultural pattern less orthodox than in other Muslim areas, I would point out the risk of using the terms "free position" and "equality" as understood in the West when attempting an assessment of the position of Islamic, and in this case Kurdish, women. Freedom and equality are concepts that must be viewed on the background of the position of Western women when their struggle for changed conditions was in progress at the end of the previous century. These terms bear no relation to the status of Kurdish women at present.

In an attempt to explain the Kurdish women's position in the community I shall now deal with the various forms of veil and the use made of them, contact with the world around, women's possibility of movement, and the degree of seclusion. I shall discuss also the distribution of authority between man and woman in the home, and, finally, the degree of common life in the home. These elements will be investigated within the four female environments existing within the area visited in Southern Kurdistan.

ANALYSIS OF VEIL TYPES

The veil. Five different types of veils, each with its function, but diligently distributed in the four female environments, were found to be in use. These were as follows: The triangular neck-shoulder veil, *dastmal*, the head veil, *shepik*, the yellow ochre "bridal" veil, the white European bridal veil, and the black face veil, *peče*.

The first type, really a shoulder cloth fastened by means of a loop to a cap sewn onto the crown of the cap, is included among the veils because its material, coarse tulle, interwoven with metal thread, of a green, rose or light-blue colour entitles it to be called a veil, and because its function was to hide the neck and pigtails of the married woman. It was an indispensible constituent of a married Kurdish woman's dress were in its complete form. *The neck-shoulder veil* presupposed the presence of a cap, but not necessarily the use of a turban. At Halabja, for example, it was worn with a coin-covered cap or

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Tapawra this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sargalu and Serkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind *mullah*[1], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Halabja's first lady, Lady Adela, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my home is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[2]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellahin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womenfolk"[3]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[4] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Mohammedan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

4: Hansen E-4 (1997) 1961 MAI: Kurd MAI

way"[9]. As early as 1891 Garrett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[10]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in weeding and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manured fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an ebatis form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village women from a twin villages of Topzawa and Rukawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, ever be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any such would have been to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male cleaners.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity / the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only fit the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with he. As Wandesforde-Smith says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dam Dam Bin, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had 0 more contact with the European milieu than his competitors, and the fact that he allowed access to h home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment or veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of active was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workings and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than'tid their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one ever saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the villagedanced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from rough in th vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have achieved training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to'Kurdish women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated women in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same'applies to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, th Goldie School for Girls, established in 1926.

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was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate both a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home opposed to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dukan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit .... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there .... It is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[9] says of the Egyptian *fellahin*-women: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practice they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands .... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of certain common traits in four milieus

Culture elements	Village settlements		Nomadic village		Urbanized urban		Uneducated urban	
	unsegregated	segregated	unsegregated	segregated	unsegregated	segregated	unsegregated	segregated
Free veil and shid	0+0	0+0	0+0	0+0	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		0+0				+	+

I *In the village settlements*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the Kurdish village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the man's and woman's worlds.

III *In the urbanized urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

Ethnos E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11
Yugoslavia FF1

middle of the last century. Within her seclusion the Kurdish woman, like other Islamic women, is assured by the law and by the Coran of rights quite other than those accorded Western women prior to their emancipation[9]. Kurdish women were not suppressed. Even the humble village woman were no more suppressed than any woman in a peasant community could be when the bigger share of the work falls to her lot. It was a physically, not a legally, inferior status.

Nor are there any grounds for talking about lack of equal rights because men and women in Kurdistan each have their own pattern of life. One might as well say that a man had not the same rights as a woman because he was unable to follow her pattern of life. The world of men and women were simply divided, more or less (mostly more) from the cradle to the grave. One can therefore talk of an existing justification for this division, with a deviation in favour of the man within the humble village milieu, and in favour of the woman in the educated urban milieu.

ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE KURDISH WOMAN'S CULTURAL PATTERN IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMING "EMANCIPATION"

It is a fact that the Kurdish Muslim area, like other Muslim territories, is on the threshold of a transformation. The introduction of the necessary industrialization to improve the material side of this technically underdeveloped country was, in 1957, practically on the drawing-board. Even though these changes in the structure of society will last much the Kurds, their political minority in mountain difficult of access, the years ahead will also bring this area into the melting pot.

In conclusion, therefore, a glance must be cast on the culture pattern of the Kurdish woman, a culture worsened, if just to mark, at all events to radical change, and some of the conditions existing in 1957 are judged in their relation to coming reconstruction. As mentioned in the introduction, I had in the person of my interpreter, an example of the most "advanced" feminine type among the Kurdish women studied. When placing the word "advanced" in inverted commas I do so advisedly.

As a rule one overlooks the fact that cultures older than our own, despite the lack of our Western technical facilities, may in other directions represent a more advanced culture stage, and that a change caused by bitter economic necessity so far from representing progress may, on the contrary, well have to be paid for by retrogression in other spheres. At first sight the introduction of the Western woman's form of life is regarded as being of direct benefit to women with foreign culture patterns. It thus seems surprising that the abolition of the veil, the dropping of seclusion and so forth meets with opposition from women at some places. A few examples of this can be quoted.

In the Muslim areas of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the veil was abolished by Marshal Tito in 1952. Two years later, when visiting these provinces, I was told that it cost a woman three months' imprisonment to retain the black veil and sharpened over-garment which, with variants, I

4 Hansen E-9 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I avoided said prayers daily (see p. 140). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of consistent and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dissensions are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are sacrificed into an effective contact hand anyone outside the home, religion – and the peace of mind that goes with it – will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

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If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the women's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children— there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even today in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as mentioned by several quarters[1], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

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The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—in this case in Egypt—is stressed by Granquist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the Arabian women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

4: Hainaux E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: we live in the position of the woman that she is bought. How people among whom bride price is customary do not understand the Western ideal, their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a Bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgement depends on customs, which is no certain or absolute measure of value"[18].

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various areas, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected and valued position; she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the only means whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state.

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West. In place of the clearly-crowned special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At the same time her efforts in the sphere that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly less prized.

As the industrialisation of the country progresses, a large part of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to trade with all its consequences, both good and bad. Her firmly-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by religion, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

In the event of divorce and the adoption of monogamy, the stationary home that has so far existed for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mother and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the community structure, as is about to be the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has now reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not obtain a place in the joint family, and the former will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. The paramount demand concerning virginity is only logically justified provided a home exists where the girl can dwell, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself— arrange her marriage.

The older members of the family are deprived of the right and duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent improved security for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and what it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women

1957 is being remodelled to resemble our own, but the structure of the culture being transformed is not at all like the one that prevailed in the West when women's position was definitely improved.

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114 What has been said will, perhaps, explain why difficulties arise when governments in Islamic areas decree that women are to be "liberated" and the veil abolished. That certain advantages accrue to the men by these changes is obvious, but the difficulties that have arisen suggest that the Islamic woman has to abandon more rights and advantages than has so far been made clear. Perhaps, then, this investigation into the life of the Kurdish women as it is today—or rather, as it was in 1957—on the threshold of transformation, but still representing, if not a typically Islamic culture pattern, at least certain features that apply to other Islamic areas, may serve to cast light on the question.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds*

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet of Mosul: Mosul (31% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (12%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas* of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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1 [territorial-administrative units, with vilayets sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas — Analyst]

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

stable, and official administration, directed from Baghdad, grew in scope and progressively enlarged its area of effective control.

Such then is the background of the villages where the following material was collected. They are primarily tenant villages in the Sulaimani valley, or villages dominated by freeholding Hamawand farmers. However, certain aspects of local social structure become clear only by comparison with other situations — particularly those found in the *Jaf* areas — or by historical comparisons and deductions. The data on Jaf organization was obtained from a limited number of informants on short visits to various villages. For historical material, C. J. Rich's accounts (op.cit) have been found most useful.

I have tried to avoid bringing conditions and factors in the towns of Sulaimani, Chamchamal, Halebja, etc. into the picture. The numerous «Western» influences in these centers are extremely complicated and difficult to evaluate. In the intricacies of the class and near-caste system, differential contacts and reactions due to sub-cultures are indeed complex. The rural areas, on the other hand, show greater uniformity in patterns: the tribal areas are organized and separable, and the tenant villagers, in their small, endogamous communities, have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism. There is a popular story illustrating this localism: A donkey belonging to one of the tenant farmers in a village ran away; so the farmer followed it, to catch it. The donkey climbed up the hillside, far away from the village, but the farmer did not want to lose it. So he followed it high up into the mountains, never turning, and finally close to the mountain top he caught it. On turning around he saw below him the whole beautiful Shahr-i-zur plain, in which his own village lay. The peasant gasped and exclaimed: «I never knew the world was so vast!»

What goes on in the towns belongs, as far as most villagers are concerned, to a quite separate world, and it seemed both in the field and in working up the notes valid to separate off the Kurdish *countryside* as the area of study. But due to diversity even in this area, any attempt at giving a conventional anthropological description of «the culture» of «the society» must fail. Each of the compact, widely separated little villages shows characteristics of its own, local

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 1

Introductory

121 The following account is based upon a five weeks field survey carried out during the summer of 1938. It was intended to follow this up with an intensive study of one locality over a period of twelve months. Political developments in Europe made this project impracticable at the time and the scheme has now been abandoned.

For the facilities afforded me in Iraq I am particularly indebted to Mr.C.J.Edmonds, Adviser to the Iraq Government, Captain Tyrwan Holt, Oriental Secretary at the British Embassy Baghdad, and His Excellency Ahmad Beg i Tawfiq Beg, Mutasarrif of Erbil, in whose province this research was carried out.

The justification for publishing the somewhat superficial data contained in this monograph lies in the absence of any strictly comparable material elsewhere. The general form of Kurdish social organisation as here described is probably fairly typical of that of a large number of Mohammedan peoples scattered throughout the mountainous areas of western Asia. Concerning such peoples there is at present available very little ethnographic material of any kind and the postulate that the Kurdish form of society is typical is put forward as an hypothesis open to correction in the light of further study.

121 171 Of more immediate relevance is the close correlation that undoubtedly exists between Kurdish social forms and those of Arabia in general. This fact is of interest since linguistically the Kurds are of "aryan" rather than "semitic" stock. Concerning the "manners and customs" of various Bedouin and Semitic groups there is of course an enormous mass of literature available, some of it of the highest scientific quality, but the emphasis in every case has been to make an historical record of ethnographic fact rather than to study any particular group as a society in functioning existence at the present time. The work of Jaussen, Musil, Lane, Drower and Murray to name but a few, though admirably detailed, is by modern standards somewhat lifeless, since it describes the pattern of various cultural norms without, as a rule, showing their social significance or demonstrating the fundamental interrelationship between them. The earlier studies of Robertson-Smith, Frazer and Westermarck were entirely synthetic in character and gave no true picture of the functioning of any single

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* A. Jaussen - Les Coutumes des Arabs au Pays de Moab
A. Musil - Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins
E.W.Lane - Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians
E.S.Drower - The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran
G.W.Murray - Sons of Ishmael

• 114 society. Nevertheless these works continue to be of fundamental importance as contributions to anthropological theory. There have been 113 important studies of particular aspects of semitic culture, notably that of Mrs. Seligman on Kinship and Granqvist on Marriage, the latter being at the present time unique in its wealth of documentary detail concerning the actual position of women in a Mohammedan society, but we still lack a coordinated study for any single area. Owing to the lack of adequate empirical data the present monograph does not effectively fill that gap, but it does provide for the first time an indication of the practical organisation of a settled group whose kinship affiliations are of the typical semitic pattern. The details of my account will it is hoped be filled in and elaborated by further research.

The existing documentary material concerning Kurdistan and the Kurds is somewhat meagre in quality. Most of it consists of highly romanticised travel stories of which the title of Millingen's Wild Life among the Koords (1870) gives a fair indication of the contents. The romantic tradition is incidentally still maintained, as evidence G.J.Wheller's Kinbrush in verschlossene Kurdistan published only in 1937

For the Southern Kurdish area in general little serious ethnographic material is available, though Hellmut Christoff's Kurden und Armenier dealing with the Turkish area to the north has some relevance. V.F.Minorsky's Kurds: Notes and Observations published in Russian in 1915 refers, I believe, in part to the area under discussion but this has not been accessible to me.

Concerning the Rowandus area itself there are only two books generally accessible. A.W.Hamilton's Road through Kurdistan which is a light hearted though highly interesting account of the construction of the strategic motor road up to Rowandus and on to the frontier, and W.R.Hay's Two Years in Kurdistan. The latter deals precisely with the same area and the same individuals as are the subject of this monograph; I shall refer to it frequently both in criticism and as providing supporting evidence. Further local colour may be obtained from W.A.Wigram's Cradle of Mankind, which deals with a neighbouring area slightly to the North West; the author's religious prejudices in favour of the Assyrian (Christian) community however give a marked bias to many of his judgements.

121 Of my own study I repeat that further research will doubtless correct my analysis on many points of detail. Nevertheless I believe the general correlation of the elements of social organisation to be

• H.L.Seligman - Studies in Semitic Kinship (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies Vol.iii)
H.H.Granqvist - Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowandus river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organisation at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups* though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Soran and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

*The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jemil Agha of Bahrika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jemil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

622 through the marriage of his sons to nearly every important leader,
581 tribal, religious, or townsman, within fifty miles radius. More humble Aghas are content with one or two alliances with neighbouring notables, while the rest of their offspring are married off to members of their own community, thus further strengthening the bonds of kinship between the Agha and his followers. It is interesting to examine the effect of this in greater detail.

> Sheikh Mohammad of Walash was one of 9 surviving brothers; he himself has had nine wives and has six surviving sons, and several daughters
>
> Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala has had 6 wives and 24 children of which there survive 9 sons and 5 daughters.

If we consider the male side of the tree only, it would appear that the average reproduction rate of a 'princely' Agha is of the order of 8 surviving sons. If we assume that the total population of the villages remains very roughly stationary we must reach the conclusion that the effective birthrate is very heavily loaded in favour of the Aghas. The effect of this would seem to be that in many of the smaller villages the Agha is not only of the same clan as nearly everyone but actually quite closely related to about half the population. I was unable to make any accurate census of a village but my observations at *Walash were I think reasonably accurate, and tend to confirm this calculation.

622 There appeared to be twelve separate households, of which four
592 are accounted for by the Agha's fortress and the establishments of his third and fourth married sons and of a brother. (The two eldest sons have been established as Aghas in their own right over neighbouring villages). The population I estimated at ninety, in the proportion twenty five men, thirty women, thirty five children. The Aghas household appeared to consist of about twenty persons including his younger children and personal servants; while the households of his married sons and his brother contained about eight persons each. In this case therefore quite half the population of the gund was in immediate kinship or economic relationship with the Agha. The case may be exceptional, but serves to explain why a rental of 50% of the yield of the land does not in practice prove entirely extortionate.

622 Comparison of these observations and those of Hay

614 The foregoing account shoes the interrelationship of the
• 114 political and kinship organisation among the Balik Kurds. As a commentary upon sociological method it is interesting to note what

*This village would appear to be fairly average so far as size is concerned, though centres such as Dergala and Merga are vastly larger. Walash however is in some respects the private fortress of Sheikh Mohammad and its kinship organisation may not be typical.

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happens when the same empirical facts are considered without an adequate appreciation of the sociological significance of kinship. The following quotations illustrate the position of the Agha as understood by Hay.

The first is reasonable enough:-

> (p. 65) A tribe is a community or federation of communities which exists for the protection of its members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and standards of life. Some tribes have no recognised chiefs some have many.

The second is more hypothetical:-

> (p. 65/66) The position of the chief varies greatly in different tribes. In the remoter mountains, though granted the most ungrudging obedience, he is distinctly one of the tribesmen, the leading member of a family which has won its headship through military prowess. Lower down he often belongs to an entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections, and in different tribes we find many sections with the same names. This points to the fact that the sections represent the original owners of the soil, while the present chiefs belong to powerful families who have invaded their domains and seized their lands. This is notably the case with the Dizai where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful family, against which a few old tribal Aghas and headmen still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than tribal.

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[42]
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The statement that in the foothill and plains area the Aghas are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has already been commented upon in Chapter 1. The idea that the taifas "represent the original owners of the soil", while the paramount tribal Aghas are conquering overlords is mere fantasy; while as for the Dizai the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" (taifa) while the land is mostly held by town dwelling landlords who have no kinship affiliations with the Dizai at all. While this lineage distinction between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is quite absurb:-

> (Hay, p. 42) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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621 622 614 • 114

Such generalisations may lead to some startling sociological conclusions:-

> (p.221) This village (Merga; Map 2) lies just below Sheikh Mohammad Agha's residence (Walash) in the Balik country, and its inhabitants, some fifty families in number, are nearly all his relations. Being of 'chiefly' descent they consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate the soil; they have therefore only two means of livelihood, sponging on Sheikh Mohammad Agha who pays them most of his salary to keep them quiet, and looting and taking toll from the caravans that pass along the Persian Road.

This paragraph I consider most illuminating. For it is precisely on the basis of such evidence that the British policy of 'military pacification' is carried out on all the outlying frontiers of Empire. The tribesmen just beyond the border are always, it seems, "desperate bandits and brigands" intent on plundering the innocent peasantry within the jurisdiction of the British raj. Hay of course does not intentionally deceive. He had only seen Merga from afar and was merely recording the position as outlined to him by Sheikh Mohammad. In giving this account however Sheikh Mohammad was fairly obviously blackmailing the British Administrator for more money, and was probably himself responsible for the particular piece of brigandage complained of. Merga today has one of the most extensive cultivations of the whole district, and is considered a prosperous village. There seems no reason to suppose that the position was radically different in 1920, even though the ravages of war had temporarily disorganised the agricultural arrangements of the whole area.

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This is not special pleading on behalf of the villagers of Merga or of the Kurds in general, but it is time that their nefarious activities were seen in proper proportion. It must be admitted that prior to the establishment of an external Authority most Kurdish tribes freely resorted to brigandage on every possible occasion. It was a socially approved aspect of inter-tribal life and one upon which the Kurds themselves lay great emphasis in folk tale and tradition. But it is this very emphasis that has led to the fabulous distortions that appear in all accounts of Kurdish life either lay or official. To read the literature one must suppose that in former times the majority of Kurdish communities lived solely on the proceeds of plunder and ransom; and while the Government continues its present policy of cultural suppression such fallacies are obviously convenient. But the unbiased observer cannot avoid the conclusion that most of the more spectacular exploits of Kurdish brigandage are products of the Kurds' own imagination. Seen in their proper scale these warlike activities can never have been more than an exciting gloss upon the normal balanced cycle of agricultural economics.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 6

The Limitations of the Foregoing Material

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The reader may have noted a serious defect in the samples of evidence offered to support my generalisations. In nearly every case the authority quoted is either an Agha or a near relative of an Agha. It may reasonably be queried whether, - if all my informants had been commoners, - the same general picture of the social organisation would have emerged.

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The reasons for limiting my enquiry to Agha sources were strictly practical ones. I was the first Englishman for some years to approach the district without some form of military protection, and since it was assumed that I must necessarily be a secret agent of the former mandatory power I was naturally the object of considerable curiosity and suspicion. The high policy that caused Britain to establish Iraq as an independent state is incomprehensible to the Kurdish tribesmen, and it is assumed that Kurdistan is somehow an important bone of contention between the English and the Arabs. Accordingly though I travelled with an official pass from the Ministry of the Interior, it was generally assumed that in some mysterious way I was plotting against the Government; my curiosity concerning the intimate details of Kurdish life was regarded as a cloak with which to hide my subtler designs. This put my Agha hosts in an awkward position. Obligations of hospitality compelled them to treat me as an honoured guest, and if my coming implied, as was rumoured, 'that the English were coming back', then certainly they would be well advised to treat me well. On the other hand if I was really an enemy of the Arabs, any undue familiarity with me would surely lead to a relentless grilling at the hands of the police as soon as I had left. And there were further complications - Hamid Agha of Barzala cautioned my interpreter that he had not slept a wink throughout my stay. As he saw it, I was in mortal danger. This was a golden chance for his enemies - they had only to bump me off and it would be he that would get in disgrace with the Government! Accordingly four armed sentries were posted round my bed every night.

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In this complex web of intrigue and distrust it is understandable that the Aghas, though willing enough that I should discuss village affairs with them personally, were extremely suspicious of anything that I might attempt to discover without their knowledge. Accordingly, since I believed at the time that I would be returning to the area later for more intensive study, I made little attempt to confirm the Agha's description of affairs by means of check interviews with commoners. This fact must be borne in mind by anyone using this monograph as a basis for further research. Even where the facts as described by me seem to be confirmed by further enquiry, it will be necessary to round the statement off by an analysis of the position as seen from the commoner's point of view.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

THE
MIDDLE EAST
JOURNAL

VOLUME I JULY 1947 NUMBER 3

THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF MAHABAD

Archie Roosevelt, Jr.

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THE DREAM of Kurdish nationalists, an independent Kurdistan, was realized on a miniature scale in Iran from December 1945 to December 1946. The origin of the little Kurdish Republic, its brief and stormy history, and its sudden collapse is one of the more illuminating stories of the contemporary Middle East. Its strangely discordant themes of tribal warfare, rival imperialisms and social systems, medieval chivalry and idealistic nationalism well illustrate the complexity of the Kurdish picture, involving as it does a people never united and now split among five nations, none of which is sympathetic to Kurdish nationalist aspirations.

[14]

v ARCHIE ROOSEVELT, JR., served as Assistant Military Attaché in Tehran from March 1946 to February 1947. During this period he made a special study of the Kurdish situation and was one of four Americans to visit Mahabad during the brief existence of the Kurdish Republic.

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

The Kurds of Iraq. I

by Squadron-Leader J. C. A. JOHNSON

How the Kurds are changing their ways and beginning to take their place in the modern world is the subject of this and a subsequent article. The verdict of history has been unkind to the Kurds, but, in common with the comparatively few other foreign observers who have visited them and known them individually, Squadron-Leader Johnson is favourably impressed with their intelligence and adaptability and fully recognizes the natural handicaps, notably lack of education, which have hitherto retarded their progress

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[P.8820(A)]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

The Kurds of Iraq. II

by Squadron-Leader J. C. A. JOHNSON

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In the second of his two articles on the Kurds, Squadron-Leader Johnson explains how pressure of circumstance is forcing these essentially nomadic people to abandon their wandering life and adjust themselves to a world in which only those whose habits do not bring them into conflict with the machinery of constitutional government can prosper. He also explains his reasons for thinking that the Kurds are by nature qualified, in favourable circumstances, to exercise increasing influence on the progress of the young Iraqi state

[P 50-A]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

INTRODUCTION

In the spring and summer of 1957 the Danish Dokan Expedition was working under Professors Harald Ingholt and Jørgen Læssøe on the Rania plain west of Lesser Zab, a tributary of the Tigris in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Expedition concentrated on the excavation of the mound Tell Shemshāra[1]. Before the expedition left Denmark it offered to take with it a cultural anthropologist from the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, who, based on the excavation camp on the right bank of the Lesser Zab, would have an opportunity to investigate Kurdish villages in the vicinity. The assistance of the Carlsberg Foundation enabled my association with the Danish Dokan Expedition. 114 121

Being a woman anthropologist, I was given, in addition to general investigations of Kurdish ethnography, the special task of studying woman's cultural pattern, which in Muslim areas is difficult for male investigators to undertake.

The necessary female interpreter for such investigations was obtained through the former Kurdish Minister, Tawfik Wahbi, who at that time was living in Baghdad and was in touch with the Danish Chargé d'Affaires, F. Lyste, succeeded later in the summer of 1957 by F. de Jonquières. I left Denmark in May to join the expedition at the Dokan Dam Site, which is near the dam building over Lesser Zab, the Anglo-French[2] engineering project in the Kurdish mountains started by the Iraq Development Board.

As it transpired that the neighbouring twin villages Topzawa-Rakawa, from which the British and French engineers obtained some of their workmen, offered excellent possibilities for study, it was arranged through the Resident Engineer of the Dokan Dam Site, Mr. J. G. Campbell, that, whilst waiting for a woman interpreter, I should be taken as a paying guest in Sheikh Taifur's home in Topsawa as a member of this village-owner's family.

In the course of three weeks, through the good offices of Tawfik Wahbi and the mayor of Sulaimani[3], the capital of the Liwa of Sulaimani, touch was gained with a young Kurdish woman school teacher, Maliha Karim Sa'id, who, accompanied by her 13 year old half-brother, agreed to go with me to the villages mentioned and stay with me in the sheikh's home as long as my work out there went on. When this had ended, supplemented by a visit to and stay at the now evacuated and flooded ferry village, Mirza Rustam, with trips over the mountains to Shadala and Sargalu, the field of work was transferred to my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, a Kurdish provincial home. From here journeys [115]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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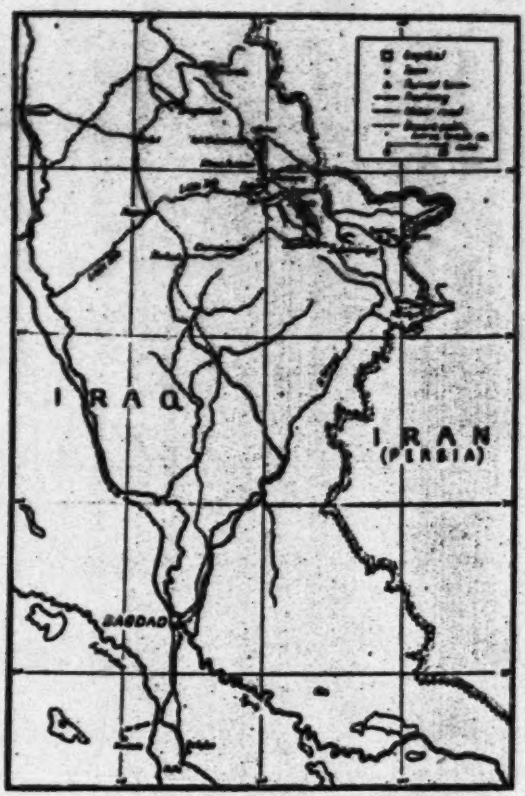

Lokal map of the area visited. The area is covered by R. A. F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my appros. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MAll Kurd MAll

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of the other women, was also an intelligent representative of the then commencing transformation of the Kurdish woman's life pattern, doubly manifest, as in her home at Sulemani there was, in addition to sisters who represented the same development, a group of elderly woma that constituted the background on which this change is taking place.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and idea of the Oriental marriage[1]—also the Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the sheikh's wife at Topzawa.

Parturition takes place in a sitting posture. One of the ordinary copper-cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor bottom-up[2]. Over this is laid a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour seats herself. An assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Serkan there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's home at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife, thus the first to be trained in Sulaimani[3]. At the time I was there this woman was about 50 years of age.

Births take place in one of the rooms of the home. I was told that the father can be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The Arab doctor at the Dokan Dam Site told me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynecologist at the hospital at Sulaimani told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her natural functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimani to seek medical attention. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynecologist.

In another case a woman in Serkan contracted milk fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimani. The child, which was a few days old, could not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, *mindl*, is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that acts as a nappy and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches to its shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.00 m. x 1.00 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are bent up around the feet. The two upper

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11
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middle of the last century. Within her seclusion the Kurdish woman, like other Islamic women, is assured by the law and by the Coran of rights quite other than those accorded Western women prior to their emancipation[20]. Kurdish women were not suppressed. Even the humble village women were no more suppressed than any woman in a peasant community could be when the biggest share of the work falls to her lot. It was a physically, not a legally, inferior status.

Nor are there any grounds for talking about lack of equal rights because men and women in Kurdistan each have their own pattern of life. One might as well say that a man had not the same rights as a woman because he was unable to follow her pattern of life. The world of men and women were simply divided, more or less (mostly more) from the cradle to the grave. One can therefore talk of an existing justification for this division, with a deviation in favour of the man within the humble village milieu, and in favour of the woman in the educated urban milieu.

ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE KURDISH WOMAN'S CULTURAL PATTERN IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMING "EMANCIPATION"

It is a fact that the Kurdish Muslim area, like other Muslim territories, is on the threshold of a transformation. The introduction of the necessary industrialisation to improve the material side of this technically-underdeveloped country was, in 1957, practically on the doorstep. Even though these changes in the structure of society will last reach the Kurds, that political minority in mountains difficult of access, the years ahead will also bring this area into the melting pot.

In conclusion, therefore, a glance must be cast on the culture pattern of the Kurdish woman, a culture sentenced, if not to death, at all events to radical change, and some of the conditions existing in 1957 are judged in their relation to coming reconstruction. As mentioned in the introduction, I had in the person of my interpreter, an example of the most "advanced" feminine type among the Kurdish women studied. When placing the word "advanced" in inverted commas I do so advisedly.

As a rule one overlooks the fact that cultures older than our own, despite the lack of our Western technical facilities, may in other directions represent a more advanced culture stage, and that a change caused by bitter economic necessity so far from representing progress may, on the contrary, well have to be paid for by retrogression in other spheres. At first sight the introduction of the Western woman's form of life is regarded as being of direct benefit to women with foreign culture patterns. It thus seems surprising that the abolition of the veil, the dropping of seclusion and so forth meets with opposition from women at some places. A few examples of this can be quoted.

In the Muslim areas of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the veil was abolished by Marshal Tito in 1952. Two years later, when visiting these provinces, I was told that it cost a woman three months' imprisonment to retain the black veil and chequered over-garment which, with variants, I

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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THE

WOMEN OF TURKEY

AND THEIR FOLK-LORE

BY

LUCY M. J. GARNETT

WITH CONCLUDING CHAPTERS ON

THE ORIGINS OF MATRIARCHY

BY

JOHN S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A.

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW
AUTHOR OF "THE NEW PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY," ETC.
EDITOR OF "CARRIE FOLK-SONGS," ETC.

Al Pendant . . . pilastra the opposite door-jo sculpture.
PLATO, Rep. iv.

Pacilius vobis Muliores incorruptos antiquitatis exemplum.
CICERO, Pro Cluent. ii. 11.

THE JEWISH AND MOSLEM WOMEN

LONDON
DAVID NUTT, 270-271 STRAND, W.C.
1891

[Title Page]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER I.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

The Kûrds are to be found scattered all over the Eastern Highlands of Asia Minor, from the Taurus to the Caucasus, as well as in Kûrdistan proper, where the population is equally mixed. Under the name of Kûrd, however, two distinct races are included, who form as great a contrast to each other in physiognomy as in character and manner of life. The one race is nomad, warlike, and full of vivacity, the other is agricultural, pacific, and not remarkable for intelligence.[1] The features of the peasantry are much softer and less pronounced than those of the tribesmen, who have long and rather aquiline noses, prominent foreheads, keen, deep set eyes, generally black, but sometimes grey, or even blue, small mouths, and pointed chins. Their step is firm, their bearing proud and dignified, and at the first glance one sees that they are the lords of the country.

The Kûrds generally are strong, healthy, well-built people, and in spite of the inequalities of climate of the country they inhabit, live to a good old age. The children are clear-skinned, rosy-

[1] The Turkish proverb, "Stupid as a Kûrd," applies only to the peasants of this nation.

[Page 113]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1889) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

182 cheeked, hardy, lithe and active little creatures,
184 and the young women—in the Taurus especially—
181 are said to be models of physical beauty. Mr. Millingen gives the following glowing description of one among the many handsome girls he saw during his residence among these freebooting highlanders: "Her complexion gave me an idea of what must have been the bloom of the forbidden apple of the terrestrial Paradise. Her eyes, of a dark chestnut, shone like brilliants through the veil of her thick, long eyelashes, while nose and mouth were perfect in their delicacy of shape. Though the garments she wore were not of a superior sort, yet through their folds her graceful form could be detected. But what above all contributed to make her really charming was the calm, simple, and, so to say, infantine air which distinguished her countenance and the whole of her demeanour."[1]

173 Some Kûrdish families in Bokhtan and Hakkiari claim descent from the Ommeyide Khalifs, and some travellers are of opinion that the tribe of the Rowadi, to which Saladin belonged, may possibly be the same as the modern Revendi, or Rewendi. The chiefs of the Bebbeh clan confidently affirm that they have in their veins English blood from an ancestress called Keighan, the legend concerning whom will be found in a subsequent chapter.[2] Less mythical, perhaps, is the story of the company belonging to the Second Crusade (1147–49), who wandered in a north-easterly direction from Syria, and not being

[1] *Wild Life among the Kurds.*
[2] See p. 170.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kürdistan.[1] 175

The two above described classes of Kürds are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Reyaha*). 565

The present Kürds are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom ten thousand are nomad, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages. All these warrior Kürds are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *eshiré* (great tribes), *gushlé* (medium tribes), and *shiyfis* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *gushlés* and *shiyfis*, or merely into *shiyfis*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *eshiré* are called isolated *shiyfis*. 563 [64] 614

The tribes, or clans, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it. In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised. Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people. The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voices of the 616 621 622

[1] Rinder, *Au Kurdistan, ou Mésopotamie*, &c., p. 110.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kûrdistan, the Kûrds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kûrdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and nugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The country houses of the Kûrds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *bûza*, a liquor called *nardenk*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.[1]

At Suliemanieh, the Kūrdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *haremlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardahs*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his '*Anábasis*', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kardaci kept their wine in cemented cisterns, bk. iv. chap. ii.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kūrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 262 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is [263] called *djadjk*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

291 The dress of Kūrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gugerat or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *bish*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *libardé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kūrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *tcharokia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from [301] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kūrdish lady. Notwith-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the baldness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form, but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the *tcharokhia*, or cloak, is of a darker shade of blue, with white stripes round the bottom, the corners being knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kūrdish women do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In large towns like Suliemanieh the ladies wear a blue checked sheet, and a screen of black horsehair, like the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however, seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest rank, who may wish to pass through the streets *incognito*; and the lower class women generally go about with their faces uncovered. The village women veil themselves when they leave their homes; and the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Menservants are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors are freely received by the assembled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom of manners, Kūrdish women conduct themselves with the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the forwardness too often seen in the behaviour of the Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, exceptionally high among the races of the country,

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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684 any lapse from virtue on the part of a married woman being, as a rule, summarily punished by the injured husband with death; and her partner in guilt usually shares the same fate. No social odium attaches to the man who thus takes the law into his own hand; on the contrary, such an action is considered highly meritorious. Various stories are current among the Kūrds illustrating such retributory vengeance. One relates how a Kūrd, the captain of some irregular troops employed at Bagdad, hearing of his Kourmandji wife's suspected unfaithfulness during his absence, returned secretly to his native town, entered the house by night, and shot dead both her and her lover. Another of these stories describes the murder, by a boy of fifteen, of his stepmother and her partner in guilt during the absence of his father, whom a feud with a neighbouring chief had obliged to remove temporarily to a distance. In both these cases the deed was considered highly meritorious, and its perpetrator treated with every mark of consideration by friends and neighbours. The relatives of the guilty persons made no complaint to the authorities, nor did they manifest any resentment. On the contrary, the crime which had occasioned the murder is so abhorrent to the Kūrdish mind, that the customary visits of condolence were not paid to the families of the dead.

684 539 Stories, too, are common of women, both married and unmarried, who have defended their honour by taking the life of their assailant. One of these stories is so thrilling that I will endeavour to reproduce it in brief. A Kūrdish lady was returning, accompanied only by a manservant, to her husband's house from

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a visit to her parents, who lived a day's journey off. 684
On the road this man contrived so many delays that, 539
instead of reaching home before sunset, they were obliged to stop for the night at a lonely and untenanted khan, of evil repute as the resort of robbers and brigands. After stabling the horses, the man came upstairs to the room occupied by his mistress, and approached her with dishonouring proposals. But she, divining his intention, had ready a small knife, which she plunged into his throat as he laid hold of her, and he fell dead. Not daring to close her eyes in that horrible place, she crouched in a corner to await the dawn. About midnight she was startled by hearing the sound of horse's hoofs approaching the khan—for who but a malefactor could arrive there in the dead of night? The newcomer alighted, and appeared to be seeking a stable for his horse, as he was leading it about below. "If he finds our horses," she thought, "I am lost," and again seizing the knife she cut off one of the dead man's arms and flung it from the window at the stranger as he passed below. He, however, still continued to wander backwards and forwards, leading his horse; so the next time he passed she cut off the other arm and threw that also at him. Upon this he cried, "Whosoever ye be, know that I am Dergo of Kisan,[1] and I fear ye not!" Oh, joy! It was her husband's voice.

"Dergo!" she called in reply, "It is I, thy Guzel, come and save me."

The astonished husband and his wife found their way to each other, and mutual explanations followed.

[1] A town between Bitlis and Van.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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684 539 Not being sure of the day of his wife's return home, he had not been anxious at her non-arrival, but had been spending the evening with a party of friends. A question had arisen regarding his bravery; and, to vindicate it, he had accepted a wager to go alone at midnight to the Bas Khan, and leave there a token of his visit. He had been searching for a safe place in which to leave this token, unawed by the ghastly missiles hurled at him, as he supposed, by some bandits who had taken up their abode in the khan.

683 562 579 Mr. Rich, when travelling in Kūrdistan, met a girl of the Bulbassi tribe who had killed with a spear a Turk who insulted her. This young Amazon was dressed like a man, and served the chief, Fazullah Effendi, as his faithful henchman, accompanying him on all his expeditions. The women of this tribe are particularly hardy and intrepid. They sometimes take to the road as brigands, and unlucky is the trader or traveller who falls into their hands. For not content with robbing him, they strip him, excite him to make proposals to them, and then punish him for so doing with every species of mild torture which their lively imaginations can suggest, such as pinching, scratching, and scourging with thorns.

562 593 In the domestic circle the women are treated as equals by the men, who are most affectionate in their relations with their parents, sisters, and children, and in the character of husbands most considerate, kind, and forbearing. As an illustration of this latter trait, and at the same time of manners generally among the sedentary Kūrds, I cannot do better than give the following charming story.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Pasha's Lesson to his Wife.[1]

Once, and more than once, let us pray Allah that 539
His mercy be on our fathers and on our mothers who hear us![2]

In former times the Pashas of Bayazid had no wealth, and were in a state bordering on penury. The revenues of the villages, and the receipts in general, were taken by the *áyáns* and the *aghas* of the district, who were rich landowners with many servants and soldiers ready for campaign. The houses of the Pashas were supplied with their daily provisions by each *agha* in turn. The wives of the *áyáns* and *aghas* dressed elegantly, and had very costly things, while the Pashas' wives wore very simple clothes. One feast day the wives of the *aghas* and *áyáns* came to kiss the hands of the *hanŭm* (Pasha's lady). The latter was ashamed of her own appearance, as contrasted with that of her visitors; she was quite put out about it, and got in a very bad temper.

When the Pasha came in the evening into the *haremlik*, he found the *hanŭm* looking very glum, and asked her, "What is the matter? why art thou so gloomy?"

The lady replied, "How should I not be upset? To-day being a feast-day, the *aghas'* and *áyáns'* wives came to call upon me, splendidly dressed, covered with gold and jewels. In gala dresses, and wearing such magnificent ornaments, they came to kiss my hand! And was it not shameful for me, a

[1] Jaba, *Recueil de Notices et Recits Kourdes*, p. 32.
[2] The common preface to a Kûrdish story.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 *hanŭm*, to receive them in this poor gown? It is abominable!"

The Pasha remarked, in reply, that his wife ought to be satisfied, with the high rank she occupied, to leave the pleasures of the toilette to others, and content herself with her position. "All these *aghas'* wives, with their numerous retainers," said he, "are thy very humble servants; that is thy splendour, and it is a sufficient one. All these horsemen are at my orders, ready to march against the enemy; and so, I repeat, greatness consists in having subjects and numerous horsemen to obey one, and not in the possession of gold and rich clothes."

But the *hanŭm* would not listen to reason; she wanted fine dresses, gold and diamond ornaments.

"To have such things it is necessary to possess villages," said the Pasha. "I must lay hands on some *aghas*, and dismiss some of my people, so as to save their salaries; and what is saved shall be for thee, for thy gold and thy fine clothes."

A few days afterwards the Pasha secretly assembled the *aghas* and *áyáns*, told them of his wife's fancy, and ordered them to mount their horses in the middle of the night, and to go out and post themselves in detachments all round the town. The *aghas* and *áyáns* accordingly assembled with their horsemen to the number of three thousand, forming six squadrons, and placed themselves around the town awaiting further orders. When day began to dawn, the *hanŭm* saw from her window that the town was surrounded by troops; she instantly awoke the Pasha.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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"It is no time to sleep!" she cried. "The enemy 539
have surrounded the fortress!"

The Pasha replied by telling the *hanŭm* to fetch her gold and her fine clothes, and offer them to the enemy in order to induce them to depart. The lady exclaimed that such was not the way to repel the foe, and declared that she desired neither gold nor rich clothes, but only to be saved from the enemy. The Pasha told her not to fear, as he had plenty of horsemen and armed men among those whose wives had come to see her, laden with gold, and richly dressed. "But still," he said, "if she desired it, he was ready to dismiss them, and give her their pay, that she might have gold and stuffs."

"May Allah forbid!" cried the lady. "I will have none of such riches; I am ready to give even the garments I now possess to our people and to our troops. I admit that greatness consists in numbers of soldiers and horsemen. There are plenty of rich traders, but what can they do?—they have not that which constitutes real greatness."

The Pasha went out and gave the order for the horsemen to retire and disperse to their own homes. But they would not consent to do so before they had made an excursion to bring back some booty for the *hanŭm's* toilet. So they set out for Karadagh,[1] whence they returned with a rich spoil worth a hundred thousand piastres, and offered it to the lady.

The Pasha's wife, however, refused to accept it for herself, and gave it up to the troops, persuaded at last

[1] "The Black Mountain." The name of a district of Persia, situated some forty miles beyond the Turkish frontier.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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that one can well do without gold and rich stuffs, but that without soldiers one cannot maintain one's power.

The Kūrdish women, of the nomad tribes more especially, take a lively interest in the social and political affairs of the tribe, are acquainted with all that concerns it—its feuds, plans, and conspiracies, in which they are indeed often moving spirits. As enterprising and indefatigable as the men of their race, they are ever on the alert, and ready to leap to the saddle, where, though not elegant riders, they are quite at home, and able to keep up with their husbands in their adventurous wanderings.

This participation in the political life of the tribe is a peculiarity of nomad life, and of a primitive state of society. Mr. Millingen relates two instances which came under his personal notice of the intervention of women in public affairs. After a skirmish with the Shikiah tribe, the beaten Kūrds retired to their encampment, with the loss of twenty-four of their warriors, and sent with all haste a deputation to the Pasha of Van imploring his mediation. A kind of commission being despatched on their behalf from this town, it was met at a distance of several miles from the Shikiah camp by a crowd of women, the pretty ones at the head wearing black veils, and shrieking as loudly and woefully as it was in their power to do. Their lively grief, backed by a bribe of the Kūrdish delicacy called *djadjik*,[1] was successful in bringing about a solution favourable to the tribe, which, through the mediation of the women, was allowed to escape further punishment.

[1] The onion-flavoured cheese above-mentioned (p. 120).

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The Kūrds, too, generally leave to the women the business of settling accounts with that regular, but unwelcome, visitor, the tax-gatherer. 562 651

On the arrival on one occasion of this functionary at the camp of the Haiderānlis, a large and wealthy tribe established in the plains to the north-west of Van, he was politely received and treated with black coffee and tobacco in the tent of the chief, Ali Agha, who courteously informed him that he was at liberty to enter the different tents for the collection of the sheep tax. Once in the tents, however, the tax-gatherer soon perceived that while he was striving to get hold of everything he could detect, the object of the women was to conceal from him all they could. Out of interests so opposed a collision naturally soon arose, and a shower of vituperation, followed by an attack with sticks and stones, assailed the unlucky official, who was finally rescued from the hands of these fair furies by the men of the tribe, and carried for safety to the tent of the chief. Ali Agha now gave him the friendly advice to get from the women all they were willing to give and return at once to Van, thanking Allah that no worse had befallen him. "My good fellow," he concluded, "what can you do with women? They will have their way. Take the money and be off." [272]

In 1854 there passed through Constantinople on their way to the seat of war a band of Kūrdish cavalry led by a woman named Kara ("Black") Fatmé Hanūm. Save for the dauntless fire which blazed in her eyes there was, however, nothing Amazonian in the 562 701

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
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K 562 701 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as having been a little shrivelled up old woman.[1]

K 871 794 Among the nomad and peasant Kūrds, as might be expected, very little attention is paid to education. The sedentary Kūrds in Suliemanieh and other centres, are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.

K [212] The wives and daughters of the lettered Kūrds are also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kūrdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mollahs to publish works in that language.

K 197 The Kūrdish tongue is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of Turkish, and especially of Persian, words.

K 538 Poetic feeling often manifests itself among Kūrdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y 871 793 562 The members of the Yezidi sect, who belong to eleven different tribes, and number between seven and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

[1] Mordtmann, *Die Amazonen*, p. 132.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER II.

KŪRDISH WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

KŪRDISH maidens are, as a rule, allowed to choose 584
their own husbands, and the practice of courtship is not unknown. The father's consent is necessary, though couples sometimes dispense with it by running 583
away together when, for pecuniary or other reasons, it is withheld. Among the families of the chieftains, however, *mariages de convenance* are usual, and the parties are frequently comparative strangers to each other. The ceremony of betrothal consists of a 584
reception at which refreshments are served. The expression "To drink sherbet"[1] signifies with the [272]
Kūrds to celebrate a betrothal. The bridegroom's presence at this ceremony is not necessary, or even usual, and he is generally represented by a near relative, a brother if he has one, who brings with him the customary presents to the bride and her parents.

The great feature at a Kūrdish wedding is the 535
performance of the *tchopee*, or national dance, of which 585
the women are quite as fond as are the peasants of Macedonia and Bulgaria. During marriage festivities,

[1] This favourite Oriental beverage is made of the juice of fruits, cooled with ice or snow.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

535 many come uninvited, bringing small presents to the
585 bride in order to be able to take part in the *tchopee*. This national dance of the Kûrds is very similar to the Greek *horo*. The performers join hands in a semicircle, and balance their bodies backwards and forwards, marking time, first with one foot and then with the other, accompanying their movements with wild shrieks at intervals. The step is, however, less animated and varied than that of the *horo*, and has been described as "a soft undulating movement of the whole circle in harmony with the music, like a field of corn set in motion by the wind." During its performance, the Kûrdish warrior will affect the most sentimental and romantic expression of countenance, especially when dancing with his sweetheart, which is customary at small gatherings where no strangers are present. On other occasions the men and women dance separately, though the latter even then lay aside their veils, no matter how great the crowd of spectators.

585 The music to which they dance is chiefly that of
533 the *bilwan*, a kind of reed-flute, several of which are
534 played in unison. Its tones are soft and pleasing, though somewhat monotonous, Kûrdish music being in general, unlike Turkish and Persian, characterised by regular modulations. The airs are, for the most part, grave and melancholy, and would seem to be inspired by sentiments which one would hardly expect to find in the breasts of wild clansmen whose name has become familiar to us only in connection with
535 violence and pillage.

585 At weddings, the *tchopee* is kept up for hours by

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

relays of performers, the men dancing first, and then 535
the women. Mr. Rich thus graphically describes the 585
part taken by ladies in this national recreation:

"The music struck up again the notes of the *tekpee*, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, [292]
hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplendent with gold spangles and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to me, who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab tribeswomen are more scrupulous.

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and wavingly round the enclosure, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The tune was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their [291]
homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Sulimania."

The Kürds, being nominally Moslems, the marriage 585
contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an imâm. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of [713]
his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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K 585 capture of the bride is simulated, though she is in reality purchased by the presents sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kûrds are K 595 practically monogamists, and divorce, though per- 586 mitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., well illustrates their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

Y 583 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, 583 like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages 586 with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is K made to divorce as with the Moslem Kûrds. Their V 585 weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, 793 the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower Y grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *kawwals*, [793] perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâzir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 764 A Kûrdish funeral, although it forms a striking

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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contrast to the quiet solemnity which is characteristic of Moslems generally in the presence of death, is a most impressive sight. If the deceased has been a person of consequence, military standards are borne in the procession, and, in some places, Kermanshah for instance, the body is accompanied to the grave with music and singing. When the funeral leaves the house, men and women rush wildly out, uttering cries and shrieks, and tearing their hair and clothes. Some raise their hands to heaven, others bow themselves to the earth, and cast dust upon their heads, expressing both in sound and gesture the very abandonment of grief.

The funeral rites of the Yezidis are both peculiar and interesting. When a member of this sect is believed to be at the point of death, a *dawaut* is called in, who pours into the mouth of the moribund a quantity of water. If he should expire before this ceremony has been performed, it is deferred until his body is carried to the grave. The body is laid out with the arms crossed over the breast, and not, as with the Moslems, extended by the sides. In the coffin are placed a piece of bread, some coins, and a stick, for the use of the deceased when the "questioners" appear, for, like the Moslems, the Yezidis believe in *post-mortem* catechists. Should Mounkir, when he arrives, attended by his scribe Nekir, to interrogate him concerning his faith and the character of his life, pronounce him unworthy to cross the threshold of Paradise, the dead man tries to bribe him to alter his decision, first with the bread, then with the silver. If these are unavailing, he resorts

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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K 775 [illegible] heaven.

K Y 784 So long as the body remains in the house hymns are chanted by the *dawwah*, who also accompany the body to the grave, carrying censers, which they swing as they go. For several successive days the friends of the deceased visit his resting-place, men and women in separate parties, every morning and evening, the latter to weep and wail and the former to sit in silence, burning incense the while.[1]

Y 763 771 775 As water is one of the emblems of *Yezd*, the Life-giving Principle, the pouring of it into the mouth of the dying probably signifies, or it may be, is intended to confer, vitality after death, or metempsychosis in some form or other, this doctrine being believed to be held by the Yezidis.

K 765 792 The only change made in their costume by the Kurdish women as a sign of mourning is the substitution of a black veil for that usually worn out of doors.

[1] Comp. Badger, *The Nestorians, &c.*, p. 131.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER III.

KÚRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kúrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kúrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by imáms of their own race, Kúrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kúrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kúrds. To the latter they are,

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indeed, an unfailing object of satire, and their shortcomings in this respect supply the subject of endless humorous stories, of which the following may serve as specimens:

The Greedy Mollah.[1]

Once upon a time a Mollah and two uneducated persons were travelling together, when they came to a river. All undressed to swim across, the Mollah going first. As soon as they were in the water, the Mollah perceived four small jars, filled with butter, floating at a little distance. He reached the first and held it with his teeth, stretched out his right hand to seize another, and caught the third in his left, so that he succeeded in getting hold of three jars for himself. There remained but one, which was taken by his companions. But not content with three-fourths of the spoil, he called out to the others, "I swear by Allah that I will have my share in that jar too!"[2]

The Mollah taken at his Word.

They say that there was once in Kûrdistan a Mollah named Bazid, who greatly edified the Kûrds by his sermons and counsels. One day when he was preaching in the mosque, he said in his sermon, "O, Mussulman people, each of you who possesses two garments ought, for the love of Allah, to give one of them to the poor; each of you who has two loaves ought, if

[1] Jaba, *Recueil de Notices et Récits Kourdes*, p. 18.

[2] This story has given rise to the Kûrdish proverb, "He has seized three jars, and is not content, but would have the fourth."

[3] Jaba, *Recueil*, &c., p. 18.

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he would walk in the path of God, to give one to the wretched."

The wife of the Mollah happened to be passing the mosque at that moment, and hearing the words of her husband, she turned back and went home. The Mollah had two changes of garments, the one which went to the wash, and the other which he wore. His wife gave to the poor the one in reserve, and at the same time distributed to them half the provision of bread. When the Mollah came home in the evening, he said to his wife, "My clothes are soiled, bring me the others that I may change."

"But I gave away to-day your spare suit," replied his wife, "and distributed to the poor half the bread we had in the house."

Then the Mollah was very angry, and he said to his wife, "Why didst thou give away my clothes and my bread?"

"Because to-day," she replied, "when you were preaching in the mosque you exhorted all to divide their superfluous goods with the poor in order to walk in the path of God, and so what we were not using I gave to the beggars."

At these words the Mollah waxed very wroth, and he exclaimed, "Woman, my exhortations were for the congregation and not for myself. If I preach thus to the people, it is that they may give *me* the surplus of their clothes and their bread. You should not think of giving away my spare clothes and my children's bread. I preach to men in my own interest, and thou —thou carriest out, at my expense, the counsel I give them."

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539 The Kûrds also relate the following allegorical story with reference to the same subject:

The Prophet and the Angel.[1]

[776] When the Prophet—blessings upon him!—ascended to Paradise, the archangel Gabriel accompanied him in order to show him all the wonders of the heavens. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—observed an angel of majestic stature, who stood in an expectant attitude, bearing on his shoulders an enormous drum, and holding in his hand a long drumstick. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked who he was, and what was his occupation. The angel replied, "O messenger of Allah, my duty is, when a Mollah confers a benefit or bestows an alms, even were it but some broken food to a beggar, to beat the drum, and thus announce to all the angels of the heavens the benefit or the almsdeed of the theologian."

Upon this, the Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked the angel, "How many times hast thou beaten the drum since thou hast held this office?"

"I am still waiting," replied the angel; "and up to this hour I have not once beaten it."

Will it be always thus? Allah knows. The clergy of all religions perform for the most part but few acts of benevolence or charity, for they require of the people almsdeeds and benefits, and themselves give nothing to the poor.

771 795 The vague mysticism which is so closely interwoven with the doctrines of the Shia sect, to which the

[1] Jaba, *Recueil, &c.*, p. 15.

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Persians belong, appears to have a greater charm for the Kûrdish mountaineers than the Semitic notion of an absolute and personal Allah, which is the dominant idea of the tenets held by the *Sûnî*, or "Orthodox" Osmanlis. The Dervish Orders, who constitute the mystics of Islam, are, consequently, extremely popular with the Kûrds, and the veneration of the women for the Sheikhs, or *pîrs*, as they are called, whether living or dead, exceeds, if possible, that entertained for them by the Turkish women. For, indifferent as the Kûrds may be to the dogmas of Islam, they, like all highlanders, are exceedingly superstitious, and firmly believe in all the occult and spiritual powers laid claim to by the Dervish Sheikhs.

The saint whom the Kûrds hold in the highest reverence is the deceased Sheikh, Khaled of Sulieimanieh, whom they consider equal to Abdul Kadr of Ghilân,[1] if not to the Prophet Mohammed himself, and deem it profanation to speak of by any other title than that of *Hazreti Mevlâna*—"Our Lord the Prophet." This Kûrdish *pîr*, whose sayings his countrymen dignify by the name of *hâdîs*,[2] belonged to the Nakshibendî Dervishes, a "contemplative" Order famed for the deep mystic piety of its members, and which has produced many saints eminent in the Moslem world. To the tombs of dead, or the *tekkés*[3] of living, Dervishes, the Kûrdish

[1] A famous dervish who lived in the twelfth century, and founded the Order of the Kadîrîs. Wonderful stories are told of the supernatural powers possessed by this Sheikh, some of which may be found in *The Dervishes*, by J. P. Brown.

[2] The name given by Moslems to the sayings or "table talk," of Mohammed.

[3] The monasteries and temples in which the Dervishes reside and hold their services.

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756 women resort for the cure of every ailment, physical or moral.

756 Is a child ailing, it is carried by its anxious mother
755 to the most eminent Sheikh within reach, who cures it by imposition, not of hands, but of feet, by breathing on it with his holy breath, or by hanging some sacred
[777] charm around its little neck. The first-named remedy may sound startling, but is actually applied, as I can vouch from personal observation.[1] The baby is laid on its back, and the Sheikh, laying his hands on the shoulders of two of his disciples who stand on either side, places his feet and rests his entire weight for a few seconds on the child's body. The Dervishes also
787 expound dreams, read the future, and furnish every other species of occult information of which their clients may stand in need.

776 Some Christian saints belonging to the Armenian calendar are also highly revered by the Kūrdish tribesmen. Of these perhaps Surp Serkís, or St. Sergius, is the one whose aid is most frequently sought. Kūrdish warriors, when about to enter on a campaign, resort
[781 to his tomb, and seek to enlist his favour and pro-
778] tection by there sacrificing a ram and lighting wax tapers.

776 The strange and widespread Oriental myth of Khidhr-Elias, in his double character of sea and land deity, is also current among the Kūrds, with whom he is Khidhr on land and Elias on the sea, and by whom he is invoked as a kind of guardian angel.

[1] I witnessed this strange practice at Salonica, after a service in the tekkeh of the Mevlevi, or "dancing" Dervishes, as they are commonly called by Europeans.

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Besides the *djins* and other magical beings, in whose existence the Kūrds, in common with their neighbours of other races, implicitly believe, another class of uncanny visitants, called *sheyts*, excites the awe and dread of these mountain people. These are the apparitions—I will not say ghosts, for, like all Oriental *revenants*, they rise in the body—of martyrs, *i.e.*, Moslems who have died fighting for Islam, and at whose tombs, as at those of Dervish Sheikhs, miracles are believed to be wrought. When they rise from their graves and appear to mortals, which they are said occasionally to do in crowds, it is looked upon as a sign of some important coming event. The Kūrds appear, too, to credit them with habits similar to their own, and look upon them as a kind of fluctuating population, as nomadic as themselves.

The Yezidis, or "Devil-worshippers," whom I have already mentioned as observing marriage and funeral rites differing from those of the Moslem Kūrds, form eight or nine separate tribes, some nomad, some sedentary. The execration in which they are held by Moslems has led to the identification of the supposed founder of the sect with Yezd, the slayer of Hassan and Hussein, the grandsons of the Prophet and martyrs *par excellence* of Islam. This name they, however, no doubt bore long anterior to the seventh century, *Yezd* being one of the titles applied by the ancient Persians to the Supreme Being. The name of Sheikh Adi, a mythical saint, to whom their chief temple is nominally dedicated, is derived, by Mr. Badger,[1] from the Hebrew *Adh* or *Ad*, the two

[1] *The Nestorians, &c.*

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776 first letters of *Adonai*, the Lord. This appears, how-
101 ever, to be questionable.

Sheikh Adi thus represents, with the Yezidis, the
776 Good Principle, as opposed to *Sheitan*, the Evil Prin-
771 ciple. The former, they say, is so infinitely good and benevolent that it is hardly necessary to invoke his name or worship him, while, on the other hand, the Evil Principle is so malevolent in his disposition that he requires to be constantly propitiated. Fear, therefore, and not love, is the motive for the cult of *Sheitan*, and the services held in his honour are always of a conciliatory rather than of a eucharistic character. So great is their dread of him, indeed, that they refrain from using any word implying execration, or
[784] which has a sound at all similar to his name. The charm made use of as an antidote to his influence
777 also possesses a propitiatory signification. This is the wild red anemone, which is chosen on account of its colour as the symbol of sacrifice. It is much worn on the person or carried in a posy, and doorways are, on festivals, wreathed with garlands entirely composed of this beautiful flower.

781 Adulation is one of the means by which the Evil
776 Principle may, it is supposed, be conciliated, and the name by which he is most commonly designated, *Melek Taoos*, signifies "King Peacock," or "Angel beautiful as a peacock." He is also called "Prince of Bees."

778 Symbolic representations of *Melek Taoos*, in the
796 shape of brazen birds, are periodically carried through the districts inhabited by the Yezidis. Two *pirs*, or Sheihks, precede the bearer of the sacred bird, carrying censers, in the smoke of which the devotees lave

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their hands and faces. When this "Standard" (*sanjak*) enters a village or camp, the highest bidder has the honour of entertaining it in his house, where it remains for two days, during which time all secular festivities are suspended. This symbol somewhat resembles a cock with swelling breast, diminutive head, and widespread tail; the body is full, the tail flat and fluted, and under the beak is a projection like a wattle. It is fixed on the top of a kind of candlestick, and under it, encircling this stand, are two receptacles for oil, each having seven wicks. The whole is of brass, and is so constructed that it can easily be taken to pieces. Mrs. Badger, the wife of the missionary of that name, was, during her stay among the Yezidis, allowed to enter the room containing the *Melek Taoos*, and inspect it at her leisure. On the daïs beside the image[1] stood a copper jug of water, the contents of which were dealt out as a remedy to the sick and afflicted. There were present the temporal head of the Yezidis, Husein Bey, various sheikhs, *pírs*, and *kawwals*, and a fakir, who extolled the benefits which had been conferred on Christians and Moslems, as well as on Yezidis, as a reward for their contributions to the *sanjak*, and invited those present to follow their example. Seven of these brazen cocks are carried about in the Yezidi districts under the superintendence of the Sheikh Nāzir, who fixes their itinerary, seven being the sacred number of the Yezidis.[2]

[1] *The Nestorians, &c.*, p. 123.

[2] Sir H. Layard, in his *Nineveh and its Remains*, gives a sketch of a bas-relief dug up at Nimrood, representing a sacred bird carried in procession

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771 Many of the religious observances of the Yezidis
174 appear to be a survival of Zoroastrianism, or of the connected creed of the Sabeans, which was spread over Asia by the science of Chaldea and the arms of Assyria. And as the Yezidis are Kūrds, and the Kūrds, as pointed out in the Introduction, are probably representatives of the Chaldeans, so also would be the Yezidis.
784 Fire and the sun are with them symbols of *Yezd*, the
372 Good Principle; the Yezidis consequently never spit or throw any impurity into a fire, but lave their hands and faces in the flames as if to purify them. The
781 sacerdotal caste regularly adore the sun at his rising and setting by bowing and kissing the ground, or rather a stone on the ground, which they then invariably place upon another close by. The laity, however, perform this homage to the sun only during festivals or pilgrimages. Lamps are lighted at sunset at the entrance to every *Shak*, or holy tomb, and close
778 to every fountain, for water is also symbolical of the
262 Good Principle. Fish, too, are held sacred, and only the lowest class of the population eat any of the produce of the waters. The rite which they
783 call baptism is often repeated, and appears to be a
796 kind of pagan ablution in the sacred streams and fountains before taking part in the festivals and ceremonies of their creed.

778 The Yezidis manifest great reverence for blue, and
386 never dye their stuffs of this colour either for clothing or furniture.

by four soldiers, and says that "the *Iyngas*, or sacred birds, belonged to the Babylonian, and probaby to the Assyrian religion," and that they were "a kind of demons who exercised a peculiar influence over mankind, and resemble the *fervaher* of the Zoroastrian system," vol. ii. p. 462.

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or furniture. The use of such vegetables as cabbages and lettuces as food is also rigidly prohibited among them. Like the Moslems, they hold Jesus (*Isa*) in great reverence, and regard wine as the symbol of His blood. When drinking it they always hold the cup with both hands to avoid spilling its contents, and should a drop fall to the ground they are said to suck it with the lips and swallow the dust with which it has mingled. The Yezidis and Kūrdish sectarians are, indeed, generally said to be less hostile to Christians than to Moslems, and it is averred that, though they never enter an Armenian church, they often stop when passing one and repeat some prayer or invocation.

A curious form of confession and penance is also practised by these "infidels." Ten men form themselves into a kind of brotherhood, and select one of their number by lot as a scapegoat. If any one of the number is guilty of a grave sin, he confesses it to this substitute, who must vicariously expiate it by prayer, fasting, and mortification. In return for this service he is supported by the rest, who perform for him all his worldly duties, pasture his sheep, and maintain his family.

The sacerdotal order of the Yezidis is very numerous, and is divided into castes, which do not intermarry with each other, and thus are kept permanently distinct. The office of Sheikh Nāsir, or High Priest, is hereditary in one family, and generally descends to the eldest son. This hierophant is, like the Dervish Sheikhs, believed to be endowed with supernatural powers, and his skill is resorted to, not only by his

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793 own followers, but by Moslems, for the cure of obsti-
755 nate diseases, both of men and animals, for ensuring
789 the success of a journey or undertaking, and in many other cases. One of the wonderful cures performed by this holy man was on the person of a Yezidi woman married to a Moslem, who had previously consulted in vain, not only the native Mollahs and *hekims* (doctors), but also a "Frank" surgeon.

793 The Sheikh, says the story, directed the husband to
755 sacrifice a sheep, with the blood of which he sprinkled the woman's forehead. He then covered her breast with a coating of bitter clay, brought from the temple of Sheikh Adi, tied a string round her left wrist, and kept her in solitude for seven days, during which she was fed solely on bread of a particular kind made by his own hands. The husband being puzzled at the success of this heterodox treatment, when orthodox means had failed, applied for a solution of the problem to his Mollah, who replied, "Is it not natural that the unclean should cast out the unclean?"

788 The Yezidis do not appear to possess any sacred
778 books, the hymns of which their devotions chiefly
286 consist being handed down orally from generation to generation. This is the chief reason of the animosity manifested towards them by Moslems, whom the Koran teaches that those who are not "people of a book"—that is, possess no written revelations—are fit subjects for indignity and persecution. The enmity shown to them, by the Ulemah class especially, has sometimes led to reprisals in which the theologians have not always escaped capture and death so miraculously as the Mollah in the following story.

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One day the Mollah Mehmed of Qulpi,[1] with a satchel of books on his back, and his sabre and buckler by his side, set out alone for Bayazid, in order to give his lessons in that city. While he was crossing the plain of Abagha, and was near the rocks, eight Yezid horsemen, who were watching there for travellers, stopped, seized, bound, and stripped him of every thing, and then carried him to their lurking-place to kill him. The Yezid priest (*pír*) drew his sabre, and holding it above the head of the Mollah Mehmed, said to him:

"Come now, abandon the religion of Mohammed, and become a Yezidi; if thou wilt not, thou shalt die!"

The Mollah replied, "May Allah keep me from such a deed! If thou wilt kill me, kill me; such will be the will of Allah, and I am resigned to it."

Then the Yezidi *pír* said to him, "If thy faith be the true one, let thy Mohammed come and save thee from death!"

The Mollah answered, "Mohammed knows not that I am in this position."

Then said the Yezidi, "Call thy Mohammed; perhaps he will come and save thee out of my hands, and deliver thee."

Needless to say that the Yezidi *pír* was only mocking the poor Mollah. "Pronounce," said he, "three times, in a loud voice, the name of Mohammed, before I kill thee!"

So the Mollah in despair called out three times in a sonorous voice the name of the Prophet—"*Ya Mouhammad! Ya Mouhammad! Ya Mouhammad!*"

[1] A village between Bitlis and Syrt.

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539 It chanced that, at that moment, a man named Mohammed, of the tribe of the Haiderānli, was passing with half a score of horsemen. When they heard this cry, the horsemen rode towards the rocks, and came straight to the lair, where the eight Yezidi brigands and their captive were. The Yezidis, hearing the sound of horses' hoofs, and seeing several riders suddenly appear, took flight. The Haiderānlis pursued them, and caught four, whom they killed on the spot. The other *four* succeeded in escaping. Having thus rescued the Mollah Mehmed, they unbound his hands and feet, and then questioned him as to how he came into that position. When the Mollah described to his deliverers all the details of what had befallen him, they gave him one of the horses which they had taken, and let him go. He arrived safely at Bayazid, where his adventure was much talked of.

805 The Yezidis make use of the Mohammedan Calendar, and, like the Moslems, date from the Hegira. The festival of the New Year is, however, always observed
796 by them on a Wednesday, which is their Sunday,
527 but, in order to conciliate their Moslem neighbours,
785 they also pretend to keep Friday as a holiday. And, though fasting generally is opposed to their principles, they, doubtless with the same object, fast for three days in the December of every year.

346 The Yezidi temple of Sheikh Adi presents so many
778 peculiarities of structure and ornament that a short description of it may not be uninteresting. It is beautifully situated in a mountain valley, some twenty miles south-east of Rabban Hormuzd, is built east

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and west, and bears on its outer walls numerous sculptured symbols, such as "Solomon's seal," roses, crooks, axes, sceptres with seven branches, lions, serpents, and various other animals. Under the floors of the temple flows a stream of running water, which also supplies a square basin in the court and another in the principal hall, the latter having a seat inside each corner for the accommodation of those who come to bathe there. In the temple are three tombs, said to be those of Sheikh Adi and two other Yezidi saints; and on the roof above these rise three high, conical domes, or rather spires. The so-called tombs, however, are probably mere cenotaphs, the worship of saints by this sect being believed to be a mere fiction invented to conciliate their Moslem enemies. From a vault near the principal shrine is dug a kind of clay, balls of which are carried away by pilgrims, who use them as charms or amulets, in imitation, no doubt, of a similar practice observed at the shrines of eminent Dervish saints.[1] Almost every Yezidi village contains one or more *Shaks*, or shrines, said to be the tombs of great Sheikhs, all of which consist of a small square base of masonry, with a low doorway, and a high, conical, fluted roof. Women, as well as men, officiate in the temple of Sheikh Adi; the former are dressed in robes of white woollen stuff, and wear white turbans.

Pilgrimages are made twice a year to this sacred shrine, when the devotees encamp round about in the

[1] The Mevlevi Dervish who keeps the keys of the basilica of St. Demetrios at Salonica, offered me, when visiting it, some of the earth from under the tomb of this Saint, who is regarded with equal reverence by Moslems and Greeks.

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Y 794 796 groves and alleys, and celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. The women in their gayest and richest dresses, their necks and heads Y 284 301 535 hung with strings of silver coins, and with either a scarlet feather or a posy of roses or anemones in their turbans, dance with the men in rings, sometimes to the number of two hundred. The young girls make the most of their holiday, dancing to their hearts' content with their admirers or affianced lovers.

K 795 776 771 The large Kūrdish tribe of the Doudjiks, which is composed of several *thàifès*, forms another heretical sect, called Kizilbakhs. They regard Ali, the first Khalif, as the personified Deity, thus attributing to him, as do the Ali Ilahīs of Persia, a much higher position than to the Prophet of Islam. And there is yet a third description of sectarians, called Baliki, who regard Ali as the latest manifestation of the Deity in human form. The more mystical among Moslems hold that all the great Prophets who have appeared from the creation of the world—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, Christ, and Mohammed—were successive incarnations of the Divine Spirit, and that the founder of Islam, because the last, was the greatest. But the Balikis ignore Mohammed entirely. According to their saying, "He (the Deity) has showed Himself in a thousand ways, and many are in doubt; K 795 177 if he would show Himself in one way, many would believe." Warlike and unruly as are the members of 797 this sect, the American missionaries have been very [181] successful among them. Such, indeed, is the influence of this handful of men from the New World that they

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have persuaded some of the most turbulent, whom the Turks have never been able completely to subdue, to lay down their arms, and relinquish their trade of rebellion, robbery, and murder.[1]

[1] Comp. Consul Taylor, *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. xxxv. p. 29, who also says that the Bellki claim to be the descendants of Sharezer, or Bezezer, son of Sennacherib, who, with his brother Adrimelek, fled to Bassoon (south-east of Lake Van), after having murdered their father at Nineveh, and founded three dynasties, one of which was that of the Bassoonas, or Bassoons. See also *Moses of Khor'ni*, I. p. 103, II. p. 145; and the *Geography* of the Vartabed Vartan in St. Martin, II. p. 431, referred to by Mr. Taylor, *loc. cit.*

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CHAPTER IV.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY—FOLK-TALES.

535 171 THE tales and legends told by the Kûrds are of an extremely varied character. Among them are many charming *mârchen*, some of which closely resemble Greek or Teutonic favourites, and delightful fables, [illegible] variants of those contained in the collections of Æsop La Fontaine, and other fabulists. There are also stories of buried treasure, guarded by *djins*, or genii touching love tales, and innumerable legends describing tribal exploits and feuds, deeds of violence and reprisals. The latter class, though not strictly folk tales in the accepted sense of the term, illustrate so much more graphically than any description could do the manners and sentiments of this wild and independent people, that I have ventured to include one or two of them in this chapter.

The first story is evidently a variant of the Tinot Greek folk-tale of "Constantes and the Drakos,"[1] the opening incident of reaping the field of corn being precisely identical. The *Dev* appears to be the Kûrdish equivalent of the English "Giant," Scandi

[1] Κωνσταντὴς κ' ὁ Δράκος, Hahn (J. G. von). Ἑλληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 19[illegible] and *Märchen*, ii. p. 182.

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navian "Troll," Indian "Rakshasa," and Greek 535
Δράκος (Drakos),[1] a ferocious but simple-minded 171
monster, who is usually outwitted by a clever mortal, the youngest of three brothers, or a widow's son.

The Three Brothers and the Dev.[2]

There once lived in a certain place three brothers. 539
The name of the youngest was Hasanek, that of the second Qasim, and that of the eldest Shaban. Now it happened that each had a sickle, and Hasanek said to his brothers, "Come along, we will leave this country and go to that of another tribe where we can work and get good wages."

So the three set off. They went to the uplands, and there they found a field of wheat. Said Hasanek to his brothers, "Come, let us set to work and cut this wheat, it has no doubt an owner who will pay us."

So the three went to the field, and they stooped down and began to cut the wheat. When they had been cutting for two days, Hasanek saw a cave; it was the cave of a Dev, who came out immediately, and shouted and said, "Who are you? Why do you cut my wheat? I will come and eat the heads of all three of you!"

Said Hasanek to his brothers, "Do not be frightened, there is a Dev; he is coming towards us, saying, 'Who are you, and why do you cut my wheat?' Do not speak either of you, but let me answer the Dev."

[1] Incorrectly translated by the late Mr. Geldart as "dragon." See vol. i. p. 355, *note*, and compare Dozon, *Chants Pop. Bulgares*, No. 8.

[2] Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, p. 49.

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539 So they went on cutting the wheat as they saw the Dev coming. The Dev cried, "What are you doing there? You do not know my name. I will make one bite of the heads of all you three!"

Said Hasanek, "Effendi, allow me to speak to you."

"Speak, my son," replied the Dev.

Said Hasanek, "We are three brothers. We came here and found this wheat, and we stooped and began to cut, for we said, 'Perhaps this wheat has an owner who will pay us our wages.'"

Said the Dev to Hasanek, "Very well, my son, reap away." Then the Dev came closer to Hasanek, and said to him, "My son, give me thy sickle; sit thou still a little and rest thyself."

So the Dev, and Qasim, and Shaban all three reaped until the hour of evening prayer.

Then the Dev arose and wrote a letter, gave it to Hasanek, and said, "Take this road, go; you see yonder mountain? On the top of it is my house, where my wife and my three daughters live. Take the letter thither, give it to my wife, she will understand."

So Hasanek took the letter, and set out. He walked for two hours, and then opened the letter, and saw that the Dev had written:

"When this man brings this letter into the house, cut off this man's head, and cook me a pilaf with the head of this man, that I may eat it."

Hasanek tore up the letter, threw it away, and wrote another:

"When this man brings this letter into the house, prepare a pilaf with the head of the brown bullock;

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let Hammuk to-night marry my eldest daughter, and to-morrow morning let him bring me the pilaf."

So the wife of the Dev killed the lovers bullock, made of the meat a pilaf, and gave it to Hammuk. Hammuk took the pilaf, went, and brought it to the Dev. The Dev saw Hammuk coming. Hammuk brought the pilaf and gave it to the Dev. The Dev took it, and said to Hammuk, "I did not write such a letter; that bad woman, why did she prepare this dish and give it you? Why have you brought me this dish? This I did not write in the letter [but rather that] she kill me Hammuk, and of the flesh of Hammuk prepare me a pilaf and send it to me."

Said Hammuk, "If you will go this time, then go. But if you will not go, then I will go, and this time she must kill me, prepare you a pilaf, cook it, and send it."

The Dev replied, "My son, sit still. I will write once more, give [the letter] to you, to take to my wife. If you return this time then I will go myself."

"Very well, Effendi," said Hammuk.

When the Dev had written the letter, he rose and gave it to Hammuk. Hammuk took it, and, after having walked two hours, he opened and read it, and saw that the Dev had written in the letter: "This time cut out the eyes and the lips of Hammuk, and make kebâbs of them. If this time the man returns safe and sound, then will I come at once, bad woman, and cut off thy head, hands, and feet, for then will do no man's bidding." Hammuk read in the letter the evil which the Dev had written, and he tore it up, threw it away, and wrote another.

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339 "Kill this time the red bullock, prepare Ashûk, and send also bread and pilaf. To night let Hannuk marry my youngest daughter, and to morrow let him take the bread and pilaf, and bring it to me."

Hannuk took this letter, and gave it to the wife of the Dev, who read in it, "Kill this time, &c." The wife of the Dev killed the red bullock, and prepared Ashûk of the flesh, and that night Hannuk married the youngest daughter of the Dev, and rested until the morning. In the morning he rose, went into the rooms of the Dev, and said to his wife, "Give me the victuals, and I will go to the Dev." The Dev's wife rose, gave the victuals to Hannuk, and said, "Greet the Dev from me, and say to him, 'Accursed one, thou emptiest my house of victuals!'"

And Hannuk rose, and said to the Dev's wife, "This bullock [with the flesh of which] I go, is to me a remembrance of thee."

The Dev's wife replied, "Arrive thou well, and have luck on the way."

Hannuk responded, "I thank thee, and may Allah be pleased with thee!"

Hannuk rose, brought the victuals, and gave them to the Dev. The Dev took them, and grew very angry, threw the meat down, and went home.

Hannuk said to his brothers, "Brothers, the house of the Dev is emptied of provisions, arise, and let us go further!"

So Hannuk's brothers arose, and he led them away, and they walked for four days. The Dev came back, but he did not see Hannuk. The latter went

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into a town, took his brothers to the market-place and said to them, "Go where you will."

Hamzah's brother Quinn said to him, "Why didst thou bring us here?" and his brother Shahan wept.

Said Hamzah, "Brother, why dost thou weep? Allah is great."

Said Quinn, "Why didst thou bring us here? What wilt thou do with us? This place is strange and we have no lodging, nobody will receive us, we will go home again."

Said Hamzah, "Hire thyself to a master" (again). So he took his brother to a coffee-house, and said to the keeper, "Effendi, this is my brother, his name is Quinn, he would be your servant."

The man replied, "My son, in what kind of work is your brother skilled?"

Said Hamzah, "Any work that you may give him my brother can do."

So the keeper of the coffee-house said, "Very well, my son," and Hamzah left his brother there and returned to the market-place, but he did not find his brother Shahan there. He wandered about for a month, and at last he found him in prison.

"Brother, who has put thee in prison and locked thee in?" he asked.

Shahan replied, "I went to the Dev to exculpate myself, and after I had found him I was seized, led away, and thrown into this prison."

Hamzah took his brother out of the prison, and rested with him four days. He then took him to a bath, soaped, washed, and cleansed him, took him out

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137 of the bath and led him to the captain of the guard. Hasanek said to the captain of the guard, "I give this, my brother, into thy keeping."

The captain asked, "Hero, whither goest thou?"

"To take vengeance on the Dev," replied Hasanek.

Said the captain, "Go, hero, for I, too, am a Dev-tamer. The Dev has a sword in a golden scabbard under a cover near the couch where he sleeps. Take this sword and go further. To the right is a lattice, go to this lattice, open it, and as soon as the Dev enters the room, take his sword in your hand, and when he advances into the chamber strike at his head, cut it off, and throw it on the floor. In the head is a tongue which speaks; if it says to you, 'Give a second blow,' then reply, 'I strike no second blow, a hero speaks but once.'"

Hasanek arose and went to the house of the Dev, took the sword which hung over his pillow, went further, and saw the grating on the right side of the room, and placed himself in front of it. By-and-by the Dev arrived. Hasanek grasped the sword, and, as the Dev advanced into the room, he aimed a blow at him and cut off his head. The Dev fell to the floor and then said to Hasanek, "Give me a second blow."

Said Hasanek, "A hero speaks but once."

The Dev died. Hasanek arose, carried away the corpse of the Dev, threw it into a pit, and then returned by another way to the Dev's house. He took the youngest daughter of the Dev and married her, and then set out to search for his brothers, Qasim and Shaban. When he had found them he gave the

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eldest daughter of the Dev to his brother Shaban, and 539
the second to his brother Qasim, and they all three settled down and lived in peace ever after.'

The following pathetic little story recalls Grimm's 538
Brüderchen und Schwesterchen, and also the Epirote 171
Greek folk-tale of 'Ἀστεριὰς καὶ τὸ Πουλάκι ("Starbright and Birdie"), although in the Kûrdish version the cannibalistic element is absent.

The Legend of the Owl (Gû'in).[2]

Once upon a time, there lived a man and his wife, 539
who had one son and one daughter. The wife died, and the man soon after married another. After two years had passed, and the second wife had a daughter of her own, she began to hate the children of the first wife.

The girl used to go out to tend the cattle. One evening when she returned home she missed her brother, and asked her stepmother where he was.

The woman replied, "Thy brother has gone to his uncle's house."

The girl went to sleep, and in her dream she saw that her brother had been killed and his body thrown into a pit. In the morning she rose and said to her father,

"Father, I dreamt last night that thy wife killed my brother, and threw his body into a pit. I will now go out with the cattle, and if I find my brother

[1] The story does not say what became of the Dev's wife, but most probably the Dev had killed her when he went home in a rage.

[2] Lerch, *Forschungen*, etc., p. 80.

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here on my return in the evening. I shall know that all is well with him. If he comes not, I will no longer tend the cows, neither will I remain here."

The father replied, "Go out to-day with the cattle, and I will seek for thy brother, and find out the truth. Since my wife hates you, neither will I remain here, unless I find your brother."

So the girl arose, and led the cows to pasture. The father, too, went out, and found his son's body thrown into a pit, and covered with a stone. He returned home and said to his wife:

"Why hast thou slain my son? His sister saw in a dream in the night that her brother was dead, and she came unto me and wept, and said, 'My brother has been killed, and thrown into a pit.' I said, 'Hush, my daughter, fear not, thy brother is well,' and the maiden said to me, 'To-day I will go out with the cattle, and if, when I return in the evening, my brother has not come, I will no longer remain here.'"

The woman replied, "Go, leave me in peace, you horrid man! You listen to your daughter, and then you come to me and ask me, 'Why have you killed my son?' Why should I then kill thy son?"

The husband went forth in anger. He drew the corpse of his son out of the pit, carried it to his wife, and said to her:

"You monster! By whom has this boy been murdered?"

The woman was speechless. She trembled and could not utter a word.

The father washed the dead body of his son, carried

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him to the grave and buried him. He then returned 539
home, cut off the head of his wife, and threw her into a pit.

The murdered boy's sister came home in the evening. When she saw neither her brother nor her stepmother, she asked, "Father, where is thy wife?"

"I know not," he replied, "but thy brother is dead."

When the maiden heard this she wept, and went away. Going down to the brook side, she bathed and prayed twice.

"Oh, Allah! Change me into an owl!"

And she was at once transformed into that sad bird. She flew up and away and was seen there no more.

The following story will recall at once the wide- 538
spread nursery tale of "Puss in Boots. As in the 171
Sicilian version of this story, mentioned by Mr. Lang,[1] the Fox, from motives of gratitude, undertakes to make the Miller's fortune, but his endeavours are defeated by the cowardice of the pretended "Temteqa Pasha."

How the Fox Wooed for the Miller the Daughter of the Pasha of Egypt.[2]

There once lived a Miller in a certain country, and 539
plenty of grist came to his mill. One evening he stopped the mill, went into his house, and slept. In the morning, on going again into the mill, he found the trough empty. So on the following night, instead of sleeping, he kept watch, and about midnight

[1] *Perrault's Tales.* Introduction, p. lxviii.

[2] Lamb, *Fireside Tales, &c.*, p. 83.

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539 he saw a Fox enter the mill, go to the trough and take out the flour. The Miller came out of his hiding place, seized the Fox, and began to belabour him with his stick. The Fox yelped, and said to the Miller, "Let me go, and I will woo for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt!"

"I am a Miller," was the reply. "How wilt thou woo for me the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt?"

Said the Fox, "Kill me not, and I will indeed woo for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt. If I fail to do so, then thou mayest kill me."

"Thou must take thine oath upon it," said the Miller.

So the Fox swore to the Miller, and the Miller let him go.

The Fox set off, and by-and-by he arrived in Egypt. When he came into the presence of the Pasha, he saluted him most courteously, and the Pasha said to the Fox, "Tell me thy desire."

The Fox replied, "Sire, have I your permission to speak?"

"Thou hast."

"Then," said the Fox, "My master, Temtequ Pasha, seeks the hand of thy daughter."

The Pasha of Egypt replied, "Take horsemen with you, and go to meet this Temtequ Pasha, who may be some Vizier, but whose name I do not know."

"Sire," said the Fox, "give me a suit of clothes,[1] and I will take it to Temtequ Pasha. But do not send your soldiers out to meet him before two days

[1] Presents of apparel are very common in the East, and are frequently mentioned in folk-tales.

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have passed, for I will myself announce to you his 539
approach."

So the Pasha of Egypt gave a suit of clothes to the Fox, who immediately set off with it for the Miller's house.

Said the Fox, "I have wooed for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt. Arise now, go to the bath, wash and clean thyself, put on these clothes, and I will lead thee to the Pasha of Egypt."

So the Miller went to the bath, where he washed himself, shaved his head and his beard, and donned the new suit. He then set off with the Fox. When they arrived on the Egyptian border, the Miller remained behind while the Fox went to inform the Pasha of his arrival.

Said the Fox, "Effendi, Temtequ Pasha has come. Give me a handsome carriage for him, and let your soldiers go out to receive him."

The Pasha ordered a state carriage to be got ready, with three cavasses to walk in front of it. So Temtequ Pasha came to Egypt, and the Egyptian army shouted "*Salaam alaikûm!*"[1] But the Miller was confused, and could not reply to the greeting, and some of the soldiers said, "It is a drunken man! it is a drunken man! It is no Pasha! it is but a Miller!" The Fox then walked up and down before the soldiers, saying to them, "The weather is very warm, and Temtequ Pasha is quite overcome; you must excuse him." So Temtequ Pasha was conducted to the palace of the Pasha of Egypt. As he stepped out of the carriage, the Fox took him by the hand

[1] "Peace be with them."

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539 and led him into the serail into the presence of the Pasha. Said he to the Pasha of Egypt,

"Effendi, for a month past Temteqn Pasha has been absent-minded."

"Well," replied the Pasha of Egypt, "lead him to his apartment, and put him on the divan to rest."

The Fox obeyed. The Miller was trembling with fear, and the Fox said to him, "Curse thee, leave off trembling, and lie down to rest!"

"The Pasha of Egypt will come hither, and cut off my head," replied the frightened Miller.

"Not he," returned the Fox. "Fear not, I will not forsake thee. Have thy wits about thee, and if he enter the room rise from the divan and kiss the hem of his garment."

"If the Pasha of Egypt comes into the room he will kill me," repeated the Miller.

Said the Fox, "Get up. I will bring thee water to perform the ablution, and then thou canst say thy prayers."

"Yes," replied the Miller, "bring me water, and I will make the ablution."

So the Fox fetched some water and gave it to the Miller, who went out to seek a place proper for making the ablution before saying his prayers, without, however, knowing where to look for it. The Fox waited for some time, but as the Miller did not return he went to seek him, and found him lying on the ground, dead. Then he went to the Pasha of Egypt, and said to him,

"Temteqn Pasha went out to make the ablution, and has fallen down dead."

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The Pasha said, "Go, bring him in."

So the Fox brought in the Miller's body, washed it, and buried it.

538 171

The following fable is precisely similar in its commencement to the familiar one of "The Fox and the Stork." The incident of the Mollah's fur pelisse is, however, quite an Oriental feature, and the final catastrophe is familiar to me as occurring in another Eastern story, the nationality of which I do not, unfortunately, remember.

The Fox, the Eagle, and the Wolf.[1]

539

Once upon a time a Fox and an Eagle lived on brotherly terms. One day the Fox said to the Eagle, "I will prepare a feast for you."

So the Eagle went to the house of the Fox, whom he found preparing the meal. When it was ready, the Fox placed the meat on a shallow dish, and invited the Eagle to fall to, saying, "Brother, eat!" But, peck at the dish as he would, the Eagle could not secure a morsel, while his host ate with ease.

Then said the Eagle to the Fox, "Come with me; get on my back, and I will take you to my house."

So the Fox got on the Eagle's back, and the Eagle rose high into the air. Presently he saw a Mollah kneeling on his fur-lined pelisse, at his prayers, and threw the Fox down upon him. The Mollah, terrified, ran off, leaving his pelisse, which the Fox promptly put on, and went his way.

[1] Lerch, *Forschungen, &c.*, p. 46.

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539 On the road he met a Wolf, who asked, "Brother Fox, what kind of fur coat are you wearing?"

"Brother Wolf, I am a tailor," replied the Fox.

"Then, Brother Fox, make me a fur coat," requested the Wolf.

"Certainly," said the Fox, "I will make you a fur coat."

"How soon will it be ready?"

"I must first have seven sheep, and then I will make it," replied the Fox; and he went to his den, and lay down.

The Wolf went further, found seven sheep, and brought them to the Fox, who said, "Brother Wolf, go home and wait three days; then return, for I shall have sewn your coat."

The Wolf waited three days, and then returned to claim his pelisse.

But the Fox replied, "My father is a tailor, and so is my mother, but I am not one."

Then said the Wolf, "Brother Fox, would you mind coming out of your den?"

"Get away with you," replied the Fox; "these seven sheep will suffice me for a whole year."

"Then," returned the Wolf, "I will wait a whole year before your den."

But the Fox heeded him not. He ate the seven sheep, and went to sleep. The Wolf remained seven or eight days before the Fox's earth. Seeing that he made no attempt to come out, the Wolf at last fetched a dried gourd, into which he put some stones. This gourd, rolling about, made a continual noise, which roused the Fox's curiosity. Coming cautiously out

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of his hole, he looks about for the Wolf, but, not 539
seeing him, he ventures forth, and seizes the gourd, which he ties to his tail. By-and-by he goes to the fountain, and, his tail hanging over the side, the gourd falls into the water, and the Fox, in his efforts to pull it out again, tumbles in himself.

The transcriber of the next story, M. Jaba, suggests 538
that "Sări-Salté" must have been an old Crusader, who 171
knew of the existence of the treasure, and had come from Europe, disguised as a dervish, to secure it. I venture, however, to think it much more probable that he was the famous warrior-monk, Sări-Saltík, one of the Moslem "Saints" who took part in the Ottoman Conquest, and of whom many extraordinary legends are related by the Turks.[1]

The Armenian and the Dervish.[2]

An Armenian named Sătir once lived in the town 539
of Begiriv, which is situated in one of the *kazas* 286
(districts) of Van. One day a wandering dervish was passing through the town, and received hospitality in the house of this Armenian. By the will of Allah, this dervish, whose name was Sări-Salté, fell sick, and remained a long time confined to his bed in the house of his host, who, with his wife and all the people of his household, took the greatest care of him. Every possible attention was paid to the dervish Sări-Salté.

[1] Some of these legends are to be found in the *Narrative of Rešid Effendi*, published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Among other feats the saint destroyed a seven-headed monster, and delivered a king's daughter whom he was about to devour. He is said to have travelled about from country to country, borne over the sea on his dervish's sheepskin mat.

[2] *Recueil de Notices et Récits Kourdes*, p. 94.

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539 286 In about two months the dervish got well and recovered his strength. One day he said to Sâtir, "Get ready by to-night a sack, a cord, flint and steel, a candle, and some matches. Have all these things in readiness, for we are going somewhere. Thou hast put thyself to much trouble for me, and it is but right that I should do thee a good turn."

The Armenian, Sâtir, got ready the sack and the other articles mentioned by Sâri-Salté, and, as soon as it was night, he and the dervish took them, and left the town. At an hour's distance from Begirîv, near the village of Kûrzût, on the top of a hill, are the ruins of a castle, which dates from the time of the Infidels (*i.e.*, the Christians), the architecture and walls of which are very ancient. The dervish Sâri-Salté and the Armenian Sâtir penetrated together into the interior of the ruins.

The dervish said to Sâtir, "Knowest thou why I have led thee hither?"

"I know nothing about it, thou only knowest," replied the Armenian.

539 Then the dervish revealed to him that in the centre of this fortress, which has remained from the times of the Infidels, a treasure lay hidden. "I am going," he said, "to remove the spell which guards it; we will enter, and thou shalt take some of the gold. But utter not a word." After this caution to Sâtir, the dervish pronounced some words, when a noise, accompanied by an earthquake, was heard within the walls. A few moments afterwards a door opened, and both entered the treasure chamber. Sâtir lighted a candle, and saw indeed a large room where gold and coins of

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the old Christian Emperors were lying in heaps. On 539
one heap of gold was a golden partridge with diamond eyes, which sparkled; and its beak, wings, and the whole of its body were covered with precious stones, which glittered in the light. The dervish stretched forth his hand, seized this golden bird, and hid it in his mantle, and advised Sätir for his part to fill his sack with as much gold as he could carry, as it was time to retire. The Armenian did so, and made so heavy a load that he could hardly carry it. They left the chamber, the dervish again recited some words, and the door of the treasure house shut again. They walked away together for a little distance, and the dervish then said to Sätir, "Do thou go home, and I will go about my business, but do not forget me," and he went off in another direction.

No sooner had he gone, however, than the demon began to tempt Sätir. The recollection that the dervish had taken away with him the image of the partridge studded with precious stones tormented him, and made him fancy that he, as a confederate, had some right to it. So he turned to follow after the dervish, with the intention of taking the bird from him by force, if necessary. Putting his sack on the ground, he ran after Säri-Saltè and soon overtook him. Hearing the sound of footsteps behind him, the dervish looked round, saw Sätir, and asked what had brought him back. The Armenian replied that he wanted the partridge, and not the gold.

The dervish replied, "Thou art a fool. This gold is sufficient for thee; go about thy business, I want

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539 this partridge. It is for this bird that I have left Frenghistan[1] and come hither; but I fell ill on the way and remained in thy house, and in reward for thy care I have given thee so much gold."

Sätir turned away. The demon, however, did not leave him, but induced him to go and try to take the partridge by force from the dervish, and also to keep all the gold. So again he runs after Säri-Salté, and, in a word, in spite of all the latter's counsel, he would not be persuaded. Seeing that Sätir was prepared to take the bird from him by force, the dervish told him to come nearer and he would give it to him. At the moment he approached, Säri-Salté threw at his nose something, the smell of which was so overpowering that he fell back in a faint.

The dervish went off, and Sätir did not come to himself until the following day. He got up, saw that the dervish was gone, took up his sack, and carried it home, where he hid it carefully. By degrees he purchased property of various kinds, several yokes of oxen for the plough, a fine flock, and some mills. The Governor of Begirlv learnt this, and suspected that Sätir must have found a treasure somewhere, as he was buying so much property. The neighbours informed the Governor that a short time back a dervish had arrived there, and remained in Sätir's house, that he had recovered, and disappeared, and that it was from that time that Sätir had become so prosperous. Finally, they succeeded, by one means or another, in getting some ancient coins from Sätir's house.

[1] The land of the Franks, i.e., Europe.

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The affair got wind, and it was everywhere reported that Sâtir of Begirîv had found a treasure. The news finally reached the ears of the Pasha of Van, who sent for him and shut him up in the city prison, where he lay some time. He confessed the truth, and obtained his liberty only at the price of a quantity of gold, which he gave to the Pasha of Van. In short, Sâtir had to scatter his gold in all directions. 539

Sensible folks will, perhaps, doubt the truth of this story. It is, however, firmly believed in these districts, and often related, and, what is more, the descendants of Sâtir still live at Begirîv in great prosperity. They have lands, mills, many a yoke of oxen and fine flocks, and they keep open house. One might say that it is a *tekkeh*,[1] for every one receives hospitality in this Armenian house; Moslems even are never repulsed, but welcomed with every mark of attention. From that time Sâtir became well known among the Kûrds, who made great friends with him, and brought him presents of sheep. It sometimes happens that they are at feud with the inhabitants of Begirîv, and commit robberies and depredations in that town, but they always spare the house of Sâtir, saying that it is as sacred as a *tekkeh*, and that not even an indiscreet glance must enter it. [579 628 778]

The following curious story has been preserved by the late Mr. Rich,[2] who took it down literally from the lips of the narrator, a tribesman of the Bebikeh of Duriahmana, without, as he says, adding to or 538 114

[1] Turkish monastery, where hospitality is generally exercised.
[2] Narrative, &c., vol. i. p. 250.

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538 altering it in any way. The incidents it describes are
114 totally unlike those of Kûrdish stories generally, and are probably derived from real occurrences, but belonging to a date far anterior to that assigned by the story-
[170] teller, who, with the supreme disregard for accuracy manifested by persons of his calling in the East, would refer any remarkable story to the immediate ancestors of the favourite Kûrdish hero, Sulieman Baba, if he could not refer them to the hero himself without being convicted of a too glaring anachronism. It may possibly be a survival of some story of chivalry belonging to the crusading age of Saladin, whom the Kûrds declare to have been a prince of their race.

A parallel to this legend may also be found in the
[171] Greek folk-tale of Ἡ βασιλοπούλα ποὺ πάγαι στὸν πόλεμο, "The Princess who went to the War."[1]

The Maiden Champion.

537 There lived once in Durishmana two brothers, Fakih Ahmed and Khidder, who had suffered much from the hostility of the Dulkassis, the most powerful people of Pishder. Fakih Ahmed, who was of a bold and proud spirit, quitted his village in disgust, swearing never to return to it unless he should be in a position to avenge himself. He went to Constantinople, and entered the service of the Sultan.

It so happened that the Sultan was at that time at war with the English (or Franks). In those days battles were generally decided by single combat. A champion had come forth from the Frankish host

[1] Von Hahn, Neugriechische Märchen, p. 37; and Absolon, i. p. 114.

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who for five days had kept the field against the flower of the Turkish chivalry, all of whom he had successively overthrown and slain. Fakih Ahmed volunteered to meet this redoubtable foe, upon which the Sultan sent for him, asked him concerning his country, and being satisfied with his appearance, allowed him to undertake the adventure, after first supplying him with a suitable horse and arms. He ran his course, and overthrew the Frankish knight. Upon alighting to cut off his head, he found, to his great astonishment, that his fallen enemy was a young maiden, who besought him to spare her life and she would marry him. He brought her back to the Turkish camp in triumph, and upon the Sultan's asking him what reward he should bestow upon him, he claimed and obtained a *firman*, constituting him Bey, and bestowing on him in perpetuity the village and lands of Durishmana. In this he displayed either his modesty or his ignorance, for, had he claimed the whole of Kûrdistan, he would have obtained it. 537

Fully satisfied, however, with his new acquisition, he returned in triumph to his native place with his bride, Keighan, by whom he had subsequently two children, Baba Stilman and Boodakh Keighan. He had frequent contests with the Bulbasis, whom he succeeded in reducing to considerable order.

One day, however, when he was absent, a large party of them came down on a predatory excursion. His wife, Keighan, sallied forth alone, and put the whole of them, amounting to some four or five hundred horsemen, to flight, killing a great number. She then

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Sy summoned together the people of Durishmana, mounted her horse, and addressed them as follows:

"Men of Durishmana, Fakih Ahmed spared my life when I was in his power, and I have this day requited the service, which was all I wanted or waited for. Now tell Fakih Ahmed what you have seen, and also that I am gone where he shall see me no more. Tell him that I charge him not to follow me, for it would be in vain, and I should do him harm, which, God knows, I would not willingly do." So saying, she turned her horse, and was out of sight in a moment.

As might be supposed, Fakih Ahmed was, on his return, much astonished to hear what had happened, and also deeply grieved at the loss of his beloved Keighan, whom he resolved to follow in spite of her prohibition. He came up with her in the valley of Khidheran, which is in Pizhder, and besought her to return with him.

"It is impossible," she replied. "You are a Moslem, I am a Frank. I go to the land of my fathers. Farewell. Come not near me, or I shall harm you!"

As the enamoured Fakih persisted, she raised her spear, and thrust him through the shoulder. He fell, and she galloped off. But she had not gone far when she bethought herself that she had made but a poor requital for his mercy to her when her life was at his disposal, and that, though he was a Moslem, he was the father of her children. She therefore relented, turned back, and finding him still breathing, applied to his wound a powerful ointment which placed him out of danger till he should receive succour. She

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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then set off again. But the ardent lover and husband, as soon as he had recovered from his wound, nothing abashed by the rough usage he had received at Krighan's hands, still persisted in his design of following and recovering her, and in pursuit of her reached Prenghistan. At nightfall he came to a large city, where he heard the sound of revelry. The *mekter khana* (band) was playing, the *mashals* (torches) were lighted, and all the other preparations for a *khey* (nuptial feast) were going forward.

Uncertain what to do, or where to take up his abode for the night, he resolved to leave it to chance and remain where his horse might stop. He accordingly gave him the reins, and the animal stopped before the house of an old woman. After making some difficulties, the woman consented to receive Fakih Ahmed as her guest, and he then inquired of her what was the occasion of all the rejoicings. She replied that the daughter of the king had gone to war with the Moslems, and had just returned after having been missing for several years, and also that she was then going to be married to her cousin. Fakih Ahmed begged his hostess to procure him admission as a spectator to the nuptial feast, which she at length agreed to do, provided he would allow her to dress him in woman's attire. This he consented to, and, favoured by his disguise, he contrived to be close at hand during the first interview between the fair Krighan and her proposed spouse.

When the lady came forth, the ungracious bridegroom immediately saluted her with a box on the ear, saying:

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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539 "Thou hast been a prisoner in the hands of the Moslems; thou hast been dishonoured; and dared thou show thyself before me?"

The bride, in her anguish, exclaimed in the Kirdish language, which had become familiar to her, "Oh, Fakih Ahmed, would that thou wert here!"

The person thus invoked immediately rushed forward, slew the bridegroom, and escaped with his wife to Constantinople, where the Sultan bestowed upon him an addition to his former grant. The couple then returned to Fishdar, where they lived happily all their days. Before Fakih Ahmed died, he completely subjugated the districts of Fishdar, Mergeh, and Mawett, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Bala Sultanee, the ancestor of the present princes of Soleimanieh, who conquered the remaining districts of that part of Kirdistan now under their authority.

539 The Sultan Murad, who figures in the following Kirdish story, is most probably Murad IV., who reigned early in the seventeenth century, and resembled the famous Khalif Haroun el Rasheed in his fondness for going about his capital in disguise. His adventure with the shepherd is almost identical with that related of James V. of Scotland—"The Gudeman of Ballengeich"—with the former Donaldson, who was subsequently known as "The King of the Moors."*

* See Sir W. Scott's Poems, Appendix to The Lady of the Lake, p. 400 (Black's edition, 1834).

1: Garnett D-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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Sultan Murad and Sim the Shepherd.[1]

It is well known that the Kirds lead their sheep [179 in flocks into Syria and Arabia, and even to Constantinople. Once a shepherd named Sim, of the tribe of [233 Ibeni-Sheikhin, led his sheep to Constantinople for 24] sale. His shoulders covered with a goatskin, as is the custom among shepherds, he grazed his sheep in the neighbourhood of the capital.

One day Sultan Murad and his *Aale*,[2] both disguised as dervishes, were walking in the suburbs, and they came to the spot where Sim was with his sheep. Now Sultan Murad had never in his life seen Kirds, nor shepherds in such a costume. Seeing Sim so strangely dressed, the Sultan was astonished, and said to his *Aale*, "What race of men is this who resemble in no respect the people of Stamboul, with their heads and their eyes covered with goatskins?"

The *Aale* replied that it was a Kird from Anatolia, who had brought his sheep for sale.

"Let us approach this strange creature," said the Sultan, "and see what manner of man he is."

Then the Sovereign and his *Aale* in their dervish [179 disguises came up to the shepherd and saluted him. [179 He returned their salutation, saying, "You are welcome, *Aale* (father) dervishes." The Sultan and the *Aale* sat down. The shepherd had a pipe with a short stem which he filled and offered to the dervishes, who

[1] Sultan, Murad, &c., p. 60.

[2] Name of confidential attendant. This name is also given to a male slave who has the charge of children.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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539 were much surprised by this act of courtesy. He
539 then said:

"I have bread and milk, and will bring you some."

Sultan Murad wished to decline his offer, saying, "We are not hungry, and have no need of food." But the shepherd insisted upon sharing his bread with them, and quoted to them the Arab proverb: "Whoso visits a living person and eats nothing at his house might as well visit a dead man."

"I am well," he added, "and refuse to be called a dead man, so you must not leave me without breaking bread."

The Sultan was charmed with the shepherd's remark, and accepted his offer of bread and milk. She unslung the skin bag which hung on his back, took from it a wooden cup, went to milk some of the sheep, and returned, bearing also in his hand a loaf, which he placed before his guests. The Sultan and the Arab ate a little, and the shepherd then asked the dervishes if they lived at Constantinople.

"Yes," replied Sultan Murad, "we belong to the capital. For the love of Allah, shepherd, if thou ever come into town come and see me."

The shepherd asked Sultan Murad what was his name and where he might be found.

539 His Majesty replied that his name was Baba Murad, and that he lived near the Sultan's palace. "Come to that place," he added, "and there will find me."

The two dervishes took leave of the shepherd, and

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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returned to Stamboul to the imperial palace. The 539
Padishah stationed a man at the Sublime Porte with orders to look out for a shepherd, dressed in such a certain fashion and covered with a gustekin, who would present himself there; as soon as he appeared, to say to him that he belonged to the house of Baba Murad, and then to conduct him to the apartment prepared for him, seat him there, and inform the Sultan of his arrival.

Two or three days afterwards, the shepherd took two or three of his fattest sheep, drove them before him, and traversed Stamboul, inquiring for the house of Baba Murad. Every one laughed in his face, and made fun of him, until he arrived near the palace, when the man who had been posted there by order of the Sultan went forward to meet him, and asked, "Whom seekest thou?"

The shepherd replied that he was looking for the dervish, Baba Murad, his dear friend, and that he had brought the sheep as a present to him, and a token of his friendly regard.

The man replied that he belonged to the household of Baba Murad, and offered to conduct him to his master's abode, giving the sheep into the charge of his servant. The shepherd's costume was enough to frighten one, with his gustekin covered with hairs standing on end, and in this costume he entered the sumptuous apartment, took off his shoes, and sat down. The palace attendant went to inform the Sultan that the shepherd had come, and that, according to his orders, he had conducted him to the apartment specified, and awaited his Majesty's further orders.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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539 The Sultan put on again his dervish's dress. The lads did the same, and both entered the room where the shepherd was.

"Salaam aleikim, peace be upon thee," they said.

The shepherd had still no idea that he was in the presence of the Sultan. The Padishah ordered the black coffee which is served in *finjáns*[1] to be brought.

"My brother,"[2] cried the shepherd, "why is thy milk so black and so bitter? and these cups, why are they so small? It scalds my mouth, and I can't drink the milk. Let them fill my wooden cup, and I will put in some pieces of bread and eat them."

The Sultan smiled, and ordered coffee to be brought in a coffee-pot. They filled with it the cup of Sheo the shepherd, gave him a piece of bread, and he ate it with a spoon. Then addressing his Majesty, he said:

"By Allah, my brother, thy milk is bad, it is too bitter." Then, looking at the cushions and mattresses covered with gold brocade which decorated the room, which he thought was but painted cotton, he added, "Brother, buy me a little of that stuff for my children. I will repay you when I have sold my sheep."

"Willingly," replied the Sultan.

Sheo continued to look about the apartment, which was full of magnificence and luxury, inspected the beautiful furniture, and again addressed the Sultan.

"My brother, who built this house for thee? doubtless it was left to thee by thy father?"

[1] Turkish coffee-cups. Though coffee has long been known in Khelfistan, it is little used by the natural Khelfs, and is unknown to many shepherds even at this day.

[2] Khelfs always address each other by this term.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Sultan replied that it had indeed been be- 53
queathed to him by his father.

Shaking his head, Sino cried, "I knew that it could not be a dervish's property!" and a few minutes afterwards he asked permission to leave, in order to look after his sheep, which had been left without a keeper. The Sultan told an attendant to send some one to look after the sheep and sell them, adding to the shepherd, "I will not let thee depart." His Majesty ordered them to take Sino to the bath and give him a robe of state, and then only did Sino learn that Baba Mezrul was his Padishah. When again conducted into the presence, he fell at the Sultan's feet and implored his pardon for having been so wanting in respect for him. Mezrul overwhelmed Sino with benefits and honours, had his sheep sold, granted him many favours, and finally bestowed upon him by *berat*[1] the *fief* of several villages of Bayazid. At this day the chiefs of the tribe of Berukin are of the family of this man, and live in the village of Girberta.[2]

The Kürds, like the Turks, have for their hero of 53
most of their comic and humorous stories, Nasr-ed-Din Hodja, the Imâm jester of Timour the Tartar. Some of these stories are identical with those current among the Turks, but many are, doubtless, of much greater antiquity than the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, the date assigned to this famous Oriental wit. The character of these anecdotes varies greatly. In one, for instance, the

[1] The Turkish equivalent of "royal letters patent."
[2] Between Bayazid and Makou.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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538 Hodja administers a severe rebuke to the avaricious; in another he enunciates a wise maxim for general observance; in many he is a mere buffoon; and in some his own honesty and integrity are more than questionable. Underlying the majority, however, is a vein of quiet sarcasm; and the *jeux de mots*, so much appreciated by Orientals, and to which the Turkish language especially is so well adapted, are very frequent, but impossible to reproduce in another language.

The Adventures of a Cooking Pot.

539 One day the Hodja borrowed a cauldron (*kazán*) from his neighbour. Now this neighbour was a bad man, and the Hodja did not like him. After the cauldron had remained some days with him, the owner knocked at the Hodja's door and re-demanded his property. The Hodja placed a smaller pot in the cauldron, and handed it to him. When the owner observed this, he said to Nasr-ed-Din:

"This little pot is not mine."

The Hodja replied, "Thy cauldron has given birth to a young one; take them both, I do not want thy goods."

At this the owner of the cauldron rejoiced greatly, and exclaimed, "*Allah kerim*—Allah is great! with the Almighty nothing is impossible!" and so saying, he took the pots and went his way.

A month or two afterwards the Hodja again went to his neighbour to borrow a cauldron. The man brought out the biggest he possessed. "But that is too big," objected Nasr-ed-Din.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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"I haven't a smaller one to lend you," said his neighbour. "What does it matter? If this one should bring forth, surely its child will be a big one."

So the Hodja carried the cauldron home, and put it on the oljak. The cauldron not being returned, the owner, after a month or so, went to ask for it. At the sight of him the Hodja wept.

"*Amán*," he cried, "a great misfortune has happened. Thy cauldron was a beautiful cauldron—it is dead—but thou art in good health."

"How can a cauldron die?" retorted the other incredulously; "thou art mocking me, Hodja."

"My heart," replied the Hodja, "when I informed thee that thy cauldron had brought forth a young one, Allah was all-powerful; and now, when I tell thee that she is dead, thou sayest that I mock thee!"

Nasr-ed-Din and the Beggar.

One day the Hodja went up to the terrace roof of his house, and while he was busy putting it in order, a knock was heard at the street door. On opening it the Hodja's wife saw a stranger, and asked his business. The man replied, "Go and tell the Hodja to come hither quickly, as he is wanted."

"But he is up on the roof, and is busy," objected the Hodja's spouse.

"No matter," was the reply, "call him that he may come quickly."

So the Hodja's wife called from below, "*Effendi*, there is a man at the door who wants you; come down quickly."

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 Said the Hodja, "I have mounted a thousand steps to get up here—ask the man what he wants, and then tell me."

But the man insisted on the Hodja's coming down to him at once, so the good woman again went to call him. Finding the caller so persistent, the Hodja said to himself, "Perhaps he comes on some business matter. I had better go down."

Hurrying down the staircase, he fell and hurt himself, and, coming to the door out of temper, found there a beggar, who said:

540 "For Allah's sake, give me an *aspre!*"

"Come this way," replied the Hodja, and he led the man up the staircase. When they had mounted forty steps, the Hodja turned to the beggar and said, "Go, may Allah send thee one."[1]

"You might have said that to me downstairs," grumbled the beggar.

"Man," replied the Hodja, "thou didst bring me down a thousand steps to hear thee say, 'Give me an *aspre*,' and hast been the cause of my fall and my hurt. I bring thee up but forty steps to hear me say, 'May Allah give it thee.'"

Nasr-ed-Din Hodja and the Corpse.

539 One day, as the Hodja was at home washing his 764 clothes, a man came to request him to perform the ablutionary rite for a corpse, so that it might be buried.

"I am busy," replied the Hodja; "I am washing my clothes. Go, bring the corpse here, lay it on this

[1] The usual Oriental formula when refusing a beggar's request for alms.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

table, and I will wash it here, as I have plenty of warm water,' and then you may take it and bury it."

"Very well," said the man, and he went to fetch the body.

The Hodja placed it on his table, and then said to the bearers, "Remain outside with my wife while I see to the corpse."

So the men went and sat down outside. The Hodja locked the door and fell a-thinking. Said he to himself, "I begrudge the warm water which I want for my clothes."

A small stream flowed past the house, and the Hodja finally decided to let it carry the dead man away unwashed. So, seizing the corpse by the legs, he threw it into the stream, which was swollen, and it was soon borne out of sight.

"I must now be wily with these men," said the Hodja to himself, and opening the door, he asked, "What has the life of the dead man been?"

"He was a rogue, a thief, and a cheat," was the general reply.

"No," said the Hodja, "that cannot be. You are mistaken. This man must have been a good man. When I had washed him on the table he opened his eyes and sat up. A silver chain then came down from heaven, angels came and took him up, and they said, 'This was indeed a man.'"

The simple villagers believed the words of the Hodja. "It was the will of Allah," they piously said, and returned to their homes. When, however, the corpse

[1] See Kurdish funeral rites, p. 190.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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537 had been in the water for three or four days, its further progress down the stream was arrested by the overhanging branches of a tree, and was observed by the country people. A peasant presently came to the Hodja, and reproached him, saying:

"You told us, Hodja, that the dead man had been taken up to heaven, and there is his corpse in the stream all swollen."

"Then he has been thrown down again from heaven," replied the Hodja, promptly. "You said he was a rogue, a thief, and a cheat, and who knows what he may not have been doing up there? He has probably stolen something, and they have cast him down again. Go quickly and bury him, or he may again come to life and rob you of something."

How the Hodja lost his Quilt.

One winter's night, when the Hodja and his wife were snugly asleep, two men began to quarrel and fight under his window. Both drew their knives, and the dispute threatened to become serious. Hearing the noise, the Hodja's wife got up, looked out of the window, and seeing the state of affairs, woke her husband, saying, "Great heavens! get up and separate them, or they will kill each other."

But the Hodja only answered sleepily, "Wife, dear, come to bed again; on my faith, there are no men in the world. I wish to be quiet; it is a winter's night. I am an old man, and perhaps if I went out to them they might beat me."

The Hodja's wife was a wise woman. She kissed

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

his hands and his feet. The Hodja was cross and scolded her, but he threw the quilt about him, went downstairs, and out to where the disputants were, and said to them:

"For the sake of my white beard, cease, my sons, your strife."

The men, in reply, pulled the quilt from the Hodja's shoulders, and made off with it.

"Very well," observed the good man. He re-entered, locked the door, and went upstairs. Said his wife:

"You did very well to go out to those men. Have they left off quarrelling?"

"They have," replied the Hodja.

"What were they quarrelling about, Hodja?"

"Fool," replied the Hodja, "they were quarrelling for my quilt. Henceforward my motto shall be, '*Beware of serpents.*'"

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Rowanduz

ROWANDUZ: A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE AND HANDICRAFTS CENTER

300

William R. Masters

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Abstract

ROWANDUZ: A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE
AND MERCANTILE CENTER

by William M. Masters

This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to wider cultural horizons in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, however much as detailed, localized treatments of the Kurds have as yet been previously attempted, this study of Rowanduz is also to contribute to the ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Muslim people numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within which it lies. The material were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) the administrative center, 2) the mercantile center, 3) house, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 5000 and is basically made up of merchants,

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105 [2] craftsmen, laborers, and servants. The town dominates a large district of agricultural villages both as a center of government administration and as one of commerce. Detailed descriptions of the aspects of life pertinent to the areas of discussion are given.

The most important focus of investigation, connected with the second object of the study, is found to be the society of the town. Formerly, Kurdish society, a composite of both tribal and feudal systems, was "primitive" or "pseudo-primitive" in character. It consisted of a mass of commoners, tenants or tribesmen, ruled by a hereditary aristocracy, and advancement from the first class to the second was impossible. The intrusion of the modern state has added a new class to this society, a government elite, and offers the possibility of attaining the highest social rank through education to the commoners of the older systems.

The conclusions implement the two purposes of the study. 1) Kurdish culture, as represented in Rowanduz, is discovered to be strongly regulated by Islam and to have many general similarities to that of Islamic peoples elsewhere, in spite of numerous peculiarities. 2) The impact of the modern state is changing the structure of Kurdish society and threatens to eliminate the active aristocracy by replacing it with the government elite. The Kurdish chieftains have reacted to this with a series of revolts, while many of the commoners are being absorbed into the new order, particularly in towns like Rowanduz. Popular understanding of the reaction, as well as of the transformat

[p. i(b)]

of the communers into a body of citizenry, is obscured by a nationalistic ideology directed against the rulers [who belong to other ethnic groups] of the Earth. A movement such as this has important relevance to the contemporary Middle East at large.

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[p. i(c)]

PREFACE

This study is the result of work undertaken while the investigator was a member of the University of Michigan 1951 Expedition to Iraq and Iran. He must first express his gratitude to the director of the expedition, Professor George G. Cameron, and to the Rockefeller Foundation for Anthropological Research for having made this inquiry possible. The investigator lived in the town of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile center in northern Iraq, for a period of seven weeks in the summer of 1951, a large part of this time as a guest in the home of a Kurdish merchant. He was accompanied by an interpreter, a former employee of the intelligence service of the British Army, and the facility with which much of this information was gathered can be attributed to the ability and ingenuity of this person. The investigator is well aware of the shortcomings which can arise from the use of an interpreter and the brevity of a visit. In the first regard, however, the repetition of inquiries and the reconciliation of recorded narratives to the townspeople revealed that a considerable degree of accuracy in this medium was being obtained. The teachers of the town's schools offered additional corrections and amplifications. There is still, of course, the possibility of error, but the investigator feels that mistakes must be few in number, not only because of the ability of his

interpreter and communicants, but because he found little 114
which seemed strange or anomalous with relation to his 124
studies of other Islamic cultures. The second failing is more sampling and the deficits in information arising from this difficulty have been indicated from time to time in the text. Nevertheless, it is felt that the limited aims of this undertaking, discussed in the initial and concluding chapters, have been achieved. The investigator was fortunate in having a plurality of informants, men of various ages and callings, with whom narratives could be rechecked. Their services were volunteered, and the only compensation asked was a similar exposition, by the investigator, of life in the United States. The information was recorded in many places in the town, the homes, the shops, the gardens, the club, and the mosque, and supplemented by a photographic record.

The investigator must next note his deep appreciation 114
for the aid afforded him by the mutasarrif of Rowanduz, Sami [124]
'Ali Beg, and Mr. Mahmud al-Amin of the Iraq Museum who facilitated his relationship with the local government. He is also obligated to H. E. Bahjat al-Atili, Director-General of Antiquities, under whose auspices the expedition conducted its work. A great debt is acknowledged to Professors Leslie A. White, Richard Titiev, and Seymour M. M. Duke of the University of Michigan for their guidance in the preparation of the manuscript and the incisive exposition of its problems. Both Professors George G. Cameron and Douglas D.

tesy of the University's expedition have continued as sources 114
of leadership and inspiration. Gratitude must be expressed
to Professor E. Marbury Efimenco and Mr. Ernest N. McCarus
of the University of Michigan, the former for his help in
checking the points related to government administration
and the latter for a careful review of the foreign words
and phrases. Lastly, it remains to thank the townspeople
of Rowandux and their mukhtar, Ra'uf Amin al-'Abbasi, for
their friendship and generous hospitality without which
this investigation would have been impossible. It is hoped
that a study of their life and problems will in some way
repay them for their kindness.

Words from Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, and other 128
languages have been underscored in the text, but accent 104
marks have been omitted. The reader will find in the
appendix a glossary of these words in complete transcription.

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Rowandiz

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CHAPTER I

[illegible] AND BACKGROUND

Kurdistan, "the land of the Kurds," is an area of the Middle East which cannot be defined by its environmental peculiarities or its political unity. The Kurds, a Muslim people whose numbers are estimated at several millions, occupy that mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet, an arc of land extending approximately from Aleppo to Tabriz. This corresponds to the southern portion of the complex of mountain ranges called the "Armenian Knot," in which the Taurus and Ararat ran ranges of Turkey join before fanning out as the Elburz and Zagros formations of Iran. Politically, Kurdistan is divided between five governments, and for centuries has been a party to the frontier warfare of Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. Until recent decades the "Armenian Knot" has been the home of peoples who have resisted absorption into the larger nations of the Middle East, some by force of arms and others peacefully as relics of almost forgotten Christian and Muslim sects. Of such groups, one might mention the Armenians, historically the northern neighbors of the Kurds, the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians, the Yezidis of Jebel Sinjar, and the Druses of Lebanon and Syria. To the north, in the Caucasus, were the Christian

Georgians and Hurlin Circassians. In addition to being inhabited by those noted for their beauty, this country has been the meeting place of empires and cultural traditions, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The Kurds, because of their mountain strength, emphasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the upheavals of the First World War than some of their Christian neighbours.

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethnic unit or nation whose most distinctive characteristics are its language and customs. Coupled with these are a large number of minor peculiarities which differentiate it from other Islamic peoples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam in which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian, and Turk are easily discernable and many things, such as orthodox religious practices, may be assigned definite historical origins. Despite the dominance of foreign elements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. The history of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored, and those few treatments which have appeared are, for the most part, disappointing, for they have been written by persons whose aims were far from academic or whose objectivity is doubtful. Without entering the controversies which surround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to appear first in classical literature as the Kardouchi of Xenophon and the Gordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people occupying much the same area as they do today.[1] Their

[1] Strabo, XVI, pp. 485-487.

language is Indo-European, closely related to Persian, and they were probably a part of that same movement which brought others of the Indo-European linguistic group, such as the Armenians, Hittites, and Persians, into the Middle East. Racially it is difficult to give an opinion, because little work of a modern nature has been undertaken among them. In the older parlance of physical anthropology, however, they exhibit traits considered much more characteristic of the races of Europe and Central Asia than of the Arabs to the south, such as blond hair, blue eyes, fair pigmentation, and round heads. They give immediate evidence, by these older criteria, of being a mixture. In religion they are Sunnite Muslims and are thus set off from the Shiite Iranians to the east. Whether this is the result of their original conversion or the continued influence of the Sunnite Turks and Turkomans is unknown.

Disturbingly almost no systematic investigations have been made among the Kurds, although a few brief, but accurate, generalized descriptions are to be found.[1] Those last, however, have been written by persons, administrators, missionaries, travelers, and the like, who are not ethnologists. This, in itself, need not constitute a detriment, but their primary purpose in publication was not the portrayal of a culture. It is unnecessary to review here the large number of other types of references to the Kurds, extending from ancient times to the present, except to remark that their most distinctive characteristic is their prejudice

[1]For example, Hay, 1951.

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or unwisely. This may be seen from one of the more recent examples:

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered worthy to live. My father once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very beautiful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always quite insane in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1]

The negative reputation is not wholly without reason. In older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Druzians, and Turks. Recently, many Kurds served in the Hamidian, the irregular bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and diplomats in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with nationalism, but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the

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[1] Edmonds, 1953, p. 155.

sound was the diversion of some of the chieftains at the expense of commercial travelers who, of course, had reason to complain of the tolls exacted from them. It is ridiculous, however, to suppose that the Kurds as a body are a race of mercenaries and thieves.

An investigation of Kurdish life, the first object of this study, has value, not simply because the people here so often have maligned, but for the reason that the ethnology of the Middle East, a field which has only recently begun to receive adequate attention must be built up from accurate, localized descriptions. If broader analyses of contemporary Islamic culture are to be undertaken, as well as historical studies, they demand a body of data which admits of verification, the work of observers whose motives are scientific, rather than the loose aggregation of anecdotes and generalizations one has to deal with at present. One may profitably study Kurdish life, because it has been almost untouched as far as primary observation is concerned and, as the culture of a non-Arab people whose language and background is Indo-European, an inquiry into the effect of Islam in modifying the formations would not be without regard. One may properly seek to present those elements which may be proven to be unique with the Kurds and those others which may be attributed to the influences of Islam and other peoples. It is convenient here to mention the recent monograph of E. E. Ismail, Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds, which, with the exception of some studies made many years

ago and published in Rwanda by T. F. Kinnaird, unavailable to the investigator, seems to be the first attempt to deal in systematic fashion with the people themselves.[1] Leuch's study, however, is brief and neglects a number of aspects of life, for example, the ceremonies surrounding birth, circumcision, marriage, and death, of which treatment would be desirable. Secondly, the "Rwandan area" in Leuch's work includes a wide region of investigation ranging from Kibili to the Ituraean frontier and, with a few exceptions, his remarks cannot be referred to a particular village or town. Lastly, he was primarily concerned with the agricultural villages and has little to say about the town of Rwandan itself.

In addition to a primary, comprehensive description of Hutuish life, a second problem, of importance to the ethnology of the Middle East as a whole, is almost forced on one. The first facet of this is the question of Hutuish nationalism, the repercussions of which have recently directed a great deal of popular attention to this group. Nationalism, which requires no new definition here, is a variant of ethnocentrism. In its best known contemporary forms it evolved in Europe during the last two centuries. The nation, in such thinking, is differentiated from others by criteria, often highly fictional, of race or culture. The goal of nationalism is the realization of an autonomous state. In this it achieves a political aim, but its real

[1]Leuch, 1948.

generalcate are usually commonde, the reaction against exploitation by those considered to be aliens. Occasionally it commonle the desire to exploit others, as exemplified in the recent cases of "Germany" of Danig or the Sudetenland. The struggles of European nationalism are singularly uniform. The nationalists find for their group a glorious historical past and a wealth of intellectual and artistic achievements. It is interesting to consider how many national "epic poems" and folk heroes have come to light in Europe in the last century. Nationalism of this type has characteristically been developed among the educated upper and middle classes from whom it descended to the mass of the people. In this restricted form, nationalism as an ideology has spread over much of the civilized world from Europe, and found recruits in the Middle East among the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, such as the Albanians, Armenians, and Greeks. With those dissatisfied with Turkish domination and attracted by the extravagant new philosophy were the Kurds.

> In the autumn of 1908, a Kurdish club was established in Constantinople . . . with the object of studying the essential principles which must govern the organization of the nation and the homeland. They published a newspaper . . . In the first few numbers of the journal, Leskere . . . laid great emphasis on 'acquiring and spreading a good language,' as a key to learning and civilization. Details were published showing the wealth of Kurdish folklore and the written literature . . . It was suggested that a national Kurdish force should be raised on the basis of tribal regiments . . . Similar Kurdish clubs were established also at Baghdad, Mosul and Diarbekir to promote the same ideas and methods . . . This common passion for education formed a close bond between the

students who met each other not only at school and public meetings, but also at social gatherings where they could talk and exchange their views.[1]

Kurdish nationalism in the European sense thus had its first protagonists among the educated Kurdish officials, officers, professional men, and students of the Ottoman Empire, not the chieftains and the people themselves.

Nationalism, which has an independent state as its goal, is something quite different from the transition of primitive into civilized society. It is held that the basis of membership in a primitive society is one of kinship while that of civilized is one of territorial distinctions and property relations. There is thus a fundamental difference between the two in structure. This thesis, one of the central problems of ethnological theory, was well outlined by Maine:

> The history of political ideas begins, in fact, with the assumption that kinship is viewed in the sole possible ground of community in political functions nor is there any of those subversions of feeling, which we term emphatically revolutions so startling and so complete as the change which is accomplished when some other principle--such as that, for instance of local contiguity--establishes itself for the first time as the basis for common political action.[2]

Maine was joined by other nineteenth century anthropologists and writers in asserting the change from primitive to civilized society was qualitative. Morgan, for example, wrote:

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[1] Instructions, 1914, pp. 70-71.

[2] Maine, 1888, p. 126.

> It may be here remarked that all forms of government are reducible to two general plans, using the word plan in the scientific sense. In their bases the two are fundamentally distinct. The first, in order of time, is founded upon persons, and upon relations purely personal, and may be distinguished as a society (ecclesia) . . . The second is founded upon territory and upon property, and may be distinguished as a state (civitas). The township, or ward, circumscribed by metes and bounds, with the property it contains, is the basis or unit of the latter, and political society is the result. Political society is organized upon territorial areas, and deals with property as well as with persons through territorial relations.[1]

More recently this point of view was challenged by Lowie, among others, who claimed the difference was merely quantitative:

> The traditional distinctions established by Maine and Morgan retain its validity in so far as consciously a union of neighbors is different from a union of kinsmen. It must even be conceded that the blood tie is frequently the overshadowing element in governmental activities of primitive peoples. Yet, though it often awaits the territorial factor, it never succeeds in eliminating it . . . The basic problem of the state is then not that of explaining the community by which earliest peoples achieved the step from a government by personal relations to one of territorial contiguity only. The question is rather to show what processes strengthened the local tie which must be recognized as not less ancient than the rival principle.[2]

Without arguing the question, in which the attempts seem to this writer to lie with Maine and his successors, the problem will be seen to have relevance to the recent history of the State in Iraq. Civilized society is represented in their situation by the modern state, the country of Iraq,

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[1] Morgan, 1878, p. 6.

[2] Lowie, 1927, pp. 59-63.

and it is important not to confuse the ideal of the intellectual nationalists, a free Kurdish commonwealth, with that which the chieftains and their people are now striving to preserve, a society quite within the state.

The Kurds, occupying a mountainous terrain, were but superficially governed by the Iranian and Ottoman governments. Inasmuch as the roads were poor or the country impossible for artillery, the Kurds, a well-armed people, were usually the military equals of their governors. The control of the Iranians and Turks was thus largely confined to the maintenance of police posts and army installations and the attempt, often in vain, to maintain public order and collect a few taxes. Helmut von Moltke, writing in 1838, wrote:

> It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman empire comprises vast regions in which the Turks exercise no real authority. It is certain that the Pashalik (the Turkish fiefdom) has to reconquer subjugated regions within the territory of its own state. To this category belong the highlands (of Kurdistan) between the Tigris and the Persian frontier.[1]

In recent decades, however, the Kurds, notably in Iraq and Turkey, have been subjected to the full impact of the modern state and some remarkable changes, comparable to similar developments elsewhere in the Middle East, are beginning to take place, challenging the whole structure of their society. This last, as will be seen, is one which is at once total and feudal, formerly directed by a landed aristocracy. A

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[1] Quoted in Entwistle, 1949, p. 32.

characteristic of it was the extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this nationalism, and a consideration of the alternatives to Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance to the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the more plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq presents a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Dalapmaliya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Even at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter comes of rain and snow, many of the passes are closed for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Turkish town of Amadiya is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northwest of Erbil. In olden days Amadiya was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of that remains of this tradition.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Bar Sauma, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1]Recounted to Smallman, 1955.

independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A ruined fortress of this leader is to be seen a short distance north of the town, and his descendants, the House of Isma'il Beg, still own much of its property. The Turks, who appreciated the strategic significance of Rawanduz with relation to the Iranian routes and the possibility of a military advance along this line from Russia, made it the seat of a *qaimmaqam*, an Ottoman governor, subject to the Kirkuk *sanjaq* (district) of the *vilayet* (province) of Mosul. Administratively it was equal in rank to Erbil, and immediately prior to the First World War had one or two battalions of infantry stationed nearby, as well as a police detachment. As a part of the monarchy of Iraq, it is now much more of an administrative than a commercial center and is still under a *qaimmaqam*, but domiciled beneath the control of Erbil.

In Ottoman times Rawanduz was a flourishing town of about a thousand houses and had a population estimated at 5000. It occupied a sloping tongue of land, running west and west along the Rawanduz river. The river was joined just above the town, to the west, by another stream flowing through a gorge then called the Balawi, and above this juncture rose a great bluff, several hundred feet above the floor of the valley, termed Qala Dizah (Persian, *qala'h*, "fortress"). The flat top of this bluff was occupied by the house of Isa'il Beg, a descendant of Sur Pasha, the "Hilmi of the Turkish officers, some summer residences of

the northeast of the town, and getmen. The Turkish post and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Shama Dag rising 8,0[illegible] feet above sea level to the northwest, that of Sandria Dagh 9600 feet to the southwest, and the cliffs of Sarsek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the First World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those Inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war.

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the First World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tilah which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rawanduz and Sandria rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rawanduz, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kanibkan. A description of the new town will be found in the study on Erbil. Rawanduz is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rawanduz river east to a point named Kanibkan where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan

poste, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at the rear. Bowadou proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Serbian culture, for it has a basic population of merchants and businessmen whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the camps in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Serbian society, Bowadou was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Bowadou as an administrative and commercial center and Serbian life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Serbs.

U.S.S.R.
TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
IRAN
EGYPT
SAUDI ARABIA

102
133
481
131

Figure 2. Sketch map of the Rowanduz District

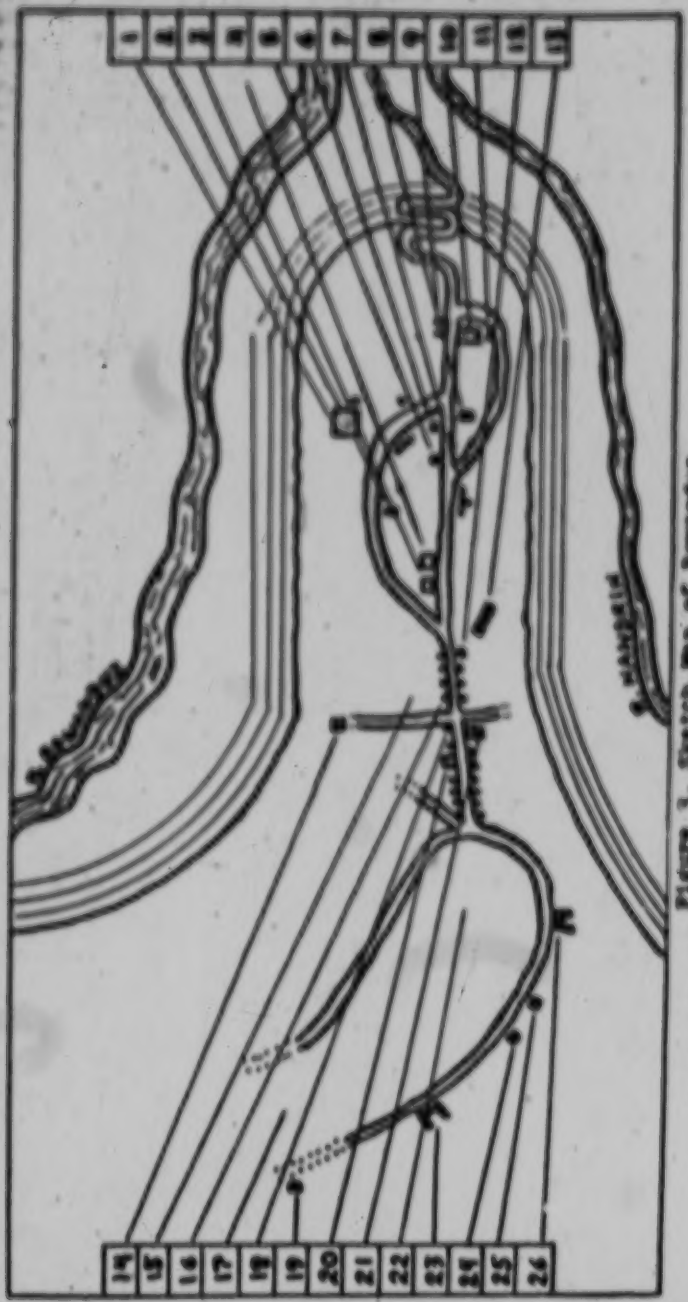

Figure 3. Sketch Map of Rowandus
1. Iman'ili Bar. 2. Court House. 3. Police Post. 4. Tobacco Monopoly. 5. Girl's School. 6. House of Guimaraes. 7. Sayyid Mousni. 8. Primary School. 9. Veterinarian. 10. Darul. 11. Communications Office. 12. Sadiq Agha. 13. Hospital. 14. Ba'af Effendi. 15. Lower Residential Area. 16. Bazar. 17. Cemetery. 18. Garage. 19. Ashi Shaykhi. 20. Garage. 21. Qasai Mosque. 22. Upper Residential Area. 23. Shaikh Effendi. 24. Kuri Darul Agha. 25. Women's Mosque. 26. Club.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE

To give a description of Rowandus, its administrative and economic importance, as well as its social and religious life, demands a certain excursus above and beyond the actual physical limits of the town. To understand the role of the town, not only as a rural center, but in broader cultural horizons, one must have some understanding of the areas within which it lies. It is not intended to enter into an exhaustive discussion of either regional cultures or of a civilization, for that presupposes a much more extended survey than either the basis or the framework of this study can support, but rather to indicate the proper perspective in which the town must be viewed. The most convenient beginning to this task is not to be found in an economic or social background, but in the government, for in proceeding from its delineation, in many cases generalized with respect to district and to nation, an effective appreciation of later discussion can be formed.

Thus a clearer definition of the position of Rowandus as an administrative center requires in some wise an appreciation of the constitution of Iraq itself, on whose northeastern border lies the district dominated by the town. A segment of the old Ottoman Empire, the territory of modern Iraq was

freed from the Turks during the First World War and thereafter recognized as an independent state, temporarily assigned as a mandate to Great Britain. The early organization of the country took place under British guidance, and was defined by an "Organic Law" of 1925 as a limited monarchy with a responsible government. The legislative bodies consist of a Chamber of Deputies (Majlis al-Nuwwab) of elected representatives and a Senate (Majlis al-A'yan) of nominated elder statesmen. One of the salient features of this government is that, aside from the deputies, no other public official is elected by popular suffrage, from the Prime Minister to the village postmaster. It is very much as if the citizens of the United States voted only on members to the House of Representatives, and all other officers concerned with public life were appointed by a central government in Washington, D. C. In Iraq there are, to be sure, local "advisory councils" to the governors, but their membership is in practice selective. On the conduct of elections themselves there is much variation of opinion, and, without failing to one side or the other, it is possible to say quite fairly that neither the electorate or the Chamber itself have fully realized the possibilities of the democratic power within their hands. There is then, not only among the Kurdish minority, but in many quarters in Iraq, a strong popular sentiment, correct or incorrect, that even their elected officials improperly or impotently represent the people.

One of the advantages of appointment to this position is that it permits the central government to provide properly qualified officials, responsible to higher authority, rather than relegate their selection to the whim of the voter. On the other hand, the official appointed in England almost always comes from a different town, and usually from a different province, than that to which he is assigned. Moreover, although there is no bar to any person rising in the government, the old middle and upper-class Turkish and Arab families of Iraq, who furnished officers and officials to the Ottoman order, tend to dominate the ranks of the new monarchy as the wealthy, educated class. Thus, because there is little immediate community of interest between governor and governed, there is the potentiality of the use of office for the furtherance of personal ends on a local level, and, on the higher levels in England itself, the acquisition of government positions by the influence of family or wealth. None of these things, however, should in any way be construed as an accusation of dereliction, particularly in the administration of the Kermanshan district, but even the possibility of malfeasance has an easily imaginable effect on a people as nationally sensitive as the Kurds. Of more cogent importance, however, is the fact that the administration of Kermanshan lies in the hands of persons on the whole alien to the community itself, and the social implications of the presence of this new class shall be examined in some detail.

At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Chinese lines, the country is divided into fourteen lines, each under a minister. The line is subdivided into nahies, each under a nahieman. The nahie is in turn subdivided into a number of nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a nahi baladiya appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the intricacies of metropolitan administration. The people have a mukhtar, selected from the local inhabitants, who, while in no sense a public official, acts in liaison between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the ʿumda in contemporary Egypt.[1]

The nahie or district of Kawsakra belongs to the Rizal line, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Kawsakra. In spite of this official's labors in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kawsa, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the "villages" here referred to may vary from a few isolated

[1] Ayrout, 1943, pp. 47-48.

become to a much larger number, which explains what may at first appear an abnormally high number. To these have been added the figures for camels, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villages
Settled Bedu (not including clansmen)				
The town of Kerbelan	2,181	2,218	4,399	
The nahiya	5,018	5,004	10,022	10
Balad	4,047	3,768	7,815	20
Surchiyeh	2,320	2,261	4,581	-
Mukhaiyat	-	-	3,478	23
Shah Bandar	3,779	3,178	10,913	30
			28,788	
Nomads	2,477	2,173	4,650	
			34,438	

The numbers given for camels may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less accessible than the villager to the census-taker, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the tax-collector or recruiting officer.

The matter of the camel—actually in Kurdish, as opposed to Bedouni, the villager—must give us pause. The term "camel" has a variety of applications, and, in the Middle East, is given its classical sense in those arid wasteways of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman hinterland of the northern marches, "true" camels in the sense that in a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flocks

and Jaaba. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the latter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being deemed to serve the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were ever nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Medieval days but a generic term for rude mountaineers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the kurdish, with their mobility and firepower (the summum of the Middle East nomadic weapons to a much greater extent than the agriculturist), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with kurdish groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

[1]Minorsky, 1953, p. 254.

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "wounds" cited above.

In spring the Jerbils are on the move, leaving their flanks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Rawandiz and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, swelling the warmth of the festive plain. In former days their passage could often be furthered. Because of his flocks, the Jerbilz must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if some peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the armed still has the right of way after dark, and saving a vehicle through the use of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the Jerbilz constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a minority such as that of Rawandiz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep straying from the armed, or trespass flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as they cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the Jerbilz of Rawandiz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country.

Within many Hortick and Batorina villages, as well as the people of Rwanda itself, the patrilig all belong to one or another "tribe" (Hortick, *ingabire*, from Arabic, *'asbiyy*), a matter which also demands clarification. The typical Hortick tribe contains several elements of a different character. Membership usually depends upon descent, but individual families or small lineages may change their tribal allegiance, and either join another group, or form an individual tribe of their own. While some of the larger confederations appear to be of considerable antiquity, the smaller groups come and go with the vicissitudes of war, wealth, and leadership. Nor are the tribes made up exclusively of nomads, for, while the nomad may play a dominant role in furnishing paramount leadership and armed men, the wealth and numerical strength of such a group come largely from its villagers. Because many of the chieftains are landowners, persons living in villages owned by them, whether Muslim Hortick or Batorina Christians, are said to "belong" to the chieftain's tribe. Batorinans often dress in the typical garb of their "tribe," taking part in many of its common affairs, although there is almost no possibility of intermarriage between them and their Muslim fellows. While there seems to be little historical evidence to support or refute such a view, the Hortick tribe appears to represent an intermediate stage between groups whose membership was actually based on descent and those whose character is purely feudal, a situation which may have

enlarged for evaluation. Today it cannot be denied that some witnesses, particularly the Ishakki, belong to their group because of kinship relations (the Kurdish term being [illegible] from qewle, [illegible], "tribe," is used to describe a tribal subdivision still to be found which seems to represent a patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial.

It is important to notice that there are two main bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and that commonly called "tribal law," operated by local administrative officers. The institution of dual legal systems was evident by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of whose tribe-connected customs were, to say the least, out of joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code. The differences between the two need not be considered in detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such as adultery or rape. There are in the Ranwalim district a number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and its administration is not charged to the local judge, but is an added task of the [illegible]. Hence the office of that official in Ranwalim has often the aspect of a courtroom, the [illegible] and his clerk patiently and laboriously inquiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through an interminable parade of witnesses--scarcely-dressed

publicly and villages from remote villages—seems to me a 495
short-sighted thing for their long-winded deputations. In
the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate
any offense which may have taken place while his grounds
or to vouch for a suspect, the little plaintiffs or two-step [text]
across from the government building is full of his body-
guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town.

Those tribes having connections in the Rowanda 619
district, while not necessarily confined to it, include
the Bolahi under Mallo Nuam Agba, the Bornderi under Mahamd
Beg Khalifa Ewald, the Barti under Fateh Agba, the Barnti
under Sajji Bawey Agba, the Kheyimi under Bello Agba, the
Rawwai under Mahammed Seyidi, the Sarbarti under Fateh Agba,
and the Barnti under Kadiir Agba. The most important and
numerous are the Bolahi, the Bornderi, the Barti, and the
Barnti. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, 620
corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be 619
seen later that a chieftain need have no connection with a
tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views
of the names of tribes and their leaders, that of the
government and that of the local inhabitants. The list
given here is that officially furnished by the Sultan of
Rowanda, and does not necessarily correspond with some
segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain
"lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized,
while others, such as Ar'ad Agba who keeps to a well-guarded
house in Rowanda, are unable to return to their villages [620]
because of a feud.

because of a feud. Lastly it remains to mention the Bermani, formerly one of the most powerful groups in the district. In the series of events which followed the withdrawal of the Russian army from Azerbaijan in 1946, one of the Bermani chieftains, Mullo Mustafa, was forced to flee to the Armenian S.S.R. and the tribe was theoretically broken up. Officially the Bermani no longer exist, but in the popular mind they are much alive. If a policeman or another is shot in a remote district, the deed is usually attributed to "the Bermani," a convenient battleaxe for the gendarmerie's wrath.

The administrative control of an extensive mountainous area inhabited by a scattered population of some 11,000 peasant-proprietors farmers and shepherds, most of whom belong to an ethnic group noted for its warlikeness, is not without its difficulties, and symptoms of the gendarmerie and his officials the extensive daily exhibition of qualities, among them validated patience and a fine sense for popular opinion, rarely demanded of similar magistrates in Europe or North America. Locally, in the public, the greater part of the burden rests almost completely with the mudir and his personal assistants, for within his own sphere he is given much of a free rein. It has been often and widely noticed that bureaucratic personnel in the Middle East far tend to outnumber and submerge the requirements of efficiency, but this is valid only for capitals and larger towns, for the distasteful tasks of rural order find but the barest of cadre. The

police "called," in his own words, to the community, must 647
account for a police or sub-district, in this case with an 648
average population of some 10,000 souls, with a staff of a
few non-commissioned officers, clerks, a police detachment and warrants [625]
which together usually numbers less than 30 or 40 men, less
than 1/2000th of such a population.

The job of the typical police is not an enviable one.
His chief tasks are those of the great totality of Middle
Eastern administrations, the maintenance of order, the collection
of taxes, and the selection of army recruits. Success
these three demand most of his time and energy, other problems,
such as public health, must suffer in comparison. [644]
government headquarters in the central village of a police
is usually a downright one-storey outpost of sub-tribal or
rabble, built about an unpaved courtyard. It contains some
offices, a guardroom and quarters for the police, and a [647]
primitive jail, and boasts neither plumbing, heating, or
electricity. The police himself is assigned a house, but he
can rarely have more than the minimum in furnishings, just
as he usually cannot yet afford marriage. He is most often
a younger man from 25 to 35 years of age, a lowpar by
training, and in high hopes of some better favoured assign-
ment. Moreover, he finds himself an alien in the community,
not only because his origins are elsewhere, but also because
his social rank does not seem to admit of free intercourse
with those he governs. There are, to be sure, police who
take a great part in the social life of their police, but

they are most often alone, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Kurmanbur, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Kurd, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "There I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is unnecessary here to return to Kurmanbur itself and the more important questions of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Kurmanbur, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the sarai, so named after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the mutasarrif and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The sarai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen must guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

little collection of cows--oxen, bullocks, [illegible] [illegible]
(the sacred Hatlish beggar)--may often be seen, because
men with business in the court are allowed to entering
and may remain their wagons after their departure. The
roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting
joists of bamboo poles and twigs, and on them bits of
grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on
duty at night take up their station in a corner of the
roof.

The offices of the court open on the inner courtyard.
There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the [illegible]
first storey, and the interior windows and doors of the
second storey facing the valley are glazed and barred.
The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists
of bare bamboos and poles which support the roof. The
floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, [illegible]
and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few
offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Pens, desks, and
convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers [illegible]
and loosely-placed papers. Everything is written by hand, [illegible]
for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office [illegible]
stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned
down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and [illegible]
the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done
by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are
equipped with stoves in winter-time. Directly across the [illegible]
courtyard from the gateway is the jail, the inner wall

furnishing of a large stool grill and the usual fan be-
hind, squatting against the walls, as display. The
official day begins at eleven eight o'clock and continues
without interruption until two or three o'clock, although
it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the
fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue
their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for
most labor ceases to a close in the early afternoon. During
the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity,
filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands,
policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying
tea or sherbet, and, of course, a festooning of lawyers with
no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-
brick stairs may be found the office of the prisoners. It
is a typical example of an official's establishment of the
Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated
again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large
framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Be-
neath it stands the prisoners's littered desk, flanked with
an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are
lined with upholstered chairs placed one to one. In one
corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and,
ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth
envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of
self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A
name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

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temporarily into the office. He soon reappears and where one is to the <u>gainsmoga</u>, and, after greetings and pleasantries have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or alcohol. The servant is recommended to finish these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant returns with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a <u>mudir</u> feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in unbeckoned with documents requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the <u>gainsmoga</u>'s staff, is a place of interminable interruptions, for everyone, great or small, with a problem tries, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

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Some of the <u>gainsmoga</u>'s more specialised duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the <u>gainsmoga</u> must supervise and coordinate the activities of the <u>mudirs</u> and <u>kalis</u> officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a <u>mudir</u> is given considerable local power, but because the <u>gainsmoga</u> is responsible not only for the

conduct of lesser officials but also of the populace as a whole, he tends to keep in close informal touch with both of these. Similarly, he is the step in authority between a mudir of his qaiha and the mutasarrif of Erbil and reports, taxes, recruits, and prisoners must pass through his hands. The same relationship described between mudir and qaimaqam obtains between the latter and the mutasarrif, because the qaimaqam must refer his own reports and problems to higher authority. Lastly, it has been intimated above that the qaimaqam is referred to as an appeal for all sorts of requests. In the Arab Middle East the private citizen has two customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is usual in most European governments, or at the "top." If, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the submission of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through chief clerk, mudir, and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, accumulating documents on its way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, often a perogative of higher social rank, the direct application to the highest available authority, is, of course, the more effective because it bears the signature of authorization at the outset. It follows that the qaimaqam is constantly beset by those, either in their own interest or in that of some "client," wishing to bypass the normal paths of transmittal.

Throughout their history the Kurds have suffered a

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qaḍa is charged to the qaimmaqam.

181 579 [628] [777] [491] [625] [764] 625 647 624

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

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and his March Arab constable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police are furnished their uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who can bear the expense may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is pinned, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in Baghdad and other larger towns, is never seen in Rowanduz. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality, long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Arabic terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender batons to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Rowanduz police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries. 625 [177] [411] [713] [493]

The police are assigned in small numbers to the Mudirs, while a larger unit is kept in Rowanduz at the

disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not quartered in the serai, but occupies a similar, smaller building of its own a short distance up the road which serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. However, the actual direction of the police has its place in the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director, and his assistant, the namus (Arabic, "official"), an officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there. These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the police. During the summer of 1951, the namus's adjutant, also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the townspeople for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy, helping himself to refreshments and other small items at the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of the police in Rowandus itself includes watching the market by day, providing guards for government buildings, transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the streets by night.

625 [647] [554] [661] [578]

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of investment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how small the amount involved, than precious metal or land. To all classes of society these two are tangible objects of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers are highly variable, but soil or gold are always of value.

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423 Because of this conviction, the legal ownership of land
454 becomes an administrative matter of the gravest import, and the office of the director of tapu (registered land) in Rowanduz the scene of some of the most serious transactions in the serai.

423 The law of Iraq treating the tenure of land are somewhat complex, as both Quranic and Ottoman classifications are intermingled in the modern code, but only two categories need concern us here, tapu and amiriye. Tapu-land is that which has been registered and to which a title of private ownership is recognized. Amiriye-land is that belonging to the state, not only that in use for government installations, but almost all "unoccupied" land. Under certain conditions, such as occupancy over a period of 15 years, amiriye-land can become privately owned. Whenever there is a transaction in land, usually a sale, the parties concerned must have reference to the director of tapu in the serai. An engineer from his office makes a survey of the land in question, which, in the form of a map, serves as a deed. One copy is given to the owner and another retained in the office.

423 A third category, which not only includes land, but
735 also houses and other forms of property, is waqf, the
429 religious donation. A man, for a variety of reasons, may leave his property to the Islamic faith and it becomes untaxable and inviolable. Such property is placed for the use, usually at extremely low rates, of poorer folk among

the faithful. There are in Rowanduz some 18 houses and lands which belong in this category. The administration of such property is placed under a Ministry of Awqaf, and there is a Mamur in Erbil from this ministry to supervise the use of such bequests. Locally, the supervision is not charged to the serai, but to the chief mulla (the religious leader of the community) who otherwise has no connection in government affairs. 423 735 429 [793]

Just as the legal ownership of land is important to the private citizen, its taxation is a primary concern of the government. Locally the collection is in the hands of the mudirs, and the money transmitted through the qaimmaqam to Erbil. In taxation a distinction is made between agricultural lands and houses. Of the agricultural land, tapu-land is taxed a straight 15% of its value in terms of yearly yield. Amiriya-land which has been built upon and cultivated is subject to 30%, while that which has not been built upon, but cultivated, pays 10%. Houses, without reference to the land on which they stand, are taxed 15% of the assessed value of their yearly rent. Shopkeepers and merchants pay a series of taxes, usually in the form of licenses. Neither personal property, including gold, jewelry, or currency, nor income are taxed in the Rowanduz district. As has been mentioned, waqf or "church" property is not taxed. These revenues must be paid in money, never in kind, although property may be seized for taxes in arrears. However, the chieftains in the countryside try 651

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends. 651

There is in the serai an excise and customs director who must supervise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jindian, Rayat, and Hajji Umran on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offense) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an [647] [439] [687] [273] 314 56 372

offense against a conservation law, because charcoal is not taxed. 314 656 372

The census officer and an assistant have an office in the serai, as has been mentioned above. The difficulties encountered in preparing a census for a district such as this are formidable, but administratively the task does not have the priority of others. The chief problem is simply the determination of the numbers of men and women in the district, itself a Herculean labor, and statistics in matters of births, deaths, marriages, and the like, are simply unknown. Because this is a new department, however, one might expect expansion in the future. 699

Finally, the serai houses the office of a civilian recruiting officer and his assistants whose task is the selection of recruits for the army. In Iraq every male must perform two years' military service after reaching the age of 18 years unless deferred for unfitness, pursuit of a higher education, or some other reason. There are four divisional commands to which recruits are sent for training and service, the transmission from Rowanduz being by lorry to Erbil. The Iraqi army, while equipped and organized on a British model, has little appeal for the poorer Arab or Kurdish youth, for the pay is almost nothing, the food reduced to bread and soup, and the regular enlisted personnel tyrannical. Thus, while the Kurds are noted for their love of arms and fighting, conscription is a joyless event in the poverty-stricken households, and 702 [703]

there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and upper-class families who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the serai, with its important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during hours of business, its guards, and its four-colored ensign fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech. But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet of oppression, but of sorrow, for in lorries drawn up before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many will never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the serai, old and young, mothers and wives, dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside, and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Nestorian has set up an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation.

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building

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which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "government" chaykhana (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a kapir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

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To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldaean (Kaldani, a member of the Christian sect centering around Mosul), has several assistants hired from among the townspeople and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and cranking. It follows that the operators many times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

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installations in Rowanduz, the air of the communications office is heavy with tobacco smoke and its floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the qaimmaqam. 205 206 655 [356]

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the serai, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the qaimmaqam's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time assures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households. 344 276 655 289 [651]

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings. 743 [344]

outbuildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards 743
for the district, although much is lacking in modern equipment and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical officer, also subordinate to the qaimmaqam. There are 759
several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical 759
service in the district is in some disrepute, largely because of the character of the medical officer. Trained in Lebanon, he was characterized as having expensive cures for expensive patients, and none at all for others. A poor merchant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a rash, to this doctor was preemptorily told "to wash his baby more often," hardly a prescription of value as the child was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman with some complaint entered the doctor's office while the latter was in conference with a visitor to the district. When the countryman asked for the doctor, this person himself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not there, and would not be expected for several days." Such unfortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab physicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery as a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the 344
town are to be found the courthouse and residence of the [693]
judge (Arabic, hakim), the former a small, squarish mud- 695
brick building of a single storey. When court is in
session, there is usually a small number of villagers or townspeople squatting or leaning against its front wall, 692
waiting to be called. The judge is the foremost of several

civil servants in Rowandus who are not under the direct surveillance of the qaimmaqam (although, in an extraordinary case, the qaimmaqam could probably obtain his transfer or dismissal), and is responsible to the Ministry of Justice in Baghdad from whence he was appointed. The administration of the civil code is charged to this ministry, rather than to a judiciary independent of the executive branch of government. It governs a Court of Cassation, four Courts of Appeal located at Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk, and Mosul, fourteen Courts of First Instance (corresponding to the fourteen provinces) with unlimited powers, and forty-four Courts of First Instance with limited powers. These last are courts of single judges, and that of Rowandus provides an example.

Thus the judge at Rowandus is restricted in the types of cases he can try and the sentences his court can hand down. He cannot, for example, give the death penalty, and cases for which this is possible are forwarded to Erbil for trial. On the other hand, his court must be sought for the multitude of everyday questions of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and lesser violations of the civil statutes. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate the usual type of case brought before him. Two merchants in Rowandus owned shops side by side, and one owed the other the sum of twenty dinars which he was unable or unwilling to repay. A heated argument ensued, and the creditor carried his case to the judge. The judge ruled in his favor, and the debtor's shop was padlocked and sealed

by the court clerk, Shakir Effendi, with great ceremony until the debtor should pay. Again, a merchant and a barber fell into a wrangle in the market-place in Rowandus because the barber had wakened the merchant's infant children late the preceding night with his noise. Words passed, particularly on the side of the barber, the merchant drew his khanjir, and was beaten from behind with a club by the barber's son. At this point the police took them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection on their respective characters, fined the barber a dinar for disturbing the peace.

Also without subordination to the qaimmaqam are the teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and responsible to officers of the Ministry in Erbil. By law primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rowandus district only a small number of children, sons and daughters of ambitious or wealthy people, are able to attend primary school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to college. The primary school is entered at the age of six or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with the "twelfth class," corresponding to the American first grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include reading and writing in Arabic (in Rowandus there are special classes in Kurdish), mathematics, history, and social studies, and the course is normally completed at the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school can be entered next, and consists of three classes ("fifth"

through "third"). Subjects include Arabic, English, general science, geography, history, mathematics, and social studies, and is completed at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The pupil can next enter the secondary school, consisting of two classes ("second" and "first"), successful completion of which consists in matriculation for a college or university education. A successful student usually completes his secondary education at the age of seventeen or eighteen. 872 [873]

In the Rowandus district there are small primary schools at Dyana and Bates, but the center of education is in Rowandus. Here there are primary schools for boys and girls, and an intermediate school for both. After completion of the intermediate school, students who desire further education must move to Erbil, where they are quartered with friends or relatives, or, if mature enough and possessed of the means, rent a house in common with a number of their fellows. Only one or two each year, however, go beyond the intermediate level in the district. The school year lasts nine months, approximating our own, and, as in the local government, Fridays and public occasions are holidays. Classes are held from 7:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. in summer weather, and from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. in the winter. Pupils in the primary schools remain in the same class throughout the day. Boys and girls are mixed in the intermediate school (a matter of some concern to more conservative parents), and have different instructors during the day. In Rowandus there were in 1951 about 150 pupils [527]

in the primary schools, and about 35 in the intermediate school. All of the children live in Rowanduz itself, for there is no system of transportation for the children in outlying villages.

The primary school for boys is a large, mud-brick building standing within a wide gravel yard behind the serai. Constructed in 1925, it is in considerable disrepair today. Within it a number of classrooms open on a small central hall. There are diminutive rooms for the teachers and the director, a "library," and a closet wherein a servant prepares tea. The furnishings, forms and benches of unpainted wood, are the poorest, and the teachers fondly hope for the future construction of a new school with better equipment. The poorer students are furnished their texts, similarly bedraggled from years of use, while those of wealthier homes purchase their own. The primary school for girls is a short distance up the street, a smaller, square mud-brick building subsidized some years ago from private ownership. The intermediate school is to be found in the upper part of the town, a spacious single-storey structure of cement-block, completed in 1950.

The several instructors of the girl's primary school are women. Those of the boy's primary school and intermediate school are men, numbering nine in all, including the three school directors. Because the Kurdish language is mandatory for beginning instruction, the teachers are either Muslim Kurds or Christians, Nestorians or Chaldeeans, most of whom come from Erbil or Mosul. Some

is native to the town, although one is related to the chief family. It is interesting that a substantial number are Christians, for in contemporary Egypt it is commonplace that Coptic Christian students are at a disadvantage with their Muslim instructors and fellows. Here the rules are reversed: the Christian instructor can be placed in some embarrassment by his Muslim pupils. Most rural schoolteachers, such as those of Rowanduz, are young men of poorer families, graduates of the teachers' college in Baghdad, and, within the hierarchy of the Iraqi civil service, occupy a low position indeed. They are not highly paid (and can hence little afford the amusements of the others), and are to some extent looked down upon by bona fide administrators, army and police officers. Because of such disabilities, instructors have the not undeserved reputation of being an easy prey to extremist political formulae, and are subject to some official distrust and scrutiny. With meticulous conduct required of him in addition to his other complaints, the teacher is apt to feel his lot is extremely unhappy, if not precarious. On the other hand, the teacher, because he is often courted by the fathers of his pupils, is likely to play a much wider part in the social life of the town than, say, an army officer, and to enjoy considerable prestige among the lower classes, a role among these last which will be returned to later.

Playing a part in the social life of the town far greater in importance than any which it might normally

perform in its formal administration in the army. It would 701
be ungrateful to speculate on the character or strength of 554
strategic installations throughout the district, as these constitute an important link in the chain of defenses which guard the northern frontier of Iraq. It is possible, however, to make some cogent general remarks concerning the unit which has its training headquarters near Rowanduz, and whose commandant, a colonel, has prestige and power equivalent to that of the <u>qaimmaqam</u>. On the southeastern bank 712
of the Rowanduz river, between Rowanduz and Zindian, is located the garrison, quartered in a huge rectangular barracks enclosing an interior parade ground, constructed some years ago by the British. This building houses barracks, stores, offices, mess-rooms, and, with a few exceptions, everything necessary to the operation of the unit. Near it other parade and training grounds have been set up. Slightly closer to Rowanduz, below the road by the river, is a motley aggregate of small mud-brick dwellings which are used as married quarters for the non-commissioned officers. Such of the officers as are accompanied by their wives have their homes in Rowanduz.

The unit includes a large number of officers and en- 701
listed men, and the ethnic origins of both groups are some- 563
what varied. The colonel was a Muslim Kurd, a major was a Nestorian Christian, one captain was a "Marsh Arab,"[1] and

[1]"Marsh Arab" is English usage; referred to as Ma'adan, they prefer the term <u>sharqi</u>, "easterner," themselves.

another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "March Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organisation, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowandus, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowandus save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaikhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowandus, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokha, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowandus beneath the bluff, and there is a

roadside <u>sharikang</u> between Kwalokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kwalokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>sharikang</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowanduz and Jiatian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

The town of Rowandus, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the kaimmaqam of Rowandus occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowandus, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

dangerous if it reaches the point of knives. The blow with the closed fist is unknown in Rowanduz, and one strikes with the open palm or wrestles. Sticks or [411] shoulders are the most favored weapons in such an exchange, and it is considered shameful for a man to bite or scratch like a woman. As in other Islamic communities, quarrels, sometimes quite serious, are much more common during the fast of Ramadan. Four violent exchanges were observed between women on one day during Ramadan. However, there had [682] been in 1951 no homicides in the town for a period of three years. Criminals of a higher order are at present unknown. [674] The last of them, Muri Dawil Agha, who dabbled in brigandage, smuggling, and blackmail, now suffers life imprisonment for [682] the murder of Isma'il Beg. Muri is said to have often arranged the theft of goods from merchants, and then to have sold them back to the owners for appropriate sums.

The office of the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, in Rowanduz 622 is peculiar, for it does not seem to have an incisive everyday definition. It is not elective, and a mukhtar is selected by the government with the more or less tacit consent of his fellows. His work, such as it is, consists in acting in liaison between the people and the reis baladiya (at present, the qaimmaqam) and, to a certain extent, being a guarantee for their good conduct. He is without police authority, but acts to mitigate minor quarrels between townspeople, and, with the force of public opinion, as some power to command. He stands between the people and the government, presenting the

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he [556] [574]
is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowandux itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, [554]
occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives [627]
in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rowandux was the seat (a kaza) of a qaimmaqam under the Kirkuk sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as [75] [634] 648

today, a number of troops were garrisoned there. With respect to Erbil, the administrative equality has been changed, although a fifth nahiya added to the Ottoman four. It cannot be said that the Ottoman administration with its officers, judges, tax-collectors, and its serai was too different in outward form from that of today. The knowledge of bureaucratic government is nothing new to the district. In contrast to the present administration, however, the Turks were extremely venal, but it cannot be legitimately said, as it is with respect to other former Ottoman holdings, that they were vicious. While there were often skirmishes between segments of the population and the Ottoman gendarmes and troops, there is no particular recollection of Turkish "atrocities" in the area, for in the nineteenth century the Kurds, at home in their mountains, were the military equals of their opponents. The opening of new roads and the adoption of modern arms has changed much of this, and the Kurd has learned to respect automatic weapons, artillery, and aircraft. In a number of regards, such as education and public health, it can be seen that the new government enters much more completely into the interests of the people, and, according to popular opinion, has subverted many functions formerly reserved to the chieftains alone. In summary, it appears that the administration today is at once more rigorous and more enlightened than that of Ottoman times.

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In conclusion certain observations on the present administration may be reinforced. It can be observed how

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little the people, aside from a personage like the mukhtar, are able to participate in their own government. Rowanduz, as the physical center of this government, exerts a powerful influence as well as a formal control not only over the townspeople but over the district as a whole. Such an administration, while in no sense new or unique, has extended the range of its activities into a great part of the people's life, and it is impossible to deny its relevance as the most powerful determinant in the change of local culture. Lastly, a new "elite" of civil officials and officers, alien to the area, make up its directing personnel and add a new element, reinforced by prestige and power, to the older form of society.

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CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowanduz region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide, level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Batas or Dyana, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowanduz itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Ibex, the long-horned mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong-smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local huntsmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, chikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

are utilized for riding. One finds here a revealing comparison with the Arab South. In such a country as Egypt it is commonplace to see a man perched on a donkey while his wife shuffles along behind on foot. In the Rowanduz district, the man walks and the woman rides, a contrast which was several times pointed out by Kurds themselves as evidence of their loftier respect for their women. Almost every village possesses a large number of watchdogs, the typical animal large and fawn-coloured, not unlike an Eskimo husky. In many cases their ears have been cut off, and there are two stories to account for this practice. One holds that it enables the dog to hear prowlers more acutely, and the other claims that the severed ears should be fed to the puppies to make them more ferocious. The town of Rowanduz is more or less taken over by its dog population at night, packs of them running without the houses and environs, often raising a disturbing uproar with their quarrels. They sometimes appear dangerous, but have great respect for a thrown stone. A Kurd approaching a farmhouse will generally equip himself with a handful of pebbles. Dogs are usually ignored after they reach maturity, fending for themselves, but puppies are fondled and made much of by both children and adults. Cats are conspicuous in their absence. It might be mentioned here that, aside from chikaw kept for fighting and dogs, the only other animals kept for amusement are ground-squirrels, carried by some in a pocket and danced on the end of a cord in the chaykhane for the diversion of other customers.

The principal crops of the Rowandus area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

241 243 [249] [439] 244 245 [439] 273 231

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashiya) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlokan, and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

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a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community [162] was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354] indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings meager. [312] Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 366 village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a [346] definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417 of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231 smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342 animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361 The "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowanduz district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The 342 kotshir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

Just as it is difficult to typify the size and buildings of an agricultural village, the cultivated lands of a village are held in different ways, and the mode of land tenure varies from locale to locale. The distinction between tapu, "registered land," and amiriya, "state land," might be remembered, for it is often the subject of bitter quarrels between government and chieftains, the latter holding that certain lands classified as amiriya had "belonged" to their village or to their tribe for generations. Aside from this conflict between official and owner, there are villages which "own" their lands completely, others which can lay claim to only a part, and still others which are entirely owned, houses and lands together, by wealthy landlords, many of whom are absentees. The preferential conversion of surplus wealth into real estate has been noted, and the owners of village lands may range from tribal chieftains and persons of great fortune to relatively poor merchants or clerks who have invested their savings in a small plot for the inheritance and support of their sons. Thus the Rowanduz district has a great number of villagers who are tenants and, while in no sense bound to the soil as serfs, have a relationship with their landlords which, in its exchange of obligations and courtesies, can often resemble that between patron and client in the early days of the Roman Republic. Sadiq Agha, who lives in a house in Rowanduz, "owns" the village of Shaytina, leaving its immediate supervision to a sort of bailiff or overseer, one of the prominent villagers, who is termed the mukhtar,

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although he has nothing to do with the office of mukhtar described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters, a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A more exact description of these reciprocal duties will follow.

The villagers and ketchir fashion almost nothing which has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will be seen more completely with reference to Rowandux, indigenous crafts are simple and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this material is wholly used in the fabrication of local garments. Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the upper part of the town of Rowandux, the only craftsmen of their religion laboring in the community. Their wooden loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs. The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, although the women preferred the more familiar spindle and

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal 283
kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or 286
blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of 531
embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely- 286
woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched 294
together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as
stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff 323
pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with
designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, 322
such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the [439]
area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of 438
carving, however, almost none of these products ever
reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only
the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer
them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a
few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these
transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal 372
for winter fuel are important services performed by the 314
villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the 272
summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such
as sherbet or <u>mastaw</u> (a mixture of curdled milk, <u>mast</u>, and
water, <u>aw</u>, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumber- [415]
some wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and
willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors 313 417

or windbreaks, and both of these demands are satisfied 313 417
by the villager. There has been an extensive and serious
attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing [656]
timber and to provide for reforestation of the district,
but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire
for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists al- 241 231
most completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Al-
though the many difficulties which face cultivators and
shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the
year "fat" or "lean," the threat of famine seems to be very 731
slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days
of the first World War when a Czarist army cut its way
through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and
emergencies since that time have been few. For the sur- 443
plus, the foci of district marketing have some variation.
It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at [655]
Rowanduz, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A
high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products
are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus
portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly
from the area to agents coming from Erbil, others bought
up in the town of Rowanduz, and still others retailed in
smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be
thought that Rowanduz exercises an exclusive commercial
monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns
with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors,
such as Dyana, and others a natural response to the requirements

of distance. In the presence of enterprising merchants, 443
particularly the ätar or itinerant traders who will be discussed below, a cultivator in some outlying village need not undertake the arduous journey across broken country to Rowandux to retail his products and to purchase the materials required by his home.

The agricultural village can enjoy a certain amount 433
of self-sufficiency insofar as its food supply is concerned, although the specialization in tobacco has transformed this to some extent, but there are a number of other requirements which only the merchant can satisfy, many of them "necessary luxuries" without which life is hardly bearable. For reasons which can only be speculated upon, the Kurdish villager is today far from being the master of his environment, and there are undoubtedly present a number of mineral, vegetable, and animal products which could be utilized to good advantage. He is no innovator and his knowledge of [176]
what we call woodcraft, the ingenious exploitation of the environment at a primitive level, is practically nothing. Once a young agha exhibited as a trophy an ibex skin, 281
dried hard and stiff, which, if properly tanned, would have made an excellent rug or covering. An inquiry, and later investigation, revealed that only a few villagers knew the techniques of preparing skins; almost all of the leather which is locally produced and put into use is what is commonly called rawhide. The villager thus re- 432
quires a great complex of things, of which only a few are cigarette papers, cloth, cooking utensils, iron or steel

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system [437]
of values is always expressed in terms of money.

The town of Rowandiz, occupying the sloping top of 361
a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. At a steeper point of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area [364]
of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (jama'a al-kabir), the garage, and two chaykhanas. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town.

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazar will 347

require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread out on the floor, hung from nails or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby <u>chaykhana</u>. Most merchants have a weekly account with the <u>chaykhana</u>-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Many are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils such as "Fragile" or "Thaera Import Company," and are padlocked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

o'clock and finally locks up for the day at six or seven. 443
Friday, the weekly holiday, does not preclude commerce, and 461
many establishments are operated on a seven-day basis. Business, some merchants hold, is actually better on Friday than during the rest of the week. During the fast of Ramadan many shops are shuttered during the day, but are open much later in the evening. By a mutual agreement of all the chaykhana-owners, the tea-shops and places of eating are closed for the day during Ramadan save one. Business, often brisk, in this "sinner's" chaykhana is kept within doors and the entrance carefully masked with a heavy burlap hanging. On extremely cold days in winter many merchants close their unheated shops and seek the warmth of a chaykhana. A would-be customer must page the merchant he seeks, and the latter returns with him to open up the shop just long enough to conclude the sale.

It has already been noticed that all transactions 437
are in terms of money. It is more or less standard that many European and American travelers in the Middle East are led to believe that any sale must be accompanied by interminable haggling and bargaining. This may be perfectly true of larger towns, particularly purchases in which a foreigner is involved, but in a rural setting such as that of Rawanduz the case is quite otherwise. In the everyday business of the bazar it would be difficult to observe an example of protracted bargaining, for the range of price for any given article is as well known by the purchaser as it is by the merchant. A woman seeking to buy

an item will canvass a number of shops, inquiring into its price, until she finds what she believes to be the lowest, nothing more than the "comparison shopping" of the European or American housewife, and without bargaining. This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged. In the summer of 1951 the price of a khanjir or dagger was fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth of this price in Baghdad or Damascus) due to the indiscreet outlay of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor ruse could bring it down again. It was immutably established that Americans pay three dinars for their khanjirs, and one was constantly hailed by persons offering the sorriest specimens in the hopes of realizing that price. Prices are, within certain limits, geared to the social status of the purchaser, and the gainsayer, for example, might be expected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In a small town of this sort, however, while prices are uncontrolled, public opinion and the facility with which one merchant will undersell another, set as strong limitations, and the difference between "asking price" and "selling price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. If a customer, for example, wished to buy six tea-glasses from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the latter would send his boy down the street to borrow what was required from another merchant. The same is true of money, and cashing a large banknote may involve any number

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a dinar or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer. A number of the older men are illiterate, and the difficulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople some courses along these lines at night, and were very surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning their arithmetic is still considered a great joke. Usually the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums, and many place high expectations in the help of their sons at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient here to provide a list of persons according to their occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still others employed only in the service of those residing in the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations of the townspeople, serve only those who are wealthy enough to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

employed by the government, and those without work at all. 463

Bakers	8
Barbers	2
Blacksmiths	2
Bootblacks	2
Bricklayer	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (bazaz)	20
Cobblers	6
Drivers	2
Farriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	10
Hotel-owner (khanchi)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (alaf) ... variable:	30-50
Laborers ..... variable:	30-50
Laundresses	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Mulesters	3
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Roasters of meat (kebabchis)	3
Seamstresses	8
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tea-shop owners	10
Tinsmiths	2
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	5

It is an interesting characteristic of Rowanduz that no persons living in the town is directly employed in agriculture or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay claim to agricultural lands or pasturage, although a dozen or so persons living therein own such property. There are, to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators, seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday

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agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or *shayhi* might be considered first. There are ten *shaykhanes* in the town. That located beside the serai has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the *bazar* area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "sinner's" *shaykhane* spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of utensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner.

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The etiquette of entering a *shaykhane* varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In

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a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salaam alaykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa alaykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

265 576 265 [45] [272] [262] [443] [524] 353 265

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a chaykhana can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the chaykhanas, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The chaykhana, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the qaimmaqam or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a diwankhana or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in chaykhanas will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (hatiw baz, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.)

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elicits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a chaykhana. The bus from Rowanduz to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them. 265 554 [562] [494]

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a chaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a chaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from transients in the town who could find no other place to eat. 265 [262]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is 253 [251]

carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or kotchir, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of Jayjani Ramezan (the 'Ayd al-saghir, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and Jayjani Qurban (the 'Ayd al-kabir, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fishermen and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the bazar at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with chikaw

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowanduz, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

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for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alternated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same implement (tika). A charcoal fire is prepared in a rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze, until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a hundred years ago.

252 265 [354] 265 437 [578]

One of the most important items in the diet of the townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique involves equipping the children of the house, either of baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill-owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge, flat bottomed tub.

256 [262] [443] [857] [415]

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened clay, is a large beehive-shaped affair with its round, open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East, bread or nan is treated with almost religious reverence, and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Discovering this, some of the British troops stationed in Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about their messroom floor. In Rowanduz, it is customary when a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which was observed in the streets several times.

The hotel, khan or caravansary, is reached through a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant. It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up

[1]Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, 'aysh, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

over the years without reference to any plan, surrounding a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business is a Nestorian who lives in Dyana and who, in addition to other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of bottled beer and arrack to the civil servants and officers. He comes to Rowanduz only two or three times each week, and, during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is foresworn by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself offers the transient little more than a room and a bedstead. He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find nourishment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is little more than "a roof overhead and lesser animiculae within," in this a modern descendant of the khan or fundug of Medieval days, so often described and so often cursed by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees normally find accommodations with one of the local civil servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley and Kurds, as well as Nestorians, who must spend a night in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great house of Isma'il Beg. It follows that the khan is little used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers from Erbil or beyond, too low in social status to apply to the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of Kurdish hospitality.

[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 193-194.

The employment of masons and builders is not solely confined to the town of Rowandus, for specialists of this type are often called out to neighboring villages to supervise the constructions of wealthier people. The "mason" is not only expected to exercise his own craft, but must also fill the posts of architect, contractor, and general foreman. Having obtained the land, those who desire to build hold a consultation with the mason, reaching a verbal contract in which the materials, the amount of time necessary for completion, and the price are stipulated. The mason must then purchase the materials, arrange for their transportation, hire, insofar as it is necessary, the requisite labor, supervise the construction, and do the most difficult tasks, for example, the actual laying of bricks, himself. Builders of this type do not belong to guild or union, but seem to maintain themselves within the strength of their families. A building operation is apt to involve a number of sons, brothers, and nephews, with the mason as a sort of congenial taskmaster and guiding spirit, who alternately pleads and jests with his workers. The operation can suffer from general lassitude, and the owner must at last have words with the builders. Most houses appear to reach completion by means of a series of such arguments. Constructing a larger house in Rowanduz is a relatively expensive undertaking. Two houses and their land, located in the higher-priced lower portion of town, cost the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, about 1500 dinars. The lots accounted for half the price, and the average cost of

each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for threshholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

produced and cheaper, tends more and more to replace stone 333
in house building, despite the fact that thereby the life
of a house, particularly in a region of winter rain and
snow, is considerably shortened. Mud-brick has undoubtedly
been known in the region from antiquity, but its greatly
increased use in the construction of house walls is a
feature of the last half-century. Cement-blocks, which
have been cited in certain government structures, are im-
ported, and these buildings themselves are constructed
under the direction of government engineers. Some of the
chieftains in outlying villages have not missed the advan-
tages of building stone and concrete over mud-brick as
far as small arms fire is concerned, and one of them, [712]
Mahmud Beg of the Baradost, was busy in erecting a large
building which on completion will be almost the duplicate
of a fortified police post.

The carpenters of the town are occupied partially 335
in building and partially in the repair of furniture and 322
certain manufactures. Heavier pieces of timber are rare
in such a deforested area, and most of them, such as lintels,
are used again and again. Mud-roofs are laid down on a
thick layer of poles and twigs which are furnished by
village woodmen. Doorposts and doors are made of heavy,
roughly cut timber, and window-frames with glass must be
imported from Erbil. Furniture, benches and chairs, are [352]
used for generations, and the carpenters simply repair
them, rather than manufacture new items. Aside from this

Aside from this
work in building and repair, the only significant production 335
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 322
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 322
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of 415
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may [583]
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 412
carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, [439]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [764]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are [854]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

is an event which always attracts a number of spectators. 326
The blacksmiths also forge a few crude agricultural tools [231]
and do a certain amount of repair work. There is extensive scavenging of iron, and the blacksmith's establishment contains a huge number of odds and ends which might some day find a customer. Hinges and nails, for example, are purchased by builders and householders. [414] 2
Tinsmiths exercise 326
considerable importance in domestic economy in the fabrication and, particularly, the repair of cooking utensils, and 415
their workshops in the bazar are daily sought by a large number of persons, not only from the town, but from the district at large. The poorly-made metal pots and pans are always in need of repair, and the tinsmith, much more so than many of his fellows, has an extremely brisk trade. One important specialty is the repair of cracked or broken 323
porcelain dishes. Large platters, imported long ago from 415
abroad and used in serving food, are precious family heirlooms and handed down from generation to generation. A crack is repaired by drilling a series of tiny holes through the dish on either side of the break and fastening them together with metal cleats. One of the dearest possessions 415
of a housewife is her samovar for brewing tea, and those 326
of the wealthier families, of etched brass or pewter, were brought in by trade from Russia or Iran many years ago and inherited through the family. The tinsmiths manufacture a bright, but poorly soldered, tea-urn of sheet tin which is in great demand among the poorer villagers. A villager carrying one of these home from 415

Rowanduz or Arbil is a proud sight along the road, and its 45
arrival an event of great joy in his household.

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in 294
the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live 291
more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of
footgear is worn in the area, including European boots,
shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of
slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of raw-
hide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the
cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none
would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type
made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower
classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old
automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some
elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers
and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One 413
shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought [459]
in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the
upper classes, government personnel and local population,
affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work 296
is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers
from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are,
suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town
bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops
and shaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for [521]
customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter.

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 493

bazar of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both town-people and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Most of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of man's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into man's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the end of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three liyra, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jejuni Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

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tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days 294
preceding the celebration in their preparation, something 955
which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing 796
on Easter.

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women 296
belonging to the poorer households find casual employment
as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There
is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed
periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A
laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing
warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling con- [352]
tains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the [415]
court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing
dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse [388]
laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic
soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering in-
volves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank,
and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show
signs of wear. In one's experience, a handkerchief, which
had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United
States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the
laundress in Rowandus, and it was similar with other items
of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by
the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern
Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their
chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the
tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi
by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one

of which he did not use and the other confided to a tailor to press and [illegible] 296

pair in use soon revealed the technique of the tailor's wife, scrubbing them with the other clothes. Pressing is little required by the townspeople, and the tailors, with their fire-heated irons, carry out this task.

There are three barbers with shops in the bazar, 305 and one of them, Hajji Mustafa, dervish and town extrovert, will require later attention. The barber's shop is typically a booth, equipped with a few benches like those of the chaykhanas for clients in waiting and a plain wooden chair on which the customer is shaved or tonsured. That of Hajji Mustafa is gaudily decorated with a portrait of the [532] founder of his order, Shaykh 'Abd el-Qadir el-Jilani, photographs of actresses selected from Egyptian periodicals, and some other scraps of paper and notices. In addition, Hajji Mustafa's shop boasts a wooden board on which someone has painted "Modern Barber Shop" in Arabic, of interest not only because the "Modern" is a town joke, but because it [522] is one of the few establishments in the bazar graced with a sign. The barber's tools, stored in a metal case, include hand-clippers, scissors, combs, a straight razor, some bits of soap, a mirror, and a bottle of cologne, all obtained through the general merchants. Often the barber is called to the home of a wealthier client, and this kit accompanies him. The barber's occupation is unprofitable, inasmuch as most persons shave themselves and hair-cutting

does not command a high price, but provides plenty of leisure and social intercourse. The barber, as in Europe or America, is a notorious channel of gossip, and, albeit poor, thinks of himself as a person of some importance in the community. 305 [521] [559]

Much miscellaneous transport is required for short distances by a town such as Rowanduz, for example, of building materials or firewood, and a number of men find employment as muleteers, furnishing their own beasts and working by contract. "Muleteer" is a misnomer, inasmuch as both mules and donkeys are in use, the latter animal even thought preferable by reason of its cheapness and docility. Little harness is used, and the secret of loading the beasts consists in dividing the load and balancing it across the back on the animal's flanks, tied up in bundles, as with wood, or stitched in twin burlap sacks. Brightly-coloured saddle-bags of heavy woven wool, not unlike rugs in texture, may be purchased, and many animals are experienced with tassels and other decorations. The muleteer keeps his animal near or within his house at night, and their departure from the bazar on a variety of commissions is a feature of early morning. 492

For longer distances and heavier loads, particularly the great quantity of material which comes from Erbil, the town has the use of two lorries. One belongs to a local entrepreneur, Hassan Hagal, who is also its driver, and who was in 1951 under contract to the government on road 494 [497] [499]

construction in the valley. The other is the property 494
[1100]
more regularly used to transport merchandise from Erbil. In addition, there is a bus service between the town and the city with two decrepit British station wagons serving as vehicles. When the first of these was put in service some years ago, it was known as bus to the townspeople, but when the second appeared it was personified as Baba Bus, [552]
"Father Bus," and the second, Kurri Bus, "Son of Bus." These vehicles make the trip twice or three times each week, departing from the square near the great mosque early in the morning, their roofs piled high with luggage, and, by the time Shaqlawa is reached, the interior crammed with passengers. They are owned in Erbil, however, and their drivers live in that city.

The garage is to be found across from the great 495
mosque, and consists of an enclosed courtyard. In a locked storeroom opening on the yard there is a supply of gasoline for sale in five-gallon tins. The garage is operated by 493
a merchant hired by Lali Khan, its owner, and her lorry is usually parked in its courtyard. It should be noticed that aside from those of the government and the two privately-owned lorries, no other vehicles are permanently at the town. Taxis, hired by chieftains or wealthy persons, arrive 494
frequently, but they are almost all derived from Erbil. Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, one of the sons of the famous 574
Shaykh Taha, regularly arrived to visit the House of

Ismail Beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three heavily-armed bodyguards. 574

A comparatively large group of men in the town are casually employed as laborers or porters. It has already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Anwar Salah, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more. 464 482 482 554 [183] 464 957 482

Because of the nature of this work, unemployment is frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty persons for the town as a whole. 464

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, are employed in the town as servants, but it would be difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two classifications, but they do not appear to have any precise social differentiation, and are only hazily distinguished in the popular mind. First, there are permanent servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own. Most of these work in one way or another for the government, a number in the government buildings, for example, the qaimaqam's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen help, and still others as household servants of government and military personnel. The qaimaqam's household has three attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening, perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male visitors in the diwankhana or the garden. To such persons as these a little of the scornful treatment of the professional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been 357 464 [465] 357 554

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a manial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or pilk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shakir Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (gholam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes shubana). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bawil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

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line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 357 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (atar), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the atar is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowanduz for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowanduz, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 [554] [426]

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on their investments. There are, of course, trips in which a handsome bounty can be acquired, and others when the atar is happy to break even. The origins of this class are somewhat varied, for some may be drawn directly from the villages, others are failures in another calling, and still others only follow the steps of their fathers. Similarly, the personnel changes over the years, because a few are fortunate enough to open permanent shops of their own, the fondest dream of the class, many return to their villages, and many take up another vocation.

Unlike the atar, the general merchants maintain permanent establishments in Rowanduz and are possessed of a certain amount of capital, in money, land, or merchandise. Their wares may be obtained from the wholesale merchants or brought in directly from Erbil. Their shops are typically packed from top to bottom with an incredible variety of manufactured goods, most of them imported from [439] Europe. A number of these, listed from a single shop, include:

amulets
buckles
buttons
candy
chocolate
cigarettes
cigarette-papers
cocoa
coffee cups
fountain pens
gasoline stoves
glasses
handkerchiefs
jewelry
lighters
matches
metalware
neckties
needles
notebooks
orange syrup
paper
patent medicines
pencils
pins
pocket knives
rosaries
salt
shirts
shoe-polish
soap
stationery
stockings
sugar

tea	Turkish coffee	443
toothbrushes	uniform caps	
toys	watches	

On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up [438] a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale.

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442 bazargan, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, As'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Shakir, and Sayyid Majjid, and it is interesting to note from the 788 title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper [554] name, that three of the five have been able to make the

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows: 443 434 [427] [265] [256]

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven 443 511

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jayjani Remazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsman, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsman, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does 463
there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who 464
cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it 467
is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen
more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far
from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, 554
and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which 463
are menial and those which are not. A successful kababchi
or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the
merchant's son would rarely become a kababchi. There is 166
also some exchange of persons between town and villages,
those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those,
successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but
migration from the town itself outside the district is
very limited. This does not apply to the area as a
whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern
Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to
the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as [482]
well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The per- [548]
manent population of Rowanduz, however, with its core of
older families from the days before the first World War,
seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute 556
the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some 565
are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so
choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts
of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but

they do not exercise the influence, economic as well as social, in the community of those of larger estates. Without exhausting the list of the "rich," the ten wealthiest persons in Rowanduz, together with the types of their property, are given here: 556 565

As'ad Effendi: 1 house, 1 shop, money
Hajji Ibrahim: 2 houses, 1 shop, money 421
Hajji Muhammad Amin: 2 houses, 1 shop, money 556
Hajji Mustafa Shakir: 1 house, money
Lali Khan: 7 villages (including Dyana), land, many houses, about 30 shops, money 565
Muri Bawil Agha: 1 village, land, 1 house
Ra'uf Effendi: land, 6 houses
Sadiq Agha: 1 village, 1 house
Sayyid Majjid: 2 shops, 1 house, money
Shakir Effendi: 1 village, land, 1 house

"Money," of course, here represents cash capital, and a "village" includes not only houses, but agricultural lands. It would be difficult to form any estimate of the fortunes involved, because, among other reasons, a single large holding can have a greater value than a number of smaller plots totalling the same size. Similarly, a concentrated sum of money can be worth more in certain situations than its equivalent in agricultural lands, although most people in Iraq prefer to believe that this is not true. In any case, the holdings of such a person as Lali Khan, while they cannot compare with some of the immense estates of southern Iraq, represent many thousands of dinars. That these persons have their residence in Rowanduz adds to the importance of the town, quite apart from its role as a mercantile center, and many people in the town gain their livelihood wholly or in part from their service.

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Attention might be directed to the land of Rowanduz itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriya), private (tapy), and religious endowment (waqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

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It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economies of the Rowanduz district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

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The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious.

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it[1] was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowanduz had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jazira plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowanduz households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar of Rowanduz. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowanduz as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

[1] [i.e., the town of Rowanduz.—Analyst]

the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowandus has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercantile competitor of Rowandus, arose on lands owned by Lali Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowandus, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often recontracted. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowandus, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowandus, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowandus and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

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although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowandux freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil. [301]

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowandux. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowandux might have experienced certain decline.

CHAPTER IV

HOUSE, HOUSE, AND HOUSE

The town of Rowandux, aside from its government buildings and bazar, contains some 800 houses. The four mosques, and the club, the only remaining specialized constructions, will be discussed in later sections, and the house itself, with other material features of daily life, such as diet and clothing, may be treated here. The town has three general divisions, the first largely unoccupied, the second containing both shops and dwellings, and the third almost wholly residential. It would be incorrect to say that building has been completely without reference to any overall plan, for, although there has certainly been no conscious attempt to build according to any preconceived design, Rowandux, with its specialized bazar surrounding the principal mosque and its lanes of houses, some of them cut at right angles to the main thoroughfare, follows certain very generalized notions of the constitution of towns elsewhere. Any construction, however, has been greatly conditioned by the land, because beneath the scanty topsoil there are hard, irregular crags of rock, and both houses and streets have out of necessity adapted themselves to their contours. There has been little attempt, particularly in the absence of any but the most burdensome means, to level or to build up the

irregularities of the slope, and the general process has been one of building around or avoiding them. It might also be remembered that this is a new town, built up since the destruction of the old in the valley in 1917.

The streets and lanes are unpaved, their surfaces the rough face of the rock, resembling in most cases a hard, cobblestone pavement. As many of them are precipitous, accidents, particularly at night, are not uncommon, and in the winter of 1950 two persons suffered broken limbs by losing their footing. There is a "main thoroughfare," [illegible] leading in part to the street leading through the bazar. In reaching the top of the bluff by the steep, winding automobile road from the valley, two streets branch out around the serai and join together just before the bazar to form the principal street and center. Where the bazar merges with the upper residential section, two lanes, more important than others, divide to skirt the hill which dominates this upper area and join again above the town. Along the streets, the open spaces between the houses are often lined with fences, either of rubble or of interwoven branches, usually enclosing a garden. The lots left vacant are either barren soil, such as the "brickyard" noticed above, or covered with tough, long grass and scrub vegetation. A number of trees grow unattended along the edges of the cliffs, but almost all others are confined to the gardens and yards of private dwellings.

There is no electricity in Rowanduz, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or chaykhanas open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Ashi Sherkhi, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of its relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jindian, whose father's

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

cradle is more or less perennial necessity for this class), 352
and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations 353
of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid 362
of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because
the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so
often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to put more detailed atten- 342
tion to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and land- 351
owners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic
life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of
rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an
interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to
the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked
on three sides by the building with the fourth left open,
and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or
Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of
the house and high brick walls on all sides. These court-
yards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with
hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, [341]
either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it,
watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of 342
such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a
layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same
material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a
white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are
usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the out-
side windows of the first story consist only of small,
unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

[i.e., beautiful the poorer "townspeople" dwellings]

the summer heat, these rooms have a height which seems abnormal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist of bundles of poles and twigs, and are mostly left unfinished, although a few have been plastered and pasted with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a little of the floor. The roofs are equipped with long, smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of these houses are of two storeys, and, although there is considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient the house and its windows so that household life, specifically that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the street and people of neighboring buildings. Looking a "true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the defilements are surrounded with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological

information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire. 342 [174] [342] [77]

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel loop for [373] night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically [75] [77] [75] a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by 342 792 [75] [77]

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ex post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshhold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Rowul. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

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It is interesting that the public bath, the hammam, so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, has largely disappeared in modern Kurdistan.[1] Bathing in Rowandus is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the khan or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a basket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, p. 175.

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [854] 833 864

The dîwankhana or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first 353 574

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second storey. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a rare family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is hot served in the chaykhanas has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the diwankhana of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women 574
and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children.
A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters
the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality [576] [562] [888]
of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the
house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with
the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Lali Khan [123]
and Bayin Amina, the Turkish wife of Shakir Effendi, both
unveiled and neither of European education or inclination.
Visiting women, almost always married and related in some
way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or
in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain
in the diwankhana if the house-owner and a male guest should
suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used
for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle,
in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the 351
gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive [574]
value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-
room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the
desire of every householder, as an American might plan a
study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to
have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to
beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded,
grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic
attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle
East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a senti-
ment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy,

ut found just as strongly in the illiterate Sa'idi peasant 351
f contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian post. In
owanduz all of the wealthier homes have their gardens,
urrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows
nd those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are
ervants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off [244]
to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number
of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be enter- [352] [574]
tained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the
usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular
garden near Rowanduz is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of
Jindian, whose house is built over the course of an icy
mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel
through the plot itself. The agha boasts fruits chilled
in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running
brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and
benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater
extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and [857]
children of the house, in addition to playing there, are
held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from
the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the
youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater in-
roads on the produce than those they are set to guard
against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of 354 342
firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, al-
ways to be found on the first floor and more or less open
to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

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[439]
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storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [857]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296] In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 443 556

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision. 443 556

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more 264 262 [263]

detailed, examination will show. 262

Meat is used in the larger household almost every day. Beef is rare, as is the biryani, a whole roasted lamb stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, and spices, only appearing on the occasion of great feasts, such as the marriage of a chieftain's daughter. On the other hand, smaller quantities of lamb, mutton, or goat-meat, charcoal broiled on iron skewers (kabab, if diced, and tika, if whole pieces of flesh and fat), are everyday favorites. The same type of meat is also prepared as a stew with the addition of vegetables, and, diced and mixed with rice, used to stuff cucumbers, grape leaves, marrow, and tomatoes which are baked. Chicken and chikaw, the mountain partridge, are generally boiled, and the broth is served as a soup. Eggs are either fried in oil or boiled. Most of this cooking is accompanied with a great quantity of gi, clarified butter or vegetable oil, although in summer the townspeople try to avoid greasy foods. 262 252 [585]

Bread and rice have great importance, some of the latter produced locally, but the better grades imported from Iran. Rice must first be washed to remove dirt and pebbles, while a strong fire is built in the earthen cooking pit. A metal pot is placed over the flames and a quantity of oil and water are added. When this mixture boils, the rice is poured in and the whole is left until most of the liquid has boiled off. When this point is reached, the larger pieces of firewood are removed, and the pot is allowed to

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 952 162
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [163] pulawa, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [953] and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [134] brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dandog, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favoured in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavoured with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shiwi sayan, are considered a delicacy.

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, limun dani, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastey, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of undulant fever.

The diet of the civil officials and their families

differs little from that of the townspeople, but it is 262
necessary to mention the drinking parties of the men. The 273
Kurds of this area are not fond of alcoholic beverages, although a few of the chieftains have experimented with them, and it can almost be stated categorically that no person native to Rowanduz makes use of them. A "secret sinner" (the use of intoxicants is forbidden in the Quran) would have a difficult time, for his wife would be sure to find him out and carry the tale to Kissmet, but there seems to be little desire, even among the young men and other persons disgruntled with the unchanging tempo of country life. Bayia Amina, the wife of Shakir Effendi, was married from an Ottoman family in an area of Turkey where drinking, separately, to be sure, of groups of men and women of the upper class was commonplace. She regretted, not the deficit of potables, but the cheerful women's parties of her youth. With the officials and army officers [704]
it is quite otherwise, for many come from the great cities, or have had their training there, where inebriation is a standard form of entertainment. Some of the officers prefer beer, perhaps on the analogy of British officers, but the most popular is arrack (omnipresent in the Eastern Mediterranean: ouzo in Greece, raki in Turkey, zibib in Egypt, and 'arag in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq), a distillate of fermented grapes or dates flavoured with anise or mastich-gum arabic, and of great potency. It is poured in small amounts into tumblers and water is added, which, if the

flavoring in raisins, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the meze (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the fireplace, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the family in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, Bismillah, "In the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

women are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. 264 574
When there are male guests formally invited, the women are withdrawn from sight and the food is served in a grand array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quickly, standing around a table in the divanKhana or a room neighboring the kitchen. It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater leisure with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the haunches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too ravenously, to serve oneself an outsize portion, to belch, and the like. 264 516

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, 291
in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, and they make greater use of brighter hues and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often intermingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

Iraq, and that which is European. It need not be thought 291
that the Kurdish element is something wholly unique, for [278]
there is an abundance of evidence, for example, almost any Persian miniature painting, to indicate that colourful dress, if not the styles themselves, had a greater province in centuries gone by than are in evidence today, a change bound up in the impoverishment of the area and coupled with the impact of European civilisation.

Turning first to the Kurdish townsmen of Rowanduz, dressed in native clothing, the basic undergarment is a pair of baggy, white cotton drawers, bound at the waist by a draw-string, which fall a few inches below the knees. A cotton undervest may or may not be worn, and the most mandatory item is a white cotton shirt without a collar, closed at the neck by a series of round cloth buttons. The salient characteristic of this shirt is its sleeve which extends almost a foot beyond the wrist and is split to the elbow. When a jacket is worn, this long end is turned back and tied around the forearm, just below the elbow. For washing, or for fighting, the two ends are tied together behind the neck, drawing up the sleeves of both shirt and jacket above the elbows. A sleeveless vest, of European style and fastened with a number of buttons, is often worn over the shirt. Its fabric is either identical with the jacket or of striped cotton, but it is not exposed to view in outdoor attire. [515] [579]

The outer garments consist of trousers and jacket,

both of which are worn in Rwanda with no apparent regard 291
to their several regional styles. The trousers are full, usually gathered at the waist with a cord, and may have side bell-bottoms, the mode of the district, or be narrowed slightly at the ankle, the general Turkish type. In no case are these tightly bound about the calf, as is the Turkish shirwal still seen in Syria and Egypt. The jacket, tucked in the trousers, has two forms, of which the first is collarless, although its edges have a wide embroidered border, and is single-breasted, one side folded slightly over the other without fasteners. The second is in the style of a doublet-breasted military tunic of the last century, with a collar about an inch high of stitched thicknesses of material, flaring lapels, parallel rows of buttons on the front, and two pleated pockets with pointed flaps. These outer garments need not be of the same colour. For a time Rwabid Agha of Nyinlen, one of many examples, wore a jacket of white and trousers of dark blue. The materials are either European or local fabrics, and the tailoring is professional, although the embroidery is done in the homes by the women, some of it in intricately-executed bands along the seams and the hems. A typical suit consists of both trousers and jacket in the same colour, made of squares of loosely woven wool cloth, light tan or blue, stitched and embroidered with thread of the same hue. [294 413]

The type of footgear for men has been indicated above,

lowest European shoes or the worn sandals with rubber soles. Stockings are by no means thought necessary, although the villagers almost always appear in a coarse cotton product which is more concerning to the taste and pocketbook of the individual concerned. It is commonplace for poorer men of the town to go without, but this is not confined to the class. The waist is bound with a sash, a rolled strip of material one or two feet in width, and perhaps four or five yards in length. The cloth itself is often a flowered cotton print, a typical example showing red blossoms outlined in white on a black background, and is tied by holding immobile in front of the torso a foot or two of one end of the goods around which, tautly circling and controlling the waist, the longer part is wrapped in a series of loops until the cloth is exhausted and the ends may be tucked under the resulting girdle. This sash is used to carry a number of items, money, cigarettes, and the like, inasmuch as the only other pockets usually found in the costume are in the vest or the military-type jacket. A leather belt is often buckled over it, particularly when weapons are carried. 291 [342]

The headdress is composed of an embroidered skullcap and two rolled scarves bound about it to form a turban. Although the embroidered cap, known throughout Iraq, was present in the town in Ottoman times, the older type was of felt and peaked, with a tassel ornamenting the top. This has now disappeared, replaced by the round embroidered form, manufactured commercially outside the area. The scarves are

also begorta, but their fringes must be prepared by local 291
seamstresses. Folded diagonally and rolled, the scarves are bound around the head one next to the other, and one or more of the ends usually hang down to the shoulders. The cap is of white crocheted cloth and decorated with simple patterns in variously coloured thread, sometimes of gilt or silver. The scarves are characteristically an open black and white print, the same as used in the shalîya or head-cloth of the Arabs to the south, although some are a solid grey or black. The green turban which indicates a descendant of the tribe of the Prophet is worn in the same way, but is infrequently encountered. Only one man in Rowanduz, an elderly blacksmith of humble station, appeared in its regularity. The serpush, the red felt Turkish "fez," 193
has a limited and curious survival as army, among the Kurds or priests of the Shiite (Shaiha) faith and Jewish menagedangers. It is never seen in the town. A peculiar type of woolen cap, with a cloth bill in front, a round tassel on top, and a loose hanging which falls over the back of the neck, is found occasionally, affected by shaikhs and their bodyguards. It is a peculiarity of a mountain tribal group, the Shikak. In the Rowanduz district it is taken to indicate a pugnacious or formidable character. It is difficult to decide on its origins. There is an old and 83
extremely widespread prejudice throughout the Islamic world 291
against headgear with brims or bills "because they do not permit the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground in prayer."

143

Indoors, in a private home, a person dressed in this fashion may discard his turban, placing it on the seat beside him, wearing only his cap. In his own house, particularly during summer, the sash, jacket, and outer trousers are also removed. As far as headdress is concerned, few townsmen remain completely uncovered except when sleeping, and the cap is worn, with or without the turban, a large part of the day. 291

Several persons in the town wear the Arab style, a _dishdasha_ (colloquial Arabic of Iraq), a full-length cassock of wool or cotton buttoned at the neck, and a single turban of a single scarf would flatly shout the shalliap. Over the cassock is sometimes worn the _'aba_ or _bisht_, a loosely-[illegible] cotton cassock with short, full sleeves, worn in wide wool mesh and decorated with a thicker border of gold and silver thread. The _mulla_ or town priests always [193] wear this garb. In contrast to Arab garments, the incursion in recent years of European cotton pajamas, obtained from the tailors or from Erbil, has been marked. These are worn over the undergarments and are for lounging rather than sleeping. Some of the youths wear them on the streets, and an older student in pajamas and a European cloth jacket is not an uncommon sight in a _chaikhana_. They are not, however, considered polite outdoor attire for persons of dignity. In winter the townsmen put on few unique items of clothing, unless they possess a European overcoat, and bundle up in additional shirts, vests, and 177 291

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. [77] 291

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding the qunbiz during the summer. A number affect the black wool forage cap instituted by King Faisal I. to replace the red tarbush of Ottoman connotation, rather than the usual European headgear, and others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Kurdish officials of higher rank prefer the european felt hat, merely worn by Arab civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Kurdish resistance" to Arab rule. For un- [648]
dress attire, the official divests himself of his outer garments and puts on pajamas or the dishdasha, the cassock, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Sudouia type, these last not generally used by the townsmen. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains 391
to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Kurdish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for labour use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because almost any garment is passed through the family until finally worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy [691] [715]
to the poor, for clothing is a favorite bequest at the time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

any officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform 291
trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or
sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a
civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items
used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a
Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective baladi 186
(from balad, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the 291
first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same 554
connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely
derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an
official or an officer has entered a higher class of
society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing,
say, a shalleq, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would
expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," baladi, who has no
understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true [668]
of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be inter-
preted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolu-
tionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab
and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people
as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing
as far as the government service and the governed are
concerned.

Most of the men of the district are armed and appear 411
frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the
chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most
widespread is the khanjir or dagger which is a curved
blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised
central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

is of wood or horn with a studded pommel, and the sheath is of rawhide. There is some variation in size, but the typical weapon is about a foot in length. The best steel is supposed to have tiny undulations in its grain, and comes from Mosul or Damascus. The finer examples have engraved silver hilts and sheaths, and the grip is often bound with silver wire. The khanjir is worn in the sash on the right side and is held with the blade curving downward toward the user. From this position virtually the only stroke is a vertical slashing motion with the raised forearm, and its use does not have the versatility of a straight blade, which, for example, can be used in thrusting. Often the rosary (tesbih, from Arabic subha) is entwined about the hilt. To digress, the Muslim rosary in its complete form consists of 99 beads, separated into groups of 33 by 3 markers, but today this is only found preserved in the homes of the extremely pious or worn around the waist of a dervish. It is used in certain devotional exercises, and the number of beads is popularly supposed to correspond to the 99 names or qualities of God found in the Quran. The common form, such as that referred to above, is of 33 beads with two markers, and has a much simpler application in occupying the hand whenever idle, with no reference whatever to religious sentiment, a substitute for the cigarette. Most are of heavy amberoid beads imported from Germany and strung in a loop ending in three small tassels. The most precious come from Mecca and are

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781
293

of ebony or some other wood inlaid with silver dots. 789 293
The rosary may also be carried hanging loosely about the wrist.

The chieftains, and other townspeople of high station, carry pistols, almost always of the automatic type, in oilcloth holsters on the right or left hip, sometimes attached to the belt with a lanyard. The butt is often wrapped in a silk handkerchief, and this, together with the type of holster and the position in which it is worn, mitigates against the most efficient use, as in the case of the dagger. Bodyguards, as well as most of the populace, when fully armed, carry rifles and oilcloth bandoliers of ammunition, the latter hung crossed on the chest. The rifles are usually Iranian Army Mausers. British army weapons, such as the Webley revolver, are avoided because their possession is not easily explained to the authorities. It is difficult for Americans, in whose homes firearms are commonplace, to appreciate the apprehensiveness of government officers in an area of well-armed people such as this. In Egypt, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, as well as most of Iraq, the bulk of the agricultural population have comparatively few rifles among them and there is little threat of armed revolt in this quarter, save in the case of a few minority groups, such as the Druses, who have maintained their integrity by precisely this means. The sale of arms and ammunition, except by almost impossible government formalities, is

forbidden in the Rowanduz area and an investigation of their sources might prove embarrassing to the government itself. Most of the modern items, however, have an Iranian Army history. The adulation of weapons, common to the youth of many countries, is a prominent feature of Kurdish adolescence, and a lad who by diligence or a stroke of good fortune has obtained an elderly pistol or a rifle has a treasure indeed. The skill of the Kurds with arms is open to some question, in view of the high price of illicit ammunition, but several demonstrations were witnessed on vultures (whom it is strictly forbidden to shoot) which gave evidence of capability.

In treating the costume of the women of the town, it is important to remember that three different categories must be dealt with, the wives of the civil officials, Kurdish townswomen of the upper class, and those of humbler stations, although the difference in dress between the latter two groups is largely a matter of the quality of the material and the wearing of the veil. To describe first the garments of a Kurdish woman of the lower classes, the basic undergarment, as in the case of the men, is a pair of white cotton drawers falling below the knees, although in these the bottoms are more tightly bound about the calves. Above this a simple cotton shirt may appear. Over the drawers fall trousers of dark-coloured cloth, drawn in at the ankles, may be worn, an invariable item in the attire of village women. To build up the outer garment a series of chemises and simple dresses with long,

pen sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put 291
on, although in the case of village women only one or two
outer dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For
headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent,
townswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with
a turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as
embroidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together
by the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the
hemispherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of
the men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark
blue in colour, a single roll of cloth.

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a 291
restriction which, of course, has no existence among the 542
women themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish
women of the upper class may only appear unobserved before
the men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and
dignity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand,
women of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their
life, working in the fields and going to market, are always
unveiled and a trip to the bazaar crowded with men affords
them no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially
prominent or alien person may cause them to hide their
faces. Bareheadedness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears [759]
in a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save [572]
in the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the [401]
restrained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural
Kurdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to
run. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also

a matter of social status, and many women, flattering themselves, will hide their faces although their station does not warrant it, to the amusement and sometimes the respect of others. One noticed from a distance that an elderly woman of the lower class turned against a wall and concealed her face from Mashid Agha of Jindian. "The old fool," he said, "she thinks herself still a girl." The townswomen of wealthier houses never appear in the streets unveiled; and the old, heavy covering of Ottoman times has been replaced completely by the lighter yashmak, derived from the Arab cities. This garment is easily formed by knotting together two corners of a large piece of black cloth so as to make a tight circle at one end in the dimension of the head. This circle is placed around the skull with the knot at the nape of the neck and the whole cloth is turned backwards, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. The forward edges can be controlled with the hands and thrown across the face whenever necessary. Within their houses, most women use a simple headcloth, usually of white gauze, which falls over the shoulders and hangs to the waist, and, just as the men, are infrequently without something on their heads. Among the Kurds, however, it is a much greater shame for a girl to have her legs observed by a stranger than her face.

The rich garments of a wedding or the festival, particularly in wealthy houses, are of much the same type, with the addition of a few items and the better quality of

the materials. Here bright colours are worn, typically 292
deep reds and blues, and a number of chemises, skirts, and aprons make up the costume. A white blouse and a tight jacket with long sleeves are often seen. For a headdress, the headcloth is white and is coloured silks is found, as well as a cap to which a circular disk, the kurk, some five inches in diameter, of embossed gold or silver has been sewn and around which a turban of silk is affixed. This last is one of a woman's dearest possessions, and the kurk, refitted with cap and turban whenever necessary, is either bestowed on a favorite daughter or kept until death. Whether or not a woman "dresses up" each day depends very much on her own personality. In some houses of the wealthy, the mistress wears only a single print frock and the white headcloth, while in others, sometimes of lower station, the wife is always resplendent in a multiplicity of garments and jewelry. The servants of Lali Khan, herself in perpetual mourning, are always "dressed for a wedding." In cold weather women of any class do not use a coat, but add [illegible].

The wives of government personnel, who are for a 554
large part Arabs, have the same social origins as their 562
husbands, the educated middle and upper class families of Iraq. Some of the officials are unaccompanied by their spouses, and those of lower rank, the military, the junior army officers, and the teachers, are usually unmarried. Nevertheless a number of these women are resident in the

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowandum the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in draperies black, and in the case of twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their footwear includes European models, some simple slippers, and the pahnik. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

rarely wear stockings, for there is little need of them with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often use them, obtained from the local merchants or Arbil. 291

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the yashmak or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their mothers, but must have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular youngster, however to all appearances European, one must note the piece of blue porcelain pinned on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the town wear [301] [751] [754]

white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
garments of adults, and the student like to add a cloth
European jacket. The dress of the children of officials
and officers is much like that of their Kurdish play-
fellows, at the same time more European in character,
particularly for the boys who sometimes wear slacks and
jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large
part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the
winter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
younger children are confined to the houses in extremely
cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist.
There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden
must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the
parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the
neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys,
the adulation of weapons has already been outlived, and is
coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of
chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in
the eyes of adolescence. Desire to mother is under con-
siderable pressure to influence to father for money to
deck out his son in adult clothig. The young Kurd who 186
follows a government career in th secondary schools and 291
colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such
notions to the condemning adjective balxti, "rustic,"
although he may retain a certain admiration for the
swaling garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 244

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (Wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is normal intercourse. An individual so concerned is najis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the perineum will be noted later.

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure re-
sembling that of a European or American army recruit. The
face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great
social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man with- 302
out some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 331
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and,
more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache,
through an understandable cultural process, has come to be
a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with
a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical
qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Most
officials and officers, who often wear their hair long,
do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a
sign of both age and piety. Rarer, in recent years, is
the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and
this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [182]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Women
are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms
and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to
say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [134]
good [illegible] not to be seen naked by others. Ex-
cept for the cologne of the barber, men do not use
cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 57
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 124
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 579

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Rwanda, hold flowers to their noses on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some exercise, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is always carefully combed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 902
and, even when mature in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some houses, kohl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna, a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is not found in this area, nor is the technique used to prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstru- 841
ation cloth pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual [833]
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is possible to observe daily female residents of the lower classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces. These are either transient servants or migrants from the villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizan or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

and the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch as the greater number of husbands do not anticipate divorce, a profit realized in business may be presented to their spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for the wife, not solely from the decorative point of view. Only land and precious metal have real and lasting value in the popular mind. A laborer in Rowanduz whose monthly earnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20) related how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and subsequently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars ($224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The jewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with her if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she pleases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells it to reinstate him or support the family, and may subsidize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in the same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of the gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly different in style from that produced for the lower classes in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that some of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type, such as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and bangles of precious metal are made up into more or less complex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the most expensive items is a collar or necklace of concentric circles of gold chain joined together by flat bangles of various geometric shapes, and another, the [illegible] or disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

mentioned. Precious stones and pearls are little in evidence, but coins, of almost any age and variety, are often drilled and included in the ensemble. The silver nōsag or nose-ring, sometimes containing a piece of turquoise, is only affected by women of the villages. Many married couples wear rings, usually of silver and sometimes set with a piece of coloured glass, on the third or fourth finger of the right hand, but they are not a necessary part of engagement or marriage. Men wear little jewelry save a ring and a few sport a silver or imitation gold watch-fob hanging from a breast pocket. There is some aversion on the part of men to wearing gold, and this is said to have a background in Islamic tradition. The elegant seal-rings of Mediaeval and Ottoman times have almost completely disappeared, except in a few of the older families, such as that of Ba'ad Effendi, where they are preserved as heirlooms.

It has been seen that the townspeople have little regard for intoxicants, nor do they make use of drugs such as the opium of Iran to the east or the hashish of Lebanon and Syria to the west. If there are excesses among the natives of Rawanduz, they are only tea-drinking and smoking, the first of which has been discussed. Cigarettes are the most popular mode of consuming tobacco, and have several varieties. From the merchants British cigarettes and those made in the factories of Baghdad may be obtained. The officials and officers habitually use these, and they are

usually offered to guests in wealthy homes or to visitors 2%
in a shop in the bazar. Most of the populace, however,
make theirs prepared from local leaf in the houses by the
women. These are made in great quantity by filling manu-
factured paper tubes, about four inches in length, and
rolling down the paper remaining at one end. A number of
persons possess small Austrian cigarette-rollers, devices
which can be carried on the person enclosing a certain
amount of tobacco and a book of papers. Factory-made
cigarettes are kept in their purchased boxes, and
highbrils, some of the government personnel, have nowadays [101]
the habit, probably ephemeral, of letting the nail of the
little finger on the left hand grow long with which to
slit open the package. The longer domestic product is
typically carried in a silvered metal box, resembling a
covered soap-dish, imported from abroad. A number of
persons use heavy cigarette holders of wood or imported
celluloid, out of proportion to the cigarette in thickness.
In Ottoman times, many had pipes with long stems, two or
three feet in length, but they have largely disappeared.
It is still possible to buy pottery bowls in the bazar
in which a drilled wooden shaft can be attached as a
stem, but they are not popular. The water-pipe is not
remembered as ever having had much use in the area. A
smaller pipe survives among the villagers and men of the
lower class, a stubby form in baked clay of curious design
with an overall length of about five inches and the height

of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the revolver form an important part in every well-to'do Kawandis wardrobe. There are several varieties of these, and are dextrous in destruction. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no position in the Koran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, however as their harmful are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Rooms of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flea. Both flies and mosquitoes are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Dysentery and cholera sometimes turn up, and are filled with the greatest possible dispatch.

the curious fact gradually dawns on an observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons alleged is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 736
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognised. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 669
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 798
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of information in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 66
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town figures 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ba'ad
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re-
place the one who had died [at the age of eleven "of the
evil eye"], and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, waking up and dress the stony steps
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most households have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

the first World War, but they have been more in the substitution of the materials used and in the addition of new items rather than anything radical. Most of these are European, such as kerosene stoves and ovens, and have either displaced older manufactures, some of which survive, or have been readily accepted as new devices. The Dane, in an innovator, but welcomes new things of a material sort, particularly if they appeal to him as ingenious, as the cigarette-lighter, and are integrated without difficulty into his daily life. It cannot be maintained that the increase of European imports has destroyed the self-sufficiency of the household or of the district, although it has certainly furthered the determination of native crafts, for this area has utilized trade from other locales for centuries. In general, it might be said that the last fifty years have seen the intermixture of many new items to the same ends. An imported kerosene stove and cooking utensils are now used to prepare food, but the diet and the etiquette of dining have changed little. The sewing machine and fabrics from the mills of Great Britain now provide clothing, but the costume, save for European shoes, is much the same. A drastic reorientation has not been accomplished by the introduction of these new appurtenances, and household life in Dawenkou can be said to have evolved, and to still be evolving, into something which daily makes increased use of the devices and products of European civilization with great flexibility.

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CHAPTER V

THE SOCIETY

Something of the composition of society in Kurdistan has been seen in the preceding pages, as well as the distinction between "sedentary" and "nomad" families, but the social structure of the town is much more complex than its cleavages along lines of occupation or of wealth, and requires more extended discussion, of particular importance inasmuch as this has proven the most significant area of change in recent decades. To approach this problem it is again necessary to have initial reference to the society as a whole, for in this larger province certain things of relevance to the life of the town must be appreciated. The sociology of Iraq does not appear to have had any simple, adequate exposition in recent years, although much of what will be said in this connection can be found scattered in a wide variety of publications, and in conversations in residents and travelers in the region.

Of the several divisions of the society of Iraq, the first is that between Muslims and non-Muslims. The adherents of Islam represent by far the greater part of the population, and, according to Moslem law, a Muslim girl cannot marry outside this group unless the suitor, if accepted, becomes a convert himself, a rule which is rigidly

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cultured. Of the non-Muslim, the Jews might be mentioned first, and their own system of marriage is like that of Islam. By long tradition, heightened by the recent Israeli war, the Jews are greatly despised, but most of them have already migrated to their new country. The departure of the Jewish craftsmen and shopkeepers from Rowandus has already been noticed. Of the Christians, an unconscious distinction is made in the Muslim mind between those who come from the Western world, and those who are native to the area of the Eastern Mediterranean. The military prowess and advanced culture of Europe or America are recognized, and almost any male from these countries is long Frank or effendi or gentleman. The Briton, because of the part of his country's imperialism in the Middle East, may be disliked, but he is usually respected. On the other hand, Christians such as the Armenians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Nestorians, who have been Islamic subjects in the past, are looked upon with some contempt. The Armenians and Greeks are largely urban minorities, engaged in commerce, and are generally vilified, as are Jews and certain Syrians in the cities, as cheats and thieves. The Chaldeans and the Nestorians, most of the latter displaced from their homeland in Turkey after the First World War, were once relatively engaged in agriculture, and, as a peaceful folk, were not considered particularly different from Muslim peasants. Turkish chieftains and their men have been invited to Nestorian festivals and there has been

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considerable social intercourse between the two groups. Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry Levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing the Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Kurmanji area, at Ainkawa, Dere Bartu and Qaraqosh, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the Assyrian occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One may find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Then most of them assume Christian names, often of a classic favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam commands tremendous respect from the followers and is a "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

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Kawandoz
Yezidis MHIO

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not must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the name in the name of religion, of which the full form is ja'kunle Xhidā 'xia Xiwā, "the Generation of God on your head," is an invitation to certain catastrophe.

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There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, nor Jewish, the Yezidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Kurdmanji of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yezidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslims and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druze women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups.

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The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("Tradition") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shī'ah ("party," from Shī'ah 'Alī, "the party of 'Alī"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid dynasty (1502-1736), and today includes, in one form, the people of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural population of southern Iraq. In central and northern

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ing the [redacted] is represented by most of the Arab groups, 715
the Zarma, the Tuareg, and the Tubbesawa. The conflict be- 717
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
not the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious context. The governing class in Zeng, deriving
from Ottoman times, is almost half Sanusiya, and the Sa- 715
nusiya is often pictured along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 186
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as [303]
shaking the hand with bones, are condemned by the Sanu-
siya alternatively as Shiite or Israelian. Curiously, they
imitate ultimately, in the Shiite text purely secular and [309]
legalistic, an Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pa-
triarchic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sanusiya and Shiite was falling into decay. As a
principle in determining the investigation, as being believed
by an army officer that he owes from his southern provinces,
incorrectly imagined to be belonged to the [redacted]. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Here on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sanusiya and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
viz, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

Arab, Kurds, Turkomans, and Turks. There are Persian minorities in the cities of central and southern Iraq, but they fall under the religious classifications of Shi'ah and there seems to be no conflict between them and Arabs of their own persuasion. The Turks are few in number and are concentrated in the middle and upper classes. In the days before the liberation of Iraq, there was bitter enmity toward the Turks as the representatives of Ottoman rule, but this has disappeared in recent years and there is no restriction, or, indeed, there never was, on marriage between members of this class and humble Muslims, Arabs and Kurds, of comparable status. A survey of the lists of officials and army officers reveals the remarkable extent to which the survivors of Ottoman rule have retained their position in the government service. The Turkomans are centered in central and northeastern Iraq, mainly about Kirkuk Kerkuk and Sul Suaijaq, and have been unobtrusive in national affairs, largely farmers and shopkeepers, a remnant of the Ottoman Horde of the White Sheep. Again, there appears to be no restriction on marriage with humble Muslims, but there is little reason for an Arab, Kurd, or Turk of the upper classes to take an illiterate, impoverished bride from among them.

The matter of Arab and Kurd is quite otherwise, for in the case of the latter there is a well-armed minority population, Muslim, and known free of the susceptibilities of religious attack, with a strong base in agriculture and tribal leadership. They are estimated at 400,000 persons,

and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are host by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes horror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as hateful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the traditions of Islamism, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "They are all hostile." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and many Kurds can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1931 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Kirkuk was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

example, an Arab of Mosul and one of Baghdad, but it does not appear to be of a serious nature. Among the Kurds, one can often hear the native of a certain locale praising it to the exclusion of others. "The preparation of rice at Dukanpeiga is the best," a Kurd of this city proclaims in a discussion of cookery, but feelings of this type do not operate to separate the people in any important way, because religious and ethnic divisions have much greater weight. On the other hand, tribal allegiance in certain rural areas has great importance, although increased government control in matters such as the recruitment of soldiers has mitigated their character to some extent. It is difficult to formulate any general rules for tribal exogamy or endogamy, because the distinction often is not consistently known of the same standing, regardless of tribe. The tendency among most tribesmen, Kurd or Arab, is toward marriage within their own group, because the preferential match is between cousins.

In the other divisions of society, two parallel systems, at many points intermingled, are to be found. In the first of these there is a single division between a hereditary aristocracy and a mass of commoners and this system is primitive or quasi-primitive. Here few families and certain areas held by groups such as the Tajikmans, the Baradosts, or the Dwalis, most of them to have participated for centuries among Arab tribes. The chieftains of these tribes and their subdivisions are aristocrats who inherit their position in the patronal

lim, usually with the common consent of the tribesmen. Beneath them are commoners, shepherds and peasants, and, in the villages, a number of merchants, craftsmen and jokesters. Some of these chieftains own little more than their own taste or houses, while others have immense fortunes and estates. Arab leaders of this type are invariably associated with tribes, but some of the Swahili chiefs are feudal landlords without tribal affiliation, although their ranks and titles are inherited in the same way. Generally speaking, men belonging to this hereditary group may marry beneath their station, but daughters are never allowed to do so. The chieftains themselves may be illiterate and wear the costume of their people, Arab or Swahili, but, insofar as they are powerful or wealthy, they move freely in the highest echelons of society. There is no vertical mobility in this system, and it is normally impossible for a commoner, no matter what his power and wealth, to become a chieftain, although one suspects that this has happened in the past.

The second system, paralleling the first, is of a different character and is the civilized society of the state. All its base are again shepherds and peasants, with the addition of the urban proletariat, labourers, servants, soldiers, and the like. The great cleavage in this group is the difference between literacy and illiteracy, judged in terms of assimilation to the secondary culture. It is difficult for us to appreciate the overpowering importance of education in this society. An educated man from the

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lower classes enjoy upon a new and loftier status, becoming a problem. Never again is he allowed to engage in menial labor, nor the ease of his inferiors. Only certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and rise higher than, and they endure great sacrifices to this end, sometimes ill-repaid by the young official who scorns their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the bureaucracy is heavily overburdened with men whose training does not permit them to return to "begrafting" toil, and swells year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the promises of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that even Manila Filipinos who have interested themselves in this way have grown most rich enterprising and sudden than their rivals of older religions and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lower government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with uneducated merchants and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the peasant

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pursuit, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest eminence in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As for an intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the great lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain was never not a successful peasant.

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It would be incorrect to assign the Hausa classes, the nobles of the Kanuri and the lamas of the Shilluk, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired slaughter and names by our class, without fully understanding the law of reading. In speaking

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story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one such hitherto approached by a peasant woman with a letter, apparently betraying some of her husband on the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short [765] time, and the woman tore her garments and went into mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course of the pious errand. Actually, however, the letter announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "And is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar reaction. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according to their status in life anew. The sayyids, as a religious [763 765 792 795] hereditary, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as was learned in sections here, even persons of the highest status are initiated into the association of the sayyids orders. In Kawashos one would find a sayyid is a respected

ruler who, among other things, performed such feats as calling publics for aims in the abstract, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community.

Turning to the Rwandan district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Tutsi. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Hutu had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ethiopian and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the First World War. As rulers, the Tutsi chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain semi-religious aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain was to hold the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of certain lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the

tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the male family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character.

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is hoshan, parallel in its etymology to the Latin familia. The same term is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and aqrida, descendants of the tribe of the prophet, keep genealogies (sejara, from Arabic shajara, "tree"). In the case of the aqrid the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowanduz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include beg, agha, and sir, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times pasha was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic shaykh, literally, "old man," appears, as in the distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha,

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ated for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jindian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as xanim, "princess," or khan, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations. [756] [551]

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The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of badalkhwin or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

usually there is speedy recourse to arms and a vendetta 622
can extend over decades and count scores of victims. In 628
the case of commoners, the chieftains of the people involved often intervene, and sometimes pay the bedelkhwig from their own purses, but, failing this, they are expected to aid in obtaining revenge. In the case of aristocratic households, the matter is not settled so easily, although, in rare situations, a third neutral party, a great chieftain known for his piety and justice, may be asked to arbitrate. The most famous feud of the district 628
was that between the Houses of Isma'il Beg and Huri Bewil Agha, beginning in the days of the First World War, temporarily at an end with the murder of the former and the life imprisonment of the latter. There were many casualties on both sides, and several of the participants are still in prison, such as Isma'il Beg's bailiff, and the two uncles of his mother, Lali Khan, Mustafa Agha and Zirar Agha. Although Rowanduz is non-tribal and is not bound to this or that chieftain, the townsmen took sides in the quarrel, mostly on that of Isma'il Beg, and the quarrel lingers on. The party of Huri Bewil Agha has now practically disappeared, and his son, Karim Agha, who resides in the town, does not dare approach the vicinity of Isma'il Beg's house from fear of further reprisal.

The vendetta has been one of the foremost features of Kurdish life for centuries, and, in spite of its toll in lives, has something of the aspect of a game or sport. Unless commoners or whole tribes are involved, most of

the casualties are sustained by the chieftains and their bodyguards, a sort of exchange of assassinations, and there is nothing which might be termed "total warfare." If a chieftain is engaged in a feud with another, he does not ordinarily try to kill off the other's paramentary or destroy their crops, but rather attempts the ambush of his adversary or that person's immediate relatives and followers. There are several examples to indicate that feuding parties do not like the idea of decisive contests. The causes of such conflicts are extremely varied, although women are said to be one of the most frequent, and are often trivial. The government, insisting on its own justice, has a great deal of trouble with these affairs, and, at the same time, has used them to its own advantage. One of the chief reasons for the failure of Kurdish revolts over the years has been the fact that the leaders are just as interested in the overthrow of each other as in that of the government. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe performed welcome service in aiding the defeat of Mulla Mustafa's abortive rebellion, not because of his loyalty, which need not be questioned, but because of an old feud. It is interesting that certain persons treat their relations with the government in the same way, that is, as a matter between families, carrying on what might be classified as private vendettas with the authorities. If one's brother has been hung or imprisoned, the next step is the assassination of a policeman, not necessarily the

constables who apprehended the culprit or the judge who pronounced sentence, but "any member of the government tribe." Quite a number of this last type of feud come to light from time to time, and in 1951 one "brigand" near Arbil is credited with having disposed of numerous policemen, not primarily occupied with his capture, but engaged in their customary duties.

Europeans or Americans are apt to lose sight of the deadly nature, apart or not, of the Kurdish vendetta, particularly, as is often the case nowadays, when it is coupled with politics. The investigator was seated one evening in the "club" in Rowandiz with Sayyid Ahmed of Betas, a son of Shaykh Taha, and one of his bodyguards. Sayyid Ahmed was not directly concerned in the Rowandiz feud, but he was a regular guest of Lali Khan and his sympathies lay with the House of Ismail Beg. It was interesting to notice that when Karim Agha, the son of Yuri Bawil Agha, and hence a possible enemy, entered the garden, Sayyid Ahmed quickly loosened the holster of his pistol and his follower automatically took up a strategic position behind the new visitor, leaning against a wall. On another evening, Sayyid Ahmed forbade, with some violence of expression, a well-meaning person who wished to accompany him across an exposed meadow with a lantern, Agria, a simple precaution. This atmosphere of violence is an everyday feature of life in Rowandiz, but it must be stressed that actual danger does not in any way extend to the common people nor, under normal circumstances, the

government personnel. It would be easy for an outsider to 628
rationalize this situation, and this would not be far from
true, for the Kurds do the same themselves. The chieftain 622
is the summation of a peasant's ideals, a formidable
warrior, unrelenting in vengeance, generous in hospitality,
and gallant in conduct. An aristocratic youth is educated
to play this part. It would be difficult to find many
peoples among whom the hero, as defined, has as attractive
a daily role and as general and attractive an audience. A
number of persons in the Rowanduz area, queried on this
point, were unable to name more than one or two chieftains
of the aristocratic group, perhaps ten or three hundred
men in all, who had not been imprisoned or exiled by the
government at least once.

Safeguard, as in the case of revenge, is a matter 484
of aristocratic honor. Formerly, anyone who wished to pass 579
through a chieftain's territory was expected to put him-
self under the latter's protection, because, failing this,
he became more or less fair game for bandits or, indeed,
the chieftain himself. In past decades brigandage, like
assassination, was something of a sport, and holding up a
caravan was considered as amusing, as well as lucrative,
occupation for the aristocracy. The luckless merchant could
only apply to the chieftain for his goods which, in con-
sideration of a fee, were "recovered" and returned to him.
The easiest technique, of course, was to obtain right to
passage at first, at the expense of a few gifts, and a
number of the chieftain's men would be delegated as guards.

for the Hawaiians, refugement had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a revolt, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of the own.

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Hawaiians. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the hehelilelo or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, as they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter

of guerrilla. Commoners are not in a position to 633
contest with a chieftain, and the position was usually 646
solved in this way. The youth was summoned and blamed 689
the head of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a person. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most complex of ramifications could follow.

The integrity of the women is perhaps the primary 599
asset of a family's honour. If a Kurd insults anything 503
other than the women of his opponent, he is in danger of 559
being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honour of a woman, the latter must be killed by her [484]
relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious accusation cannot be taken lightly. The honour of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demon- [585]
strate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not then cast to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an 691
accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the 643
same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or

to the guest either, and even in those places she feels far from secure. While this enough is common to families of any class of society, it receives its sharpest among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's power, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus invading the integrity of a noblewoman was also revolt in miniature.

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Even the aristocratic houses maintain strongholds which may nonchalantly be also and have accordingly to their status. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the stronghold of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocracy. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion,

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his produce, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a convenient, well-known or tabooed, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chief-tains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a *kwaibaga*, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and eating, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments greater. As in the case of the open hospitality, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send him away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Mekeosi country, a Kwoi said, "It is necessary for them

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to let Ahmed Beg know of their presence and visit his [illegible], or he will think they look down on his hospitality, of, course, do not know him or recognize him as a [illegible].

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen from the section on administration that the government takes a strong interest in shaikhs' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, mirîtiyê, which includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory, and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the peasants, thus cutting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the shaikhs, element of the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to the government, either the civil code of the judge or the tribal code of the mirîtiyê. Vengeance is also of the state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and courtesy in a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in enough democratic, and such titles as axha, beg, or shaikh, while they are widely used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabulary are thought adequate to handle military exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly [illegible] of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of its important functions and perquisites. They are no longer leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

economic wealth has been cut from beneath them. In an ideal situation, they may survive only as landowners and as they are able to obtain positions in the government. The situation, however, is far from ideal, and in practice many continue as their forebears, side by side with the new competitors. It cannot be denied that they cannot the government considerable aid in the maintenance of order, and, at the same time, provide it with great anxiety in their private matters and political thought.

This Scottish aristocracy is by no means feeble in the face of such competition, and has the advantage of popular support and sympathy, particularly, as has been seen, because it represents a highly idealized group. It has been said that the Scots are very prey to contentious philosophies, especially Communism, but among them, save in certain of the well-educated, there is no knowledge or sign of what may be called a "class struggle," or, in other terms, the rich or privileged against the poor. The struggle is entirely between Scottish society as a whole and what they consider an alien system. The investigator has talked at length with a number of dissatisfied Scottish folks, as well as others in whom such sentiments might be expected, and has heard much of "good" chieftains and "bad" chieftains, but never the aristocracy condemned as such. It must not be thought that the speech of this aristocratic group is "reactionary," in the sense of opposition to modern innovations and the desire to return to older ways. Such things as automobiles, modern firearms, wirelesses, and

my contacts during which their names have been associated with adversity. Europeans and American medical people are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wisdom of the Western World. "We are," said an MSS, "more of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Christmas-week, say the same thing, having reference to leisure. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Hutu, regarding themselves to the cruel, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the evil and social inconvenience, but one is dubious of any other aspect of this liberality. In short, the Hutu aristocracy represents an extremely active class, threatened by most aspects of Westernization, but reassured by their own discretions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Hutu chieftains of the Ruwenzori area are often questioned and even the national costume as it was three described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Ruwenzori only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

Sha, Sharif Hamid Aghe, and Hadig Aghe. Because that of Sharif Hamid Aghe has suffered adverse fortune, the House of Jamil Beg, headed by Salih Khan, has the greatest influence in the town, owning considerable property therein. Hadig Aghe and his brother Ja'wad Aghe have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Mahmoud 'Ali Aghe might be mentioned, for it is nearby at Jinsiya, and its head, such as Hadig Aghe, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, are only of these families out of the district at large, rather take daily life to a large extent. They provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, confusion, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. The elite inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Aghe, the son of Sharif Hamid Aghe, or Hamid Aghe of Jinsiya, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the government personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmed of Betas and the army officer, Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, who had captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor. Sayyid Ahmed,

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in contrast to the government, treating such officials more 632
as equals rather than regarding them. Bagirli showed such 498
superiority combined with more pleasure his experiences he
said, for he did not speak Arabic at the time. He heard
the official in charge of him, for example, called "Bragild"
until his book by substitution, and concluded that this
was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer
as "Bragild Beg" until he was finally corrected. In order [132]
to designate the type of meat he desired for his meals,
he was forced to conform to instructions of the animals to
mention, and thought his own picture, that of a Turkish
statement, a man of the great Bragild Tribe, flapping his
arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, must seem
ludicrous.

Toward the townspeople, the Kurdistanis are much more 632
friendly, selling them by name and spending long hours 565
talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy mer-
chants. They are not fond of either the shopkeepers or the
grocers, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar [583]
as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer
the neighbors of the wealthy merchants and landowners of
the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and
prove to have greater prestige, than any village maiden.
The daughter of Ra'uf Effendi, for example, is married to
an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, while Rashid
Agha (the first name have used as a proper name). Among 565
themselves, there is extensive community of interest and 632
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social exchange, extending beyond the district itself, according to certain allegiances. Salih Eben always has a number of relations, such as Seggid Ahmed and his brothers, and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of Sadiq Agha. These allegiances, spoken of above, are formed on the basis of old feuds, family friendships, political entitlements, and the like. Normally the guests of Sadiq Agha are not to be seen at the house of Isma'il Beg, and the converse is true, although there need be no ill-feeling between the two groups. To draw up a chart of these matters would be exploit and of little value, inasmuch as they are perpetually changing and are vast in number. To give some examples, Sarim Agha never visits the house of Isma'il Beg because of a feud, nor those of Seggid Ahmed and his brothers because the latter are friends of Salih Eben. His own friend, a Jewish Agha (not of District) calls on Sadiq Agha, but does not visit Salih Eben or Seggid Ahmed because of his friendship with Sarim Agha. Mahmud Beg of the Barakat is friendly with Seggid Ahmed, but has nothing to do with Sadiq Agha, and hates Sarim Agha and his friend, because he does not sympathise with a feud in which Sadiq Agha was involved. To extend the matter further, Sarim Agha does not patronise merchants in the bazaar who are friends or clients of Salih Eben. Similarly, Seggid Ahmed, whenever he visits the town, has no traffic with those who favour Sarim Agha. This network of friendships and alliances among the aristocracy is an important feature of their life, but it need not extend to the

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townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of the details are idiosyncratic because often fellow three nationalities, although one said that a wedding is arranged which will join two houses who normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the more wives to whom a number of sons.

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Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered degrading for men of the "upper" class to work with their hands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, moneylenders or priests, and businessmen, such as the moneylender mentioned and the owners of the [164] tea-house and the hotel. Such a person is termed effendi or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. The townspeople are provided by shahir effendi and ba'al effendi, with landowners. In addition to their properties, shahir [570] effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and ba'al effendi is the moneylender or representative of the townspeople. The chief mills of the town is addressed as "Malik 'ash-shahir effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the [171] [171]

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ba'al Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The ranks of the class are either twelfth or thirteenth. A twelfth can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as tradesmen and farmers, if wealthy, are considered by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, as neither has poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system.

Konuralp is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the Imam of Imam'li Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ba'al Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Because of the lower classes, transients or migrants from the villages, many of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Konuralp enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called zinzirlik, another Turkish term for "gentlemen,"

que Indian here things. In imitation of the aristocracy, SES
only of the most powerful entertainment followings of crowd 195
can our Slovakians open to the public, and now might con-
gure them to the "voiceless prisoner" of other lands, for
example, the Negroes of Medieval Germany. They were, in
fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the end of the town
during the First World War, and the decline of trade, this
class suffered greatly in economic and in wealth, although
it is still represented by each persons on Ba'ul Attwell
in the group of consumers designated artisans. One example SES
of the manner in which the aristocracy and their workers' 607
counterparts have assumed the functions of the aristocracy
is illustrated by Rosemary. In 1948 a girl of the town,
detected in illicit relations with a young man, took
refuge in Ba'ul Attwell's house. He protected her and
arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one
might add, the help of the police. One of the chief char- SES
acteristics of this highest commoner group is the mobility, [KEY]
for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself
to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose
the distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in 163
the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and SES
unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as
one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers.
This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters,
cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

and upstairs. Of slightly lower rank than these are the nurses and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and semi-artisans. As has been seen, the semi-courtier or *kalmirid* is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the slave or bibermuk unless and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from *silbeth* to the loudest genial, is the question of relative wealth. A person with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in contact to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the great cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality. Judged

in terms of the three questions just noted above. While in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This mobility, which has a moderate degree of realization, does not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of a company may visit each other and in other ways express their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their homes, just as in America friends are to be found among those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by jesting. A man can always have a joke at the expense of an inferior, but never the reverse. "Anwar, you do business like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a gathering in a <u>shanchana</u>, evoking general laughter. The person in question could only shake his head, laughing at himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to taunt in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the village where almost all belong to the same social stratum, think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

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advise or scold their employers.

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniye, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

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government, and no civic or charitable organizations, guilds, or clubs. The _diwakhana_ of the aristocrat, as noted, is often used as a man's clubhouse and a sort of village center, but that of Isma'il Beg in the town is rarely so used, and the mosque or the _shaykhana_ offer little as substitutes. In Rowanduz there is thus an aggregate of separate households whose relationships with the government and with each other are largely on an individual basis, and for social life a man depends to a great extent on his relatives and friends. This should not be taken to mean that there is no force to public opinion or community interest. A mutual concern is much in evidence in the public conduct of individuals and in festivals, and a large part of this is furnished by the Muslim faith. In the summer of 1951 a collection was taken up among the townspeople as a pious work for a poor Arab, arrested by the police as a suspected deserter from the army and subsequently released penniless. The effect of public opinion in such matters as the wearing of the veil or smoking on the streets during Ramadan has already been noticed. The distribution of food and clothing to the poor of the town on certain occasions, and other examples of a similar nature, will be encountered in later sections. However, there is no structural bond or concrete rules of membership which cause the townspeople to act as a whole, although such behavior can often be observed.

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In treating the class made up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Calling to mind the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rowanduz, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissable between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the distinction between Sunnite and Shiite in this class has been noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its members, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or behavior.

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behavior. The ethnic barrier between the Arab officials and the local inhabitants is by far the most striking. Divisions along lines of locale or tribe have little or no significance for members of the official class, although many of them, especially the Arabs, may belong to the latter type of group, in addition to their local origin. There is a certain amount of banter between natives of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, or other cities, just as in America much is heard of the rivalry of various cities and states, but it does not operate in any serious way to divide the group. The force connected with tribal affiliations in Iraq appears to be only appropriate in its proper setting, and a pair of officials, members of two tribes engaged in a deadly feud in some rural area, seem to make nothing of it divorced from the actual scene.

Something of the relations of the official class to the aristocracy and the townspeople has already been indicated. While a number of the Kurds may regard the government in a poor light, it would be a mistake to assume that they do not have admiration or fondness for certain of the officials. Conversely, it would be equally erroneous to think that many of the officials do not have a paternal affection for their charges. Nevertheless, the whole theory of personal relations between officials and townspeople is based on the thesis that "familiarity breeds contempt," which has a certain amount of validity. An over-friendly mudir might be looked upon with more suspicion and distrust than one who was comfortably distant. Thus the more

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the chaykhanas or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowandus fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an anamolous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive," not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many usages of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males nakes[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwakhana, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of cards. The game itself is nonvarying, as well as its particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the nadi or in the home of the qaimmaqam, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikaw, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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[1] The salary of a typical mudir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars ($56.00 per month and 240 dinars ($672.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah, mentioned above. The mudir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a qaimmaqam. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

first in the matter of hospitality. For both aristocrats and commoners of the first system, the doors of the house are theoretically always open to guests or travelers, no matter what the station in society of either host or visitor. Thus, a peasant or a shepherd is unashamed to have someone of higher rank in his home, and what little he possesses in the way of food, drink, and shelter is willingly offered. Conversely, no person of the lower classes is disturbed by availing himself of the hospitality of a chieftain, although, of course, he does not expect the ceremony expended on a superior. This is by no means unique in Kurdistan, but can be discovered in almost any rural area of the Middle East. For officials and officers the situation is somewhat different, because they are forcefully governed by a principle of reciprocation, a matter of personal honor, in effect that a man cannot accept the hospitality of another unless he can return it in kind. To give one of a large number of illustrations, a party was given by the governor of Nasariya, attended only by five other men of the town who were possessed of the means to entertain the governor in a similar fashion. The governor had asked a minor official, and, when this person failed to appear, went to the extent of sending his automobile after him. When the official in question finally arrived, he made a hurried excuse, "the illness of his wife," and again departed. The reason, clear to all those present, was that his meager salary did not permit him to accept the governor's

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invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rowandux this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the qaimmaqam. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The qaimmaqam and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

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Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

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tempt God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

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To this point the greater part of these remarks have been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

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suffice until further investigation is able to furnish a more complete account. Save in the lowest classes of society, mature women, those of the officials and officers, the aristocrats, and the wealthier townsmen, are generally restricted to the interior of their houses, and none can mix freely with society at large. It is more or less inevitable that such women have their friends and visitors among the female relatives of their fathers' and husbands' families, for only these can visit each other's houses without restriction. Because marriages are arranged between persons on a basis of comparable status, a woman's friends, like those of her husband, are close to her in rank. However, women of the upper classes are much more democratic in most respects in their demeanor toward inferiors of the same sex than their husbands are toward theirs, and spend long hours in intimate conversation with female servants, seamstresses and laundresses. The latter are, in fact, an important link with the outside world of the town, inasmuch as they are able to intermingle with others of the lower classes and hence provide the mistress of a wealthy household with welcome news and gossip. The lot of the wives of the officials and officers is much more difficult, because their friends and relatives have been left elsewhere in Iraq, and there is almost no means of making new acquaintances in the town. They, too, find pleasure in the conversation of their maids, Arab or Kurd, and, with the knowledge of the husbands concerned, may visit

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the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

If the society of adults in Rowandux has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowandux not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

The heart of the matter is to be found in the distinction between a society governed by the state and one ruled by tribal or feudal chieftains. The state is no stranger to the area of the Middle East, for it was in this province that it probably made its first appearance and some of the more complex bureaucracies of history were evolved. Nevertheless, there are certain places, Kurdistan among them, where it is a newcomer, and others, such as Saudi Arabia, where it has yet to appear. Ottoman control in Kurdistan was rarely strong, and was characterized by a sort of daily contest between the scattered authorities, supported by their troops and gendarmes, and the local inhabitants in matters of tax-collection and recruitment for the army. Beyond the borders of Turkey and other well-organized districts, the Ottoman Empire was largely oriented for tribute, the enrichment of its officers and the Sublime Porte, and the Turks, aside from their inroads and the prestige attached to conquerors, did little to tamper with the economy and the social structure of their subjects. Rowandus, before the first World War, was led by its aristocrats and its merchants, and the meager representation of Ottoman rule was regarded as an everyday annoyance which could be circumvented, bribed, or ambushed as the occasion demanded. Insofar as the Turks were satisfied with what little money and recruits they were able to collect, they were not considered greatly detrimental to life.

The rise of the modern state in Iraq provides in places such as Rowandus, good examples of the impingement

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of a new system of society on one that is older. At the beginning of this section, these two systems were outlined, the "primitive" one headed by a hereditary aristocracy and the "civilized" one by an educated group which includes property-owners, professional men, and a government cadre. The first is represented in the Rowanduz district by the Kurdish chieftains and the second by the officials and officers of the central government. The second system is not wholly strange to the area, for the Turks, and perhaps others before them, conditioned the Kurdish populace to the concept of alien rule, if such control was only desultory. The new monarchy, however, first in British and later in Arab hands, introduced a strong administration, something quite new, which, despite a series of revolts, penetrated almost all phases of popular life. This, as has been seen, has resulted in the displacement of the local aristocracy, a process which has been completed in some places and is in others is only beginning. The same conflict, with varying results, can be observed elsewhere in Iraq and in the Middle East. Among the "Marsh Arabs" of the southern provinces, for example, there is a bitter conflict between the local shaykhs and the government in matters of land ownership and the collection of taxes. The "Marsh Arabs" also have a record of revolt, and, like the Kurds, have had many of their chieftains imprisoned or exiled, such as Shaykh Salim of the Bani Sa'id tribe, still in exile at Baquba.

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Rowanduz, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society of the town is disjointed, for the townsmen continue to regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

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as in the case of Mahmud Bag of the Baradost who rules as did his forebears, and must be counted as a factor in everyday life. It is thus that one finds a duality of thought and behavior as far as the two aristocracies are concerned. A landowner in Rowandus spoke of the chieftains as though they were the only important element in society and, at the same time, alternately praised and castigated two of his sons for their respective success and failure in school. The youth who had failed was regarded as a great disappointment, a condemnation which would not have occurred fifty years ago when the upper echelons of society were either inaccessible or unconnected with the prestige and power of the new servants of the state.

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CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Rowanduz, it is unnecessary to describe in detail those of the official class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Rowanduz a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

by himself or his paternal relatives. If, however, the children of two brothers who live under the same roof marry, the newly-wedded pair may remain at home. The people who might thus be expected to be found in the mal or "house" may include a man and his wife, his paternal grandparents, his paternal uncles and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunts, his parents, his brothers and their wives, his unmarried sisters, and the children of the males of this group, boys and unmarried girls. Strictly speaking, such a unit has little realization among the townspeople. There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, both male and female, and most girls leave their parental home for that of a husband soon after reaching maturity. When there is more than one son, it is commonplace for the younger, when he marries or soon afterward, to occupy a new establishment, provided either by his own labor or by a subsidy from his parents. For the lower classes, the size of the dwelling precludes too extensive a gathering. The household of Shakir Effendi is made up of Shakir Effendi, his wife, three sons, a daughter-in-law, a grandson, and a number of servants. Shakir Effendi's daughter is married and lives in the home of her husband. Ra'uf Effendi's son died in childhood, a victim of the "evil eye," and his mal thus contains only himself, his wife, his two unmarried daughters, and the servants. The aristocratic establishment of Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian is much like these, save that one of the sons has already been provided with a separate domicile.

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The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his house, and, on the other, to his family. The Kurds do not use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Aziz Shakir Hajjrin (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Babe Hawzad," the father of Hawzad, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exogamous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between unrelated families.

unrelated families. For the townspeople, then, the mal 58
is both a building and the group of relatives who live
therein. A townsman who occupies a new dwelling, although
he retains his connection with his parental home and may
speak of himself as a member of that mal, has formed a new
unit which becomes a mal in the social sense in its own
right.

The matter of the chieftains and a few large and
wealthy families of social pretension is otherwise. It
is customary, as in the case of commoners, to refer to an
aristocratic household as a mal, for example, the "House 613
of Isma'il Beg," but a chieftain belongs to a fmailiya, an
extended patrilineal group in which a much wider and more
exact accounting of kin relationships is kept. The chief- [622]
tains, as has been said, are, with the exception of sayyids
or descendants of the Tribe of the Prophet, the only persons
who memorize genealogies, and this, more than anything else,
is the distinguishing feature of the fmailiya. Like the mal,
this group is endogamous and exogamous, and is not formally
named. The point of reference in its genealogy is some
more or less illustrious forebear. Thus the deceased Isma'il
Beg and his mother Lali Khan (who was a collateral relative
of Isma'il Beg's father) are referred to as "descendants
of Mar Pasha," that famous revolutionary chieftain who
achieved a temporary independence from the Turks in the
early decades of the nineteenth century. The nucleus of
this genealogy is a list of patrilineal ancestors in a
direct line ascending some seven or eight generations, a

series made up solely of males. To this are added noteworthy collateral ancestors and, in the one or two generations closest to the chieftain in question, all of the collaterals, including the names of wives, sisters, and the latter's husbands. The importance of such a lineage lies in the fact that it is the sole patent of nobility, itself a matter of the highest social importance, and is of considerable value in the arrangement of marriages and the knowledge of one's potential friends and enemies. It is usually associated with a certain amount of folk history, the wars, revolts, feuds, and other deeds with which its personnel were concerned. Commoners are able to reproduce to some extent the lineage of their chieftain, for, as has been noticed, the honor of their leader is also their own, and animated conversations on such topics as aristocratic marriages and lineages offer an everyday source of entertainment. Unlike the mal, the fasilira is not associated with a single house, and its members may live in a large number of separate establishments.

It is convenient here to dismiss the question of inheritance with a cursory survey. Inheritance is not a matter over which the Kurdish populace exercises any unique control, because it was defined in the Quran and supplemented over the centuries by the jurists and doctors of Islam. A whole branch of Islamic jurisprudence is concerned with this complex question, and a number of popular expositions are available to the general reader.[1] In

[1]Goudefroy-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 143-151.

Rowanduz a will is a legal instrument which must be formulated in the presence of the judge and registered with a katib al-'adil or government notary, either of the serai or the court. If a person dies intestate, as in the case of most persons of the lower classes, and a quarrel ensues over the disposition of his property, this must also be settled by court action. In general, however, each of the sons of the deceased is entitled to one share and each of the daughters to a half-share, after the widow has received a stipulated eighth of the total property. In the absence of some of these heirs, certain relatives in a fixed order may present claims for varying percentages, a subject too complicated to be examined in detail here. If the heir is an orphan, the property is administered by a department of the government, the Amwal al-Gasarin, until he reaches maturity. A woman usually disposes of her property, her dowry, jewelry, and household goods, as she pleases, although this too can be brought to the bar. Thus the quarrels and complications which can arise in inheritance are settled by action of the judge, and the townspeople themselves, unless they have been engaged in such a suit, know little of the intricacies.

Two of the most striking features of Islamic inheritance are that a woman, although she is protected by certain specified percentages, does not receive a sum equal to that of a man, and that the estate of the deceased is not transferred intact to any one person, as in primogeniture, but is parcelled out among the several heirs,

each son having the same claim as his brothers. The 428
latter custom is reflected in the transmission of aristocratic Kurdish titles. All of the sons of a chieftain, irrespective of age or the rank of their mothers, receive the title of the father and enjoy an equal share in the property. Tribal chieftainship, as opposed to feudal [622]
overlordship, is usually settled on the eldest son, despite of the fact that the remaining brothers continue to enjoy the privileges of rank and share in the goods of the estate. Thus, if men have a plurality of sons and daughters in each generation and the original holding is unsupplemented by additional gains, it follows that an individual's inheritance grows progressively smaller with each death. Among the Muslim peasantry, where the amount 423
of arable land is limited, as in certain areas in Egypt 428
or in Syria, a single person's plot can soon diminish to a size insufficient to support a couple and the luckless legatee must seek employment elsewhere, usually as a tenant cultivator on some larger holding. The situation in Kurdistan is not quite as difficult, inasmuch as a person can always cut out a new field from the unclaimed lands of the state domain. In a situation in which the brothers or other relatives have quarrelled, property which by virtue of its size could guarantee an income for all can be reduced through inheritance into segments which are far from profitable. The practice in such cases, [425]
commonly handled by process of law, is to sell the property in question and to apportion each his share in money. It

is difficult, if not impossible, for even the cleverest jurist to circumvent the equality of sons in inheritance, for this has the direct sanction of religion. 428 423

For the most part, however, settlements are amicable and it is unnecessary for the heirs to have recourse to the court. In such cases, the legal division of property is often fictional and need not adhere to the exact provisions of the law. Instead of selling the house, the land, or the shop, the eldest brother or, in the minority of the sons, a paternal uncle or some other relative [429] assumes the role of administrator and things continue much as they did before. To provide an example, a blacksmith [326] in Rowanduz owned a small house and maintained a shop in the bazar. On his death, his two sons, who chose to follow their father's calling, continued to work together in the shop, and ultimately the younger, with the aid of his brother, was able to obtain a house of his own. At no time was there a legal accounting, although one may suppose that the two had some knowledge of the value of the property and reached an agreement, perhaps tacitly, of their own. In another, more exact way, the eldest son often purchases gradually the shares of his brothers, keeping the estate intact. In some cases, a man apportions most of his wealth before his death, attempting to satisfy all of his heirs. As noticed above, a younger son is often accorded a separate establishment. It is said that a landowner can transfer his title, held in the tapu, registered land, office in the serai, to one son during

his lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the 423
inexorable character of the civil code reinforced by 428
scripture, how one heir might be completely cut off in
favor of another, and no examples could be elicited. If 428
a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful
event, he could do this best by leaving his property to
the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest,
a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the
equality of the claims of sons.

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, 421
tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although 562
there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well.
Lali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprison-
ment of her closest male relatives, offers a case in
point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding
property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and
household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the 583
generality of Islamic society, and at Rowanduz, is paid in 421
money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the
girl. It consists of two parts, the muqqadam and the
mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The
first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid
in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to
the parent of the bride who is responsible for its adminis-
tration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must [586]
be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will
or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for

a husband to honor this second amount if the contract 583
is broken before the marriage is consummated or if the 421
woman, for some reason, abandons the house of her spouse. In Rowanduz, in contrast to other areas, the father of the bride is expected to double the first portion of the dowry, the muqqadam, from his own resources, and the money thus realized is given into the hands of the maiden. "The money of the muqqadam is for the girl," it was related, "and it is an evil and impious parent who withholds it from her. There are some bad fathers who eat up their daughters' dowries." The dowry of a girl of the lesser townspeople in Rowanduz is at least 20 or 30 dinars ($56.00 or $84.00) and that of daughters of the wealthier families or the aristocrats is much greater.

It must be realized that the amount of a dowry is 583
also a sign of social status, and to this end the figures 554
written into the marriage contract often have more prestige than reality behind them. A number of discussions of this point have been heard in the Middle East, and one of these, similar to those recorded in Rowanduz but perhaps more aptly expressed, was the expostulation of an English-speaking teacher, one Hasan al-Saati, in Egypt. "When, as a youth, I returned to my parents' town from the university in Cairo," he said, "I was called upon to negotiate the dowry of a maiden whom my younger brother wished to marry. Her relatives, when I spoke with them, named a figure so extravagant I could hardly credit my ears. I told them it was improper to bargain for a girl, and that, although I

agreed with them and went beyond them is the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, publicized to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the muqaddam, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'akhar, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against heedless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

583 554 [586] [301] [593] [454]

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these prescriptions. There is

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so reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions 582
differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. 834
Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from [595]
having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, [587]
is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, 582 608
and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowandus [853]
she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowandus provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and [601]
"mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister- [606]
in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are [607]
also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly dis- 611
cussed in two ways, through the blood (khun) of the
parents and through the milk (shir) of the mother. Great [853]

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such a situation

a situation. The tendency is for most persons to remain 595
monogamous, and the usual reason for taking a second mate
is the failure of the first to produce a male heir when, [842]
at the same time, the husband is loathe to divorce the
barren woman in question. Ra'uf Effendi was "thinking" of
marrying a second wife who could replace the son he had
lost, because the woman to whom he had been married for
many years had passed the stage of child-bearing. He has
not, however, carried out this intention yet. Sometimes a
wife herself will suggest suggest the second marriage. In
Rowanduz, in 1951, there were no men with a plurality of
brides. It was said that some of the chieftains in older
times had been able to maintain a number of wives in
separate establishments, but most of this seems to have
disappeared.

The preferred form of marriage is that between a 582
man and his father's brother's daughter. If the father
and the uncle live under the same roof, it can be seen that
such a match prevents the dowry from being paid into a
strange mal, and in marriages of this type the stipulated
sum of the dowry is often highly fictional. In Kurdistan
a man always has the first claim on his paternal uncle's
daughter, and his consent must first be obtained if she
is to marry someone else. A bitter feud can ensue if the [578]
parents of the maiden, in view of some advantageous alliance,
override this prerogative. If an idealized situation is
imagined in which the prescription that a man must marry

his father's brother's daughter is held as an inexorable rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are married to his mother and mother's sister respectively, and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up third and fourth couples. If two things are envisaged, patrilocal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence, the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother, after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are described by the same kinship term, pilk. On the other hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated, called mam and khal respectively. The first lives under the parental roof of the individual concerned, and the latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle, as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house as his married sister, and in the system imagined here, one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided, each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share. If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his sister, wed to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

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half-share of the holdings of his father. Such a system is immediately divergent, because, although there is an exchange of marriages between cousins in one's own generation, the strains divide in the next. A man's children must intermarry with those of his brother, and would not, for example, espouse those of his cousins. The larger proportion of the property, the full male shares, follow the same divergent lines. 428 582 604

Such an idealized system, however, does not seem to exist. A man is permitted to marry any of his other cousins, the daughters of his paternal aunt, maternal uncle, or maternal aunt, or, as often happens, can take a wife completely unrelated to him. In Rowanduz, unlike certain other groups reported in the Middle East, there does not appear to be any hierarchy of preference among the cousins after the daughter of the father's brother. It was not possible to compile a list of marriages extensive enough to permit definitive comment on the relative frequency of these five types of marriage. Nevertheless, from examples, there appeared to be a high percentage of matches between unrelated persons. Coupled with this was the inability of most persons in the town to name their relatives beyond their grandparents, uncles and aunts, first cousins, and immediate family. This group, incidentally, corresponds closely with that outlined as making up the mal or "house" in its most extensive sense. In addition, they were able to name the parents, some of the uncles, aunts, brothers, and sisters of their wives. A scattering of the in-laws of 582 596

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 596
the patrilineage, expressed in the mal or "house," strongly
overrode the lateral calculation of relations to extend or
broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rowanduz was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
first World War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popula-
tion had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 621
villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arbitrarily, 602
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriages characteristically
cause divergence in forming new family or mal-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Rowanduz, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1. Ba pir	("Old Father")	Grandfather
2. Da pir	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3. Bab	("Father")	Father
4. Dak	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

Figure 4. Kurdish Kinship System, Consanguineal
The abbreviations are A, grandfather; B, grandmother; C, father; D, mother; E, paternal uncle; F, maternal uncle; G, aunt; H, brother; I, sister; J, son; K, daughter; L, grandchild; O, husband; P, wife. Two abbreviations paired together indicate that the second is in the genitive, for example, PE means "wife of paternal uncle." The chart is recorded for a male speaker, but the terminology is the same for Ego's sister. Kurdish equivalents may be found in the text and the appendix. △=male, and ○=female.

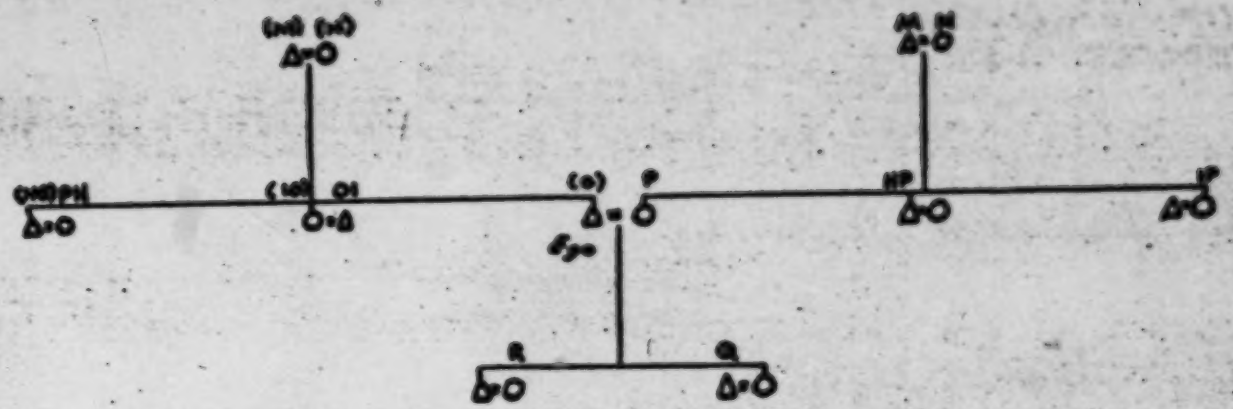

Figure 5. Kurdish Kinship System. Affinal
The abbreviations are M, father-in-law; N, mother-in-law; O, husband; P, wife; Q, son-in-law; R, daughter-in-law. Others are as in Figure 4. Those paired together indicate that the second is in the genitive, for example, IO means "sister of husband" and OI "husband of sister." The chart is recorded for a male speaker. The abbreviations in parentheses are the terms used by Ego's wife for her husband's consanguineal relatives. Kurdish equivalents may be found in the text and the appendix.

5. Mam	-	Father's Brother
6. Dayk	-	Mother's Brother
7. Xale	("Aunt")	Parent's Sister
8. Bra	("Brother")	Brother
9. Xushk	("Sister")	Sister
10. Kurr	("Boy")	Son
11. Kiç	("Girl")	Daughter
12. Newe	("Grandchild")	Grandchild

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Two of these have been borrowed from Arabic, mam and khal, cognate with 'amm, "paternal uncle," and khal, "maternal uncle," respectively. On the other hand, the Arabic words for the paternal and maternal aunts, 'amma and khala, have not entered the Kurdish system. The reasons for the adoption of these two terms are difficult to discern. The two uncles are differentiated with respect to residence and their relationships with the individual to a much greater degree than the aunts. One might suspect that for these reasons, or the use of Arabic in religious and legal documents, such as wills, over the centuries, the displacement of the original Kurdish names took place. This, however, cannot immediately explain why a similar adoption of Arabic for such words as "father" or "brother" did not also occur. The mechanism of diffusion, then, must await further study. [174]

The second group of terms, six in number, indicate affinal relations, those created by marriage:

1. Khezur	-	Father-in-law
2. Khezu	-	Mother-in-law
3. Mard	("Man")	Husband
4. Zhin	("Woman")	Wife
5. Zawa	("Bridegroom")	Son-in-law
6. Bük	("Bride")	Daughter-in-law

As noticed above, a man may address his wife's relatives by

those words he uses to describe his own. There is variability at certain points. If one marries his father's brother's daughter, he can alternately call his father-in-law <u>mam</u>, "father's brother," <u>bab</u>, "father," or <u>khezur</u>, "father-in-law." Similarly, the father's brother, in such a situation, can term his son-in-law <u>kurri mam</u>, "father's brother's son," <u>kurr</u>, "son," <u>zava</u>, "son-in-law," or <u>mirti kizh</u>, "daughter's husband." Generally speaking, however, the consanguineal term which had prior usage in such cases, for example, <u>mam</u>, rather than <u>bab</u> or <u>khezur</u>, continues in use and has a greater frequency than the others. 60|

The kinship system is of the sort commonly called "descriptive," that is, a term describes a single type of relationship and all others are made up of the basic list of twelve consanguineal and six affinal words. It contrasts with the "classificatory" system in which a term comprehends many different types of relationship. Thus, the daughter of the father's brother's son is <u>kizhi kurri mam</u>, literally, "daughter of son of father's brother," or the husband of an aunt's daughter is <u>mirti kizhi zilh</u>, "husband of daughter of parent's sister," and the way in which others are formed may be seen in the accompanying diagram. As noted above, however, certain extensions are rarely used. The great-grandson of the father's brother is <u>kurri kurri kurri mam</u>, "son of son of son of father's brother," although the townspeople explained that never,

in their experience, had there been occasion to calculate to this degree. The "generation principle" is observed throughout, in that, unlike certain primitive nomenclatures in which a cousin, for example, may be called "uncle," one never finds the use of terms applicable to one generation of kindred in another. In addition, there is no difference in the terminology for a male or female speaker, as in some systems in which a woman has different terms for the same relative than those of a man. It is difficult to say to what extent kinship terms replace proper names in popular speech, but their usage seems extremely frequent. Just as in our own society, a person customarily addresses relatives of the generations above him as "grandfather," "father," and the like, while he calls those below him by their proper names. 601

The investigator feels called upon to compare his own list with that recorded by E. R. Leach for the Rowanduz "area."[1] This last, however, in Leach's work comprehends not only the Rowanduz district, but also extensive locales surrounding Shaqlawa and Rytil. Leach has not indicated in his text at what place within this large field of investigation his information was compiled. The points of divergence, as will be seen, are not of a serious nature.

	Masters	Leach
Father's brother	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's wife	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's son	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]

[1]Leach, 1940, pp. 63-64.

Father's sister	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's sister's son	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's sister's daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother's brother	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother's brother's son	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother's brother's daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother's sister	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother's sister's son	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother's sister's daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]
Brother's son	[illegible]	[illegible]
Brother's daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sister's son	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sister's daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]
Husband's brother	[illegible]	[illegible]
Husband's sister	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wife's brother	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wife's sister	[illegible]	[illegible]

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The Kurdish languages of northern Iraq exhibits a large number of dialectical differences, some more striking than others. It must be remembered again that the population of Rowanduz is derived from diverse sources, and linguistic peculiarities of the town itself, of the villages, and of other areas, such as Sulaymaniya, may be heard intermingled in everyday speech. The investigator recorded a number of the forms presented by Leach, but has chosen to submit the terms given by Ra'uf Ezfendi and a merchant whose families had lived in the town in Ottoman times. Most of the discrepancies between this list and that of Leach appear to be dialectical. Those he presents for the paternal and maternal uncle, _mamo_ and _khalo_, however, are inflected in vocative, as in "O uncle!" The noun _ga_ which appears in his list for the children of father's brother and sister, mother's brother and sister, and the individual's brother and sister means alternately "boy" or "girl." Finally, in usual Kurdish word order, as in the investigator's report,

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a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
[illegible] mark, "sister of husband," rather than markhmh. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish languags the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even they are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grandfather prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as 842
their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken 558
by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her [765]
mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, [604]
he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering
them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share
in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment [562]
which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers,
but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus 765
of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an
animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is
slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast,
the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his
daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing
a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within 602
the family. The male usually takes precedence over the
female, and the eldest does the same over those younger
than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls,
must observe respect toward their elder brothers and
sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the 593
relationships within the mal, little more has been done
than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives
recorded. The first question which might be treated is
that of parents and their children. The relationship
between a father and his son, as one might suspect from
the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

although he often conceals the adulation of his heir and sets, much more than any other person in the family, as the disciplinarian. The son is required to stand in his father's presence until bidden to seat himself and the latter's directions have the effect of absolute law. As his heir, the son must seek his father's aid and consent in financial matters and all affairs of importance, such as a career or a marriage. The father, however, is not a confidant until the son has married and passed well into adulthood. The mother, in contrast, is the general repository of her son's secrets and a friend and companion. "If a son is in need of money, he sometimes goes to his mother and obtains it from her secretly. If he smokes, she furnishes him with cigarettes." It is through the influence of the mother with her spouse that a youth attempts to obtain his wishes from his father. If a young man desired a new suit of clothes and had reason to believe his father might demur, he carries his problem to his mother who exerts her influence on his behalf. A man need not exhibit deferential conduct toward his mother, as in the case of the father. The relationship between father and daughter is similar to that between the former and his son. She must rise when her father enters the room and observe respectful behavior toward him. "She must never reply harshly, and must always say 'yes,' rather than 'no.' If her reply is sharp, her father may beat her. If her mother intervenes, both may be beaten." On the other hand, in return for gracious conduct, such as bringing

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him tea or water and a napkin to wash his hands, the father 593
often provides his daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As in the case of the son, the mother is the general confidant of the girl, keeping her secrets and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success.

The relationship between grandparents and grand- 603
children is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all kiss his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson bathes his grandfather and, in summer, carries him ot the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of [576]
such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Rowanduz by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to its back, and then pressing the spot kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law.

The connections between an individual and his 604
uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal

uncle (mam) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (khal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (pilk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the diwaxkhana

or guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574

The eldest brother occupies a position over his brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He shares to some extent in the parental authority and is responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger brothers their _roshana_, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught [454] to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest brother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he takes their savings and purchases them something they desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all of his directions must be carried out by those junior to him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, the younger children are supposed to stand, although this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and the care of the younger children. In several families observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels 593 554 577

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [584]

it seems likely that this is only permissable after the two have been engaged to be married. 605 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. 593 [183] In masculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence to social status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quickly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to [851] [606] [586] [592]

ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The department required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange mal is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a 357 592 [834] 589 357

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the veil of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The gaimmaqam, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

357 589 123 589 [208] [427] [554] 589 427 592 357 554

absolved him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household. 592 554 367

Friendships contracted outside the mal, as noticed in the discussion of society, are, in adulthood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is subsequently married, the other acts as his 'servant,' receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." Male companions of this sort visit with each other in the bazar or the mosque, and exchange calls at their houses. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the diwankhana or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of bread and salt, termed nimak, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each 572

other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the maids are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the diwankhana with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

572 562 572 [357] [584] [882]

Turning now to the course of an individual of Rowanduz through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the diwankhana or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor.

844 [782]

woman in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned at the same time. There were four midwives in Rowandus in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Salawat (Arabic, "Prayers") and Ullah ("God"), which conveys the event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be used again. The afterbirth, hawar mindar ("friend of the infant"), is taken some distance from the house and buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with her husband during this period. When it is completed, she is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy. 844 846 [833] [783] [843] [833]

The female relatives of the mother remain with her for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, depending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only 851

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among 851
the townspeople. The ceremony for the first son is much
more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent
male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a 845
gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for
them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rowanduz. Deformed 732
infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and
their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal
children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying 853
length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy
requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then
"unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot
suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, [608]
as noticed previously, its foster-mother, diyan, and the
child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The
wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is sub-
sidized with money and food. In the event that a nurse
cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk
of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at
regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is
necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It 856
is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, 854
can be carried about easily by this last. The child is [352]
laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps
of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece
of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the
urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin.
In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze
to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross- [751]
piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye,
verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces
of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded orna-
ments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple 291
dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a 854
little apron. No undergarments are in use. The
shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like
those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia,
much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, 553
an event which is not marked in Rowandus by an elaborate 852
ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend,
and entertains them in the guest-room with light refresh-
ments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is
placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name
selected previously by one of the family. He holds the
child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear.
He gently intones what was described in Rowandus as the iman
(Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

of faith), Ullahu akbar, Ullahu akbar, ashhadu inna la ullahe illa llah wa ashhadu inna Muhammad rasul Ullah, "God is greatest, God is greatest, I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God," for the infant, something analogous to a Christian baptismal ceremony. He then says the name of the child loudly in its ear three times, and the formal ceremony is completed. The investigator was told that elsewhere in Kurdistan, specifically at Sulaymaniya, there are extensive celebrations connected with naming. The name itself is usually selected by the parents, who can defer its choice to the grandparents. It was also said that a name was occasionally obtained by drawing one of a number of written slips from a bag, or that it appeared to one of the parents in a dream. 553 852 [539]

The Kurds do not use family names, but occasionally add appellations which further identify the person in question. The proper names are in part derived from Arabic, among them the numerous "slaves" of God, for example, 'Abd al-Rahman, "Slave of the Merciful," or simple ones such as Anwar or Fatima. Others, like Mustafa or Izzet, have a Turkish origin, and some are purely Kurdish or Persian. On analogy from the Arabs, the parents of a child may be designated after him. Thus, the mother and father of Nawzad might be termed Dak Nawzad and Baba Nawzad respectively. A person may also be identified by the name of his father, for example, Aziz Shakir, Aziz "the son of" Shakir. For additional characterization, a man may be 551

known by his trade, as in 'Umar Chaichi, 'Umar the Tea-shop Owner, by a nickname, as in Shakir Majjrim, Shakir the Criminal, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali Farsi, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the Tribe of the Prophet may preface their name with sayyid, "Lord," as in Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, and have the right of wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use titles such as agha or beg after their names, although the townspeople often apply these to officials and officers of the government elite. The only titles which precede the proper name seem to be Arabic, hajji, a pilgrim, mulla, a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Hashimite Tribe, and shaykh, an aristocratic or religious chieftain. The titles which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi, and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief mulla of Rowandux is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi. No local pattern could be discerned to the aversion of calling a child by his proper name in public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to wander about the streets of the town, sometimes to their peril.

[illegible]. At the same time, they begin to wear clothes differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the boys, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The older children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its ewer of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Rwanda tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering dervish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

wealthy economic in a room outfitted with beds and mattresses on which they are told to rest. Their mothers and other female relatives supervise them, and have a gathering of their own in one of the sleeping rooms. In the guest-room a large congregation of men, the fathers, relatives, and friends assembles. The mila is summoned, and recites from the Quran. Another room is appointed for the operation itself, and in it the barber or farrish, several of the men, and the father of the boy being circumcised at the time take their stations. It might be noted that the boys, segregated in their room, are in a state of considerable trepidation, for they have not been informed what this festive and, at the same time, solemn occasion portends for them. A boy is led alone into the room of the operation and seated on a chair, his father standing next to him. The barber or farrish kneels before him, concealing the knife, and the foreskin is cut, theoretically before the child is aware of what has happened. At the same time a lump of sugar is placed in his mouth to prevent an outcry. The wound is quickly bound with a cloth bandage, and the boy is returned to his fellows. The barber or farrish usually accompanies his movements by muttering religious formulae of his own choosing or invention.

When all have been circumcised, they are allowed to rest and are visited by their fathers and mothers who congratulate them on their bravery. Meanwhile a great celebration occurs for the adults, separate banquets for

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the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or [365]
[barber], the [mullah], and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred [dinars]," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a [dishisha] [292]
or [mashook], and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy is never practised, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, 957
gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

opposing sides. Occasionally these "bands" can disturb the adult authorities, as in 1930 when some of the "raiders" took the money of the son of the assistant commandant of police. Another game is played with a rubber ball and a stick by two teams. These face each other and one of the two "chiefs" hits the ball toward his opponents with a stick. If the ball is caught by a member of the opposing side, one of the first team is eliminated from further participation, and so it continues until "it can be seen who remains." A third consists in forming a circle of a dozen or so youths. A ball is thrown quickly among them until one is expelled for dropping it. Hide-and-seek is a favorite, as well as throwing stones or walnuts from a mark on the ground at a hole some distance away. *Zik* or knucklebones, obtained from a sheep, is played by two. One bone is thrown up in the air and the player endeavors to strike it while still in flight with the second bone so that both will fall in a certain way. Something similar to European or American "marbles" is executed with small wooden balls. The girls commonly play "house," imitating the domestic activities of their elders. The older boys, it might be noted, refuse to play with the girls as unworthy of their dignity. The girls, much more than the boys, are called to perform household tasks, helping the mothers with their work and taking care of the younger children. It is said that a mother will cause the oldest daughter to perform almost all of the domestic activities, instructing her for the role of a

857 [685] 857 524 868 857

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowandux

attend school, but none has yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the chaykhanas or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or certain vagrants, they can be exposed to influence of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family. Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

872 883 565 861 872 521 883 838 883 861 883

[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that se coitum cum asinis per anctes faciase, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, and both youths and maidens are wed by their parents soon after it is believed they have reached maturity, usually at sixteen years for the girls and eighteen for the boys. Strong feeling is also found against arranging the marriage of a daughter younger than one of her unmarried sisters. Romantic love, just as it is understood in Europe and America, is a prominent feature of adolescence, although there is little chance of any physical realization prior to the wedding. A youth and maiden in love may arrange rare meetings in secret, and exchange gifts, embroidered handkerchiefs, flowers, apples, or even rings. If both are literate, they may send notes to one another. Most of these affairs, however, are confined to the exchange of passionate glances at public festivals, such as a birth, a circumcision, or one of the religious feasts, and are ended by one or the other of the two parties being engaged to some other person. Several young men told of their love for girls in adolescence, and how their parents had ultimately betrothed them, youths and maidens alike, to persons they hardly knew or did not particularly desire. It is possible for either a youth or a maiden to balk at such arrangements, occasionally with success. "If a daughter loves a certain youth and her parents ask her to marry another, she may refuse them. She cannot reveal the identity of her loved one to her father or brother (sometimes the youth is unaware of this passion), but her mother usually knows the person of whom she is enamoured,

584 [885] [831] [836]

and, if suitable, tries to arrange the match.* As previously noticed, couples on the rarest occasions may elope, taking sanctuary with a chieftain who will arrange their marriage. Almost all, however, defer to the wishes of their elders. 584 [583]

When the choice of a bride has been made, by the youth and his parents or by the parents alone, two parties, one of male relatives and friends and the other of females, excluding the boy and his father and mother, are dispatched to the house of the girl, sending notice of their arrival in advance. At this house the men are ushered into the guest-room and the women gather in another room. Many idle pleasantries are exchanged, and the men of the youth's party, in a circuitous fashion, extoll his virtues at length until there is no doubt that the father of the girl understands their errand. No mention is made of a match, in order that the maiden's parent, if the alliance must be declined, may excuse himself gracefully. The parties then take their leave, after arranging a second meeting. The parents of the girl now discuss the matter with their daughter and other relatives of the household. The consent of all, particularly that of the son of the father's brother, must be obtained. At the second meeting with the representatives of the youth, the father of the maiden expresses his approval, if the match is agreed upon, and the important matter of the dowry is decided by relatives other than the parents of the pair concerned.

With this information, the party of the youth again departs, and, if the sums find approval, final negotiations, the dates of the payment of the mugaadam, the first part of the dowry, and the ceremony of betrothal are made. 584

It would be incorrect to relate the ceremonies of betrothal and wedding in Rowanduz to those commonly understood in contemporary Europe or America. In Rowanduz the betrothal corresponds to our civil registration of marriage and the ceremony performed by a priest or minister, and the wedding to our reception and the consummation of the match. For betrothal in Rowanduz, the first formality to be carried out is the civil contract. Representatives of the youth and maiden meet in the court of the judge, the hakim, from whom a document authorizing the marriage, with certain parts left incomplete, is obtained. On the day appointed for the betrothal, the mulla and two witnesses of his selection are summoned to the house of the girl. A party made up of the youth, his father, his male relatives, and friends arrives next. The youth and his father are seated on the floor facing the parent or deputy of the girl, the mulla on one side. The form of the interview, like inheritance, is a matter of religious law, but might be reviewed here briefly. First, the mulla, after reciting from the Quran, asks the father of the girl if he agrees to the match. Receiving an affirmative reply, he now directs that the girl be called. She stands behind a door, concealed from the company. The mulla inquires her name and if she also agrees. Again, receiving affirmation,

he asks the same question of the youth. When the youth 584
consents, the mulla requires the maiden's father or deputy to repeat a formula in which he formally gives the girl in marriage. Taking up a pen, he then supplies, with some flourish, the names of the parties concerned and the sums of the dowry on the contract, and the document is signed by himself, the two witnesses, the youth, and the father of the girl. The ceremony is completed by further recitation from the Quran by the mulla and mutual congratulations. The youth usually kisses the hands of the mulla, his new father-in-law, and the witnesses.

The festivities of the betrothal are small in com- 585
parison with those of the wedding. There are banquets at the homes of the parents, and perhaps some dancing and music, but these only demand part of a day. The muqqadam, [583]
the primary fraction of the dowry, is typically paid to the father of the maiden by one of the male relatives of the suitor when the contract is signed. At the same time, the mother of the youth sends an expensive gift of jewelry, bracelets and earrings, to the girl. The period between 584
the betrothal and the wedding varies, from several weeks to a year, and the two persons engaged are permitted great freedom in their relations. If the youth can meet secretly with his fiancée, he may kiss her and present her with a ring, a plain piece of jewelry, sometimes setting a stone or cut glass, usually worn on a finger of the right hand. Some men wear such rings themselves. At the same time, most

girls exhibit shyness and what may be described as willfulness in their behavior. "If the young man is a guest at her house and asks her for a glass of water, she may refuse him and the other people will laugh." Both boy and girl are embarrassed by a certain amount of joking by their elders and companions, and chafing a young man about his coming wedding is a common form of amusement. During this period, the girl's father is expected to have doubled the sum of the muqadam from his own resources, and it is expended on the clothing, household needs, and jewelry of the prospective bride. Both houses are scenes of intense activity in preparation for the wedding. 584 [522] [583]

When a day has been selected for the wedding celebration, one of the elder men of the youth's family makes a tour of the town, inviting relatives and friends of his household. A similar invitation is issued by the father and brothers of the maiden. Those invited send many gifts of food to the two houses. On the forenoon of the wedding, the mother and sisters of the bride bathe and dress her carefully, rebraiding her hair and staining her hands with henna. Members of her family take presents of henna to the townspeople with which the recipients paint their fingers. One can always recognize a wedding-guest for some weeks afterward by such marks. At the two houses, those of the bridegroom and the bride, parties of guests assemble, and refreshments and banquets are given throughout the day, the brother or most intimate friend of the youth receiving the 585 [302]

people and supervising the entertainment. A party of men 585
is assembled at the home of the bridegroom, and the bride- [492]
groom himself is seated on a horse. This group, leading the
animal, makes its way through the town, accompanied by
shouting, music, and the noise of rifles fired in the air.
Arriving at the house of the maiden, the bridegroom dis-
mounts and is led inside with his followers to be offered
food and drink. A second group, made up of the bride and
her female relatives and friends, is formed, and the bride
also mounts an extravagantly caparisoned horse. A more
striking procession now begins, headed by the bridegroom
and his men. Following these are the bride, her relatives
and friends, and the rear is brought up by donkeys and
porters carrying the new household goods, clothing, and
other treasures in brightly painted chests. The Kurds [411]
take great delight in discharging firearms on such [656]
occasions, and permission for this must be obtained from
the government. When the bride of a chieftain was taken
by automobile to Batas from Rowandus, several thousand
rounds were fired in the air along the route. The bride-
groom arrives at his parental home before the bride, and
takes up a station on the roof or balcony, furnished with
a tray filled with grain, coins, and candy. When the bride
is led up on her horse, he showers the contents of this
tray over her and her women. As she dismounts, a sheep
is slaughtered before the door of the house and her shoe
is dipped in its blood before she can enter.

The consummation of the marriage is usually deferred

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the sha'i, a round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, holding each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

585 [535] [534] [431] [292] [431] [272]

initial advance, and he must slap her or draw his knife with 585
a threatening gesture. This done, sometimes seriously, the couple may retire to their bed.

The virginity of a maiden must be attested, and from the white undergarments and bedding the maid who makes up the room in the morning is able to report on her "virtue," for the only test is the blood of the hymen. Occasionally the youth will smear a handkerchief with this blood and present it to his mother. In either case, the mother kisses the girl on the forehead and praises her for her chastity. The stained handkerchief, accompanied by an expensive gift, may be sent to the mother of the girl. If no blood is in evidence, a suspicious husband can return [586] [627] [684] the girl to her father's house, and her relatives are more or less obligated to kill her. If, however, the youth's father is "pious," he requests his son to pardon the girl and to say nothing. After the bride has remained for seven days, a delegation of women from her father's house escorts her to her old home for a visit of several days. Her husband comes to take her a second time, on this occasion with no ceremony, and exchanges gifts with his father-in-law at this meeting. The feasting and dances which accompany the wedding can endure for a week or more, but most townspeople consider two or three days sufficient. The marriages of the poor are conducted with less ostentation, although relatively high sums may be expended, and those of the Kurdish aristocracy with the greatest display, the slaughter of dozens of animals

and delegations of guests from all parts of Kurdish Iraq. 585
When a woman, divorced or widowed, is married a second 587
time, the festivities are meager compared with those described above, confined to informal banquets for the two households concerned.

Divorce, like inheritance and betrothal, is a matter 586
of religious and civil law, and the townspeople and the [671]
Kurds in general, inasmuch as they seem to follow no customs which contravene the code, have nothing to do with these formulations. For a man, divorce is a simple proceeding in Muslim Iraq, for he need only come into the presence of the judge or the mulla or priest, with two witnesses, and subscribe to one of the several formulae, of which the simplest is saying, in Kurdish, to his wife, tallaqum bo dayt (the verb from Arabic tallaqa, "to divorce,"), "I divorce you." According to Islamic prescription, a husband can divorce his wife twice in this fashion and each time take her back, but the third recitation is absolutely binding. Only if the woman marries a third [587]
party and is subsequently divorced by him can she rejoin her first spouse in another marriage. If a man wishes to make the divorce final on the first occasion, he repeats the formula three times. Of the minor separations, those of the first or second occasions, there are two types. In the first of these the woman asks no compensation, and the divorce admits of easy reunion. In the second, the woman demands and is paid the mu'akhar, that part of the

dowry withheld until this time, and a new contract must be signed if the pair are to come together again. In the major separation, that of triple divorce, the woman also receives the mu'akhar and her personal possessions. A certain length of time, the idda, corresponding roughly to three menstrual periods, must elapse, and, if the woman becomes pregnant during it, her former husband is responsible for the maintenance of herself and the child. Children usually remain with the mother in divorce, but their father may claim them after they have reached a certain age. In addition to divorce, a husband may go to the court or the mulla with witnesses, and obtain a certificate that his wife has been "refractory," in which case he is entitled to "put her away." A woman can only initiate divorce proceedings with difficulty, and is usually forced to renounce her dowry. She also may obtain a certificate of "refractory" behavior for herself and by this means leave her husband, although the latter, from perversity, may later refuse to grant her a divorce. There are, as one might expect, a host of legal subtleties in these cases, and, as an extensive body of Islamic jurisprudence deals with them, there is no need to treat them in detail here. 586 [843] [851] [562]

The principal causes of divorce in Rowanduz are incompatability and barrenness. In the first case, the judge or mulla and the relatives of the pair attempt to reconcile them, because, for the relatives, financial transactions of a large scale, sometimes embarrassing, usually

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to pay the mu'akher, always a considerable sum, and the father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations of varying length are thus as common as divorce, during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed, one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in those matches in which he had little to do with his choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not countenance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not believe that because a woman has been childless in one marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rowanduz, once the problems of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood, and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There [46/556] are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. 517 Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do [224] some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama [524] or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the 538 townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, [546] radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are [207] never regularly received. [284] Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

539 One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. 538

The townsmen make little use of the nadi or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowandus district. 517 [529] [484] [547] [548]

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [648] [668]

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like similar movements among the Arabs, the Greeks, and others, first became a potent factor in everyday life during the nineteenth century, and its principal target at the time was the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Its early protagonists were educated Kurdish officials and officers, organized in the familiar "literary" or "artistic" societies, and from them it spread in more or less extravagant forms to all classes of society. This preoccupation with ethnic independence, however, is not purely political, but is linked with the impingement of the modern state on a society at once tribal and feudal. To this end the warriors for Kurdish nationalism have been the chieftains, who have something more to gain than the vote, and its orators the men of the educated upper class, a point which must be discussed again in concluding this study. Agents of the Allied Powers left the Kurds under the impression they were to be given an independent state in the settlements which followed the first World War, and, insofar as this has been universally denied them (Kurdish literature, for example, is prohibited in Turkey), it is the starting point of most of their arguments. It is unnecessary to treat these nationalistic sentiments in great detail, because, with the ordinary passage of events in the Middle East, they can be exceedingly ephemeral, the friend of one day becoming the enemy of the next. Needless to say, the Kurds themselves are the heroes of these discussions, and, like many popular political expressions, such utterances

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are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, 521 [668]
are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment.

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the women, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the women's mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously 574
noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but 527
public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jayjani Ramazan and Jay- 796
jani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and 527
take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Sayran festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious life.

Eush festivals are marked by dancing and music, 527
nd, as these are subjects in themselves, only the 796
riefest descriptions are presented here. The usual 535
ype of dance is that of the shn'i, the wedding celebra-
ion, and is performed by a circle of men and women with
nterlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually
rought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The
ance has three variations, barrar'i, "going in the
irection of the leader's right hand," shmarr'i, "going
n the direction of the leader's left hand, and rev'ig
"walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The
ance step itself, for want of a better description, is a
huffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish 533
usic is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians,
nd the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key,
haracterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a
rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowanduz 534
layed only by amateurs, include the small drum, the
ambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The
ute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not
found at present in the town. A program of typical 207
urdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq 533
government radio station. The investigator usually [23]
tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the
house in which he was living at Rowanduz. Once the 571
eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell [207]
the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at
the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's
Knowledge of radio.

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Nkozi," the furthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rwanda and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat.

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Aadna Beita who is also the corpse-washer, Mirita Mist, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich,

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cooking and baking, and is also a midwife." The women, squatting in the courtyard or before the house, smear their faces with dirt as a sign of grief. Then the corpse-washer, normally a barber, arrives with his assistants. Two tins of hot water are prepared, and the deceased is stretched naked on a board which serves as a bier. The corpse-washer first cleanses the areas under the arms and between the legs, and presses the abdomen to force out any excrement. With the second tin of hot water the whole body is washed, and the nails and hair of the deceased are trimmed. The corpse is then wrapped in a white winding sheet, usually consisting a dozen or more square yards of material. Only the wealthy can afford coffins of wood, manufactured by the local carpenters, and most of the dead are interred without them.

A procession now takes place, leading from the house of the deceased to the mosque and then to the cemetery. "Everyone in the town, rich or poor, follows the bier, and the body is carried by many men, continually changing place so that each may receive the blessing of God for this pious act." The relatives and friends of the dead man walk directly behind the bier, and with them are the mulla or priests of the town. The procession halts before the great mosque, and one of the mulla customarily recites from the Quran and gives a brief eulogy of the deceased. Arriving at the graveyard above the town, there are further recitations and the body is buried. A curious

usage is recorded in this connection. If a man dies at night or when it is raining, the body is carried immediately to the mosque and left inside. The mullah read over it throughout the night, and tea is offered visitors on the porch of the building. The corpse-washer comes to the mosque and carries out his tasks there. It might be mentioned that ordinary burial is always performed on the day of death. The grave is prepared by laborers prior to the arrival of the procession, and is so oriented that when the corpse is laid within on its right side, the face will look in the general direction of Mecca, in Rowanduz to the southwest. After the grave has been filled, the relatives and friends of the deceased return home, and refreshments are given to all callers. Gifts of food are sent to the house by friends and neighbors. Another interesting custom now appears. Three days after the burial, a barber is called to cut the hair of the new head of the family of the deceased, if the latter has occupied this position. The house itself is rarely cleansed, except in those cases, common in the Middle East, in which some accident connected with the death, for example, one of the family getting blood on his hands, leads people to believe that continued occupancy would cause bad fortune.

There is no specific period of mourning, although it is usually several months before normal life is resumed. The men of the family wear no visible sign, but the women

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For 765
most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required, and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh distributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes must often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals 764
of women and children, depending on the status of their 562
husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. 958
There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said that these memorial parties of both men and women visited the grave "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rowandus occupies the flat crest of 764
the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be [197]
encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the next. Only a few have inscriptions, some etched and [211]
others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn. Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble 766
wall, indicating the grave of a sayyid, a descendant of

the Prophet's Tribe, or a holy man. The identities of 766
these two had been forgotten. In one there was the
conventional white rag tied to a pole leaning against the
wall, and in the other a tattered green banner hanging from
a flagpole whose ornament was a flat metal hand, the [751]
"Hand of Fatima" previously mentioned. Some graves had a 764
large quantity of broken blue porcelain scattered over them,
and it was said that this custom was followed if the
deceased was a young man, both to indicate the grave as
such and to avert further misfortune. There are indica-
tions, however, that breaking porcelain at death is a
cultural trait of some antiquity, and further study might
prove it an interesting index of historical connection. The
townspeople seem to take little care of their graveyard, [233]
and flocks customarily find pasture there, gathering under
the oak for shelter in the summer heat.

The mausoleum of Isma'il Beg might be mentioned 766
separately, because it is not found in the graveyard, but
beside the great house now ruled by Lali Khan, and differs
considerably from the typical Kurdish grave described above.
It is a small, square wooden building with a pitched roof
(itself a rarity in Kurdistan) entered by a door kept
locked during the night. The interior walls and ceiling
are plastered and painted with a light wash. To the
right of the door the sarcophagus stands, covered with
cloth so that identification of its material was not per-
mitted. Against the center of the wall facing the door,

next to the sarcophagus, is a wooden stand on which are to be found bowls of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mausoleum, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Kurdistan, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East. 766 [788] [769]

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to confine the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the family and in the size and splendor of its celebrations. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowanduz, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance 565 593

or marriage, have their focus in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this class, which regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should reinforce things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a radically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in Baghdad or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Ra'uf Effendi, like so many elders, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Rowanduz is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

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bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
of the government elite, not those of the town, but others
encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
can break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
the official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
commoners or aristocrats of Rowandux, that alcoholism and [565]
suicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowandux at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowandux is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowandux, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowandux district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1966.

It is believed that the displacement of the town's population during the first World War has acted to eliminate or submerge local differences which might once have been more striking. At the same time, however, the town, like the great city, levels off the divergent customs, such as that of tattooing, of the persons who migrate there from the countryside. 171 184

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the preceding pages a number of instances have 771
been encountered in which religious belief and practice enter into the routine of the town, and it now remains to add to them those which, albeit inextricably bound up in everyday life, can be treated of themselves. Primarily, the "official" faith of the townspeople will be spoken of, in the sense that it has been defined by Islamic priests themselves, to which may be subtended a secondary body of credences and observances, not necessarily "religious" in the usual sense of the term, conveniently dealt with in this connection. The faith of the townsman is undifferentiated from that of the aristocrat, but is not necessarily identical with that of the government official or officer, several of whom, as has been seen, are Shiite Arabs from southern Iraq or Christians.

It is necessary to place the people of Rowandus, 779
as well as the Kurds of northern Iraq, in some perspective with the rest of the believing world. First, their faith is that of Islam ("submission" to God or Allah) preached by the Arab prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and carried by his heirs into the Kurdish mountains as it was elsewhere in the world. This is a religion which, according to a generality [774]

of modern scholarly opinion, constitutes a syncretism of ancient Arabic, Judaic, and Christian beliefs, together with whatever elements of originality the Prophet himself had added. The sacred book of the Muslim ("one who submits"), the adherent of Islam, is the Quran ("recitation" from the command of its messenger to Muhammad, iqra, "recite!"), the revelation of God vouchsafed through the Angel Gabriel to Muhammad in suras (a word originally meaning a course of stones or bricks), or chapters, of a varying number of verses, a total of 114 such chapters making up the entire volume. The townspeople are now, without exception, Muslims, and the everyday import of this faith shall form the basis of the discussion to follow. 779 [174]

With the death of the Prophet, the Islamic world, from that day to this, has been torn by the continual divergence of schools and sects, most of them political in origin, many ephemeral, and a few achieving a dignity of a state religion. Amid the greater divisions of Islam, the people of Rowanduz belong to the party of the Sunna ("custom"), or orthodoxy, of which recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic. With other Sunnite peoples of northern Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, the Kurds are in sharp doctrinal opposition to the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali") of southern Iraq and Iran, a state religion in the latter country from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), which insists on the primacy of 795

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Some- 795
thing of the divisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows.

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no pur- 771
pose here to enter into an extended discussion of the 121
theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that 173
the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the 554
sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might 792
be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowanduz district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of [292]
wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent

may be traced through either parent, and almost anyone, if genealogies were regularly kept by the commoners, could find some relative from whom the title might be claimed. The only sayyid in Rowanduz who made use of the green turban was a poor and elderly blacksmith, something of an extrovert, who also wore a beard to increase his appearance of saintliness. The chieftains, many of whom have the title, usually avoid these appearances, such as Sayyid Ahmad of Batas who dressed in the same fashion as the other aristocrats. Whether these pedigrees are genuine or bogus is impossible to say, for the Arab penetration of Kurdistan has gone on for many centuries, but one may suspect that, insofar as the title accords a little social distinction, many of these claims, at some point, are as valid as those of some pretentious Englishman who finds ancestors for himself who landed with the Conqueror or an American who discovers forebears on the Mayflower. 173 554 792

The religious phraseology of the townspeople is in the Arabic language. All of their prayers, pious utterances, and, indeed, their expletives are in Arabic, while everyday speech is Kurdish. Prayer will be dealt with below. The most common expletive, heard constantly in the conversation of the day, is simply Wllah, "God." It can be used in a variety of contexts, some of them pious and many quite otherwise. The tired merchant stretching himself on his cushions or bed may utter a long-drawn out Wllah, and the same is applied to a welcome glass of tea, a lovely woman, or the like. It should not be supposed, of course, 198 782 782

that the number of times the name of the deity is enunciated 782
indicates the piety of the population. With the Prophet
it is quite different, for one never hears him spoken of
irreverently or in a secular context. It is not customary
to call him by name, but rather al-Rasul, "the Apostle,"
or al-Nabi, "the Prophet," and either the speaker or someone
else present adds, sala Ullahu 'alayhi wa salam, "the prayer
(blessing) of God upon him and the peace," whenever he is
mentioned. The Quran is held in similar respect. The 778
volume must never be handled with levity, or left uncovered
when not in use. An official told how his servant removed
his copy of the Quran from the room in which he was drinking
arrack, in some way personifying the book, in which the use [273]
of alcoholic beverages is forbidden, as God himself. Metal
cases or cloth envelopes, usually green in color, are used
to enclose it, or else it is tied up in a scarf or handker-
chief.

The great mosque, Jami'a al-Kabir, in Rowanduz is a 946
large, square building of rubble on the central square of
the bazar or mercantile area, its rear wall facing the qibla,
the direction of Mecca, to which prayer is addressed. The
building on its front is raised about six feet above the
square and one reaches its porch by a series of roughly cut
stone stairs. The roof is of mud rolled on bundles of
poles and twigs, and covers the porch as well as the main
room and the annex. This is to the right of the main door,
a small door of the room opening on the porch and large un-
glassed windows overlooking the square. It is used for

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up to rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hour of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To the right of the porch, on the street leading up through the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowandux. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques

[1] Mesaberi, 1951, pp. 14-17.

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the women's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowandus serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowandus have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowandus in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen

[1] Zwemer, 1946.

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla 874
who already has a position, and, when judged to have 793
shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the
mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad,
Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque
of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can
ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter
may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an
exchange of information of this type between the religious
leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists
in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and
committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory.
These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual
gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able 793
to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise
which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, [551]
is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice (592)
rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of
it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the
imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery
can elicit the strongest emotional response in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks [545]
of the commoners, and no one in Rowandux could think of a
case in which a member of the aristocracy had embraced such
a career. A pious chieftain, as his age and reputation for 792
sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh (Arabic, "old 786
man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowandus were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic ʾaḏḏana, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowandus this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with naming the child, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the mu'azzin arranges minor matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employed a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for its cleanliness. The mulla himself, as noted in the section treating society, has a place in the highest ranks of the commoners, and is usually surrounded by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for their piety. Inasmuch as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim had a compelling personality, this following was an extensive and powerful segment of local society.

794 [203] [735] 793

The mullas are responsible for religious education, because, although Islamic history is a part of the curriculum in the primary and intermediate schools, religion is not formally taught in any other place than the mosque. Some parents prefer this training to that of the government schools. The mullas hold classes throughout the year, but give particular emphasis to the summer when those children who have occupied other seasons with their secular education may, at the behest of their parents, take part. This course is almost solely concerned with reading and interpretation of the Quran, and thus entails, initially, the study of the Arabic language. The parents

793 794 871 869

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rowanduz enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor youths from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of purification, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase

Hindu minor, "God is greatest." What follows constitutes a rakʿah ["bowing"], and a varying number of "rows" are necessary at the different times of prayer, for example, two at dawn and four at noon. The worshipper begins a rakʿah standing upright and reciting the opening chapter of the Quran and additional passages. He next bows at the waist, placing his hands on his thighs, and straightens up. He then drops to his knees, and, placing his hands before him on the ground, puts his face between them, touching the forehead and nose to the earth. After this, he sits back on his haunches, and touches his face to the ground a second time. This constitutes a single rakʿah, and the remainder are accomplished by the repetition of certain phrases, of which "God is greatest" is the most frequent. The worshipper begins a second by standing erect and reciting the opening chapter of the Quran again. After each two rakʿat and at the end of the prayer, the worshipper recites the shahada, the testimony of faith mentioned in connection with naming a child, and other formulae. It has not been thought necessary to record the entire ritual here, for it may be found completely described in a number of other works and is no different in Rawandus than, say, in Egypt.[1] The townspeople, like other Muslims, perform their devotions anywhere, in the mosque, in their homes, or on the streets. At the noon

[1]Goudefroy-Demombynes, 1948, pp. 74-78.

prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, and between the second and third [illegible] the mullah may deliver a short sermon, usually a stereotyped sermon. The language of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the requirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their prayers entirely. The [illegible] or rosary has been mentioned in the section traveling dress, and may be used in devotional exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetitions of prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used to occupy idle hands, however, the mind of the manipulator remaining far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give many part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early days of Islam these contributions were of two types, [illegible], a fixed proportion of the income, and [illegible], optional gifts. The [illegible] have been absorbed into the government system of taxation, and the townspeople of Rwanda are thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to enforced charity. Many free collections, [illegible], however, are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the destitute Arab mentioned in the section traveling society, and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the journey, a surprising number of persons in the Rwandese

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." There were from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Mohammed Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rawanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them as 327 they enter the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a sizable amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Mohammed 'Ali Agha of Findina made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rawanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Hajj or duty for only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to travel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

Below also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages,

The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [325]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [77]
of a Berber tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
beers who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Berberians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat its flesh, as a matter of course. In 77
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [12]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 305
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

about the sun, it falls short several weeks each year in relation to solar reckoning. 1953, for example, is 1372 years after the flight in Muslim calculations and only 1332 in our own. The terminology of this calendar is Arabic, although the Kurds have their own words for the days of the week and the seasons. The government uses both the Muslim and the Gregorian systems, and Friday is the weekly holiday. Turning to the Muslim festivals observed by the townspeople, the first occurs on the tenth day of the first lunar month (Muharrem), the legendary date of many important events, particularly the martyrdom of Hussyn, the grandson of the Prophet. In Shiite areas this day and those immediately preceding it furnish the occasion for the most extravagant ceremonies, including a dramatic recitation of the martyrdom and public displays of mourning in which the participants often hurt and lacerate themselves. In Rowanduz, however, it is only a day for special prayer and meditation. "The people pray for Hasan and Hussyn," it was said, "but there are no demonstrations of grief." The next important date is the Mewlid al-Nebi, "the birthday of the Prophet," which comes on the twelfth day of the third month (Rebi' al-awwal). This is a day of celebration on which banquets are held and the servants are given small presents, but the display is not great compared with the two festivals to follow.

The sixth lunar month, Ramadan, is that in which absolute fasting is required between sunrise and sunset of every Muslim. It begins on the eve in which the moon

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Nur Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short poles. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and <u>farrash</u>, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a container of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sang while Hajji Mustafa carried before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. Then he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the <u>mukhtar</u>, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "can be heard in Erbil." The cannon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, Selawat, selawat 'ala al-Nabi, "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard.

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open during the day. A number of persons make no pretense of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fact in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better term, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary relationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demands of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters"

who suffer from guilty consciences. As a concession to the faith, the government elite forswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, laylat al-qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises.

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this night begins Perinyi Ramazan (Arabic, 'Id al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing.

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rwanda is Perinyi Kurbeg (Arabic, 'Id al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the

twelfth lunar month (Dhu al-Hijja). This corresponds to 796
the day at Mecca when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually
sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family
in Rowanduz who can afford the expense purchases a sheep [792]
or goat for a sacrifice in communion with the pilgrims on
the first day of Jejnai Gurban, and the head of the victim
is turned toward Mecca as its throat is cut. This feast
lasts three or four days, and is identical in character
with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of
the intense exuberance caused by the end of the fast. Dur-
ing both of these festivals, persons greet each other
cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own
Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances 527
must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year.
The first of these is Sarra or Sarrai Sahar (also
identified in Rowanduz as Sara Chershima, "Black Wednesday," [805]
in border Turkish and as Hawraj in Persian). This corres-
ponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, usually
occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage
the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the
celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be
explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several
weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although
there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or
otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men
and women, go out into the countryside in family parties,
taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of

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dance at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Bayhal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Zeynal Gurna, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding.

The second occurrence is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Alyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mullah has nothing to say about Khidir Alyas, nor does he tell the people who the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Alyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Ilyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, as appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Ilyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowandiz:

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> Khidir Alyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whatever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowandiz by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Alyas, I have

[1]For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come.

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. Housewives make a sweet called Selewet Khidir Elyas which is exchanged between households at this time. The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the priests in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the Nawroz and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaikh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of

these graves become shrines in time, and the object of pilgrimage from nearby villages. The typical indication of a shrine is either a low, quadrilateral, rubble wall about the grave or a cairn of stones. Those who visit the shrine with some purpose characteristically tie a piece of white rag on the end of a pole and lean the pole against the inner surface of the wall. Some shrines have bundles of these crude banners standing in them. The meaning of the rag is variable. In some cases the visitor will return and reclaim it, incorporating it in a charm, while in others it is simply the sign of a vow that the supplicant, if the shaykh buried there will bring about the desired favor, will sacrifice so many animals or give so much money to the poor. The most auspicious days, it might be noted, to visit a shrine are Wednesdays and Thursdays. The six most noted shrines near the town of Rowanduz are as follows:

1. Shaykh Piri Mamili near the village of Hasi Sah. Shaykh Piri Mamili is said to have lived about two hundred years ago, "in the time of Mir Pekha."

2. Shaykh Ba'ikl Dellayeh near the village of Sarsi. The shrine is said to be very old, dating perhaps from the time of the Islamic conquest.

3. Shaykh Sarsa is the village of Sarsa itself. Shaykh Sarsa is said to have died about fifty years ago.

4. Shaykh Tas Shaykhan on the road to Kawish. "No one knows how old it is, but it is very ancient."

5. Shaykh Mohamed or Shaykh Bella, the second most famous shrine in the district, at Majji Sarsa.

6. Shaykh Shaykh Mohamed or Shaykh Mala, "The Shaykhs of Shaykh Mohamed," near the shrine of

Shaykh Muhammed el Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shaykhs used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammed each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammed wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shaykhs fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faraff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammed learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shaykhs's grave before his own. A merchant in Rowanduz, one 'Abd al-Kattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine.

Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been despoiled of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowanduz were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or men who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power is the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed berekh

(Arabic, "blessing"), and provides a good example of what is classified as mana in most standard works on primitive religion, an impersonal supernatural power which has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it may be transmitted.

The power of these holy men, unless they themselves are disturbed in some way, is wholly benevolent. The people of Rwanda also believe in Ilozi (the same word as in Arabic), spirits who, in contrast, characteristically cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought about ghosts. No one in Rwanda knew of a house "haunted" by the spirit of a dead man, and equated the European notion of "ghost" with that of the Ilozi. The Ilozi, for example, might take possession of a building and drive the inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind. At night one must never pour hot water out of the door without first saying, "in the name of God." Although there are no cats in Rwanda, it was said that one must never kill such an animal, because "the Ilozi is born in a cat and might have one." When a boy is out walking in the wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls out to him, "asking him to come and meet the father," that is, the parent of the Ilozi who is the fallen Angel Shiia of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and leaves his path as directed, the Ilozi throws him from

the mountainside, causing his death. The Lesbians led 776
them meets the father of the jinnis that, for his evil [775]
deserves to be inferno. The Kurd also speak of shaytan
("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivative of
the Hebrew word for "adversary"), evilish beings like the
jinni, but of a more congenial endingentious character
than the jinni. "When the first phonograph was heard in [246]
Rowanduz," Ra'uf Effendi related, the people said there
was a shaytan in it." There are many tales of malicious [758]
men and women who are able to change themselves into animals,
such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from
demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against [521]
jinni, there are largely matters of conversation, pertinent
to the more discussions of religion in the two-shops.

In contrast, chem mez, "an evil eye," is a subject 759
of the greatest concern. One whose the evil eye may by 761
his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an
object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is
that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally
without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked
on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy
and malevolence she experiences, which is the true, the
evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in
question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and
he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye.
Further, it is believed that the individual who at one
time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth pockets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of garlic wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called agge, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some pockets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 801 [436] 751 777 [534]

children. That a blue porcelain plate or a pair of old shoes is often installed beside the door of a house has been noticed. An iron horseshoe, as in America, may also be nailed above a door or on a wall. A human hand cut out of metal, the "Hand of Fatima" spoken of previously, is often found in jewelry. Adults seem to require little protection against the evil eye, but younger children, particularly males, almost always have charms placed to their persons and their cradles are hung with them. Houses and animals are similarly protected. There is some rationalization of these charms. Those derived from the Quran have a power within them. The others, apart from their intrinsic qualities, deflect the glance of the evil eye from the object in question to themselves, a sort of magnetic property, because of their bright colour, their design, or something else.

Charms such as these have a variety of origins. Miniature copies of the Quran, metal disks, beads, pieces of turquoise, and shells are imported by the merchants and sold in the bazar, not only to the townspeople, but to the villagers among whom they are always in great demand. Slips of paper on which appropriate Quranic verses have been written may be obtained from one of the mullas or some other literate specialist. Cloth from the tomb of a holy man is easily obtained. Most persons assemble their own combinations, stitching them in cloth bags which are worn about the neck or placed on the garments. Many of these are not solely to ward off

the evil eye, but have other purposes. The bodyguard of a chieftain might carry one which protects him from gunfire, and a great number are used to cure bodily ills. One of the amulet makes a practice of writing charms of this type. Such pieces of paper are usually soaked in water and the liquid is then imbibed. Recently a poor woman with some complaint visited the medical officer and the latter wrote her a prescription which could have been filled in Kigali. Under the impression that the medical officer, who neglected to explain the matter to her, operated like the mallam, the woman took the piece of paper to her home, mixed it with water, and drank it off. It might be mentioned that she was cured, and, the doctor said, reappeared the next day to request an identical piece of paper as insurance against the illness in the future. There are many amateur practitioners of white magic in the town, Europeans, Africans, and others, some of whom demand fees and others not. The barber, Haji Mustafa, has one panacea for all ills. He ties a piece of string about the patient's wrist and "prays" over it. The investigator was furnished with some almost classical rationalizations of illnesses, for example, "If a man is bitten by a mad dog, he will be cured when the dog is killed."

The fundi (from a Persian word meaning "poor" and adopted into Arabic in this sense) occupies a position of considerable importance in everyday life. It is unnecessary here to discuss the origins and the character of the fundi

movement as it evolved in the Medieval Islamic world, a development which corresponds to the rise of monasticism in the Christian states of Europe. Men were attracted to it for a variety of motives, some great in wealth or learning who dabbled in its esoteric lore, others sincerely devoted to the service of their faith and mankind, clever charlatans who lived off the beauty of the gullible, egotists, revolutionaries, and a host of others. In short, it offered many things to many persons. There are two dervish disciplines in Kurdish Iraq, the Qadiriya order (founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani who died in 1166 and whose tomb in Baghdad is the foremost Sunnite shrine in Iraq) and the Naqshbandiya order (originally begun in Central Asia in the fourteenth century). To illustrate the contrasting types of dervish, it might first be noted that the chief mulla of Rowanduz, 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, is a member of the Naqshbandiya order. While 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in the judgment of the townspeople and the government elite, is an intelligent, realistic person whose interest seems to be purely intellectual. On the other hand, the most extravagant egotist in the lower ranks of the townspeople, Hajji Mustafa the barber, is a member of the Qadiriya order, and the reader will be able to appreciate something of his motives below.

In a district like that of Rowanduz, man can succeed in society only by dint of considerable personal ability along certain lines. It has been noticed how routine,

impatient with normal routine and anxious of prestige, attach themselves to the chieftains as gholam or body-guards. It follows, in addition, that among the commoners there are a number of men whose attainments have brought them little so far as wealth and social standing are concerned. With such dissatisfied persons are others, the usual aberrant members of any community whose eccentricities have been adjudged harmless to others. Such as these are absorbed into the darvish movement, because, on the one hand, it offers social status of an extraordinary sort and, on the other, a channelled expression for personal peculiarities which might otherwise prove dangerous. It would be unwise to typify a darvish of the lower classes without first having dealt with the individual in question, for he might prove to be a hard-working craftsman in one case and a person mentally deficient in another. To become a darvish is almost identical to joining an american fraternity or lodge. One is initiated into its "secrets" by the elder members, and becomes a party to its exclusiveness. Like the lodge member, the darvish believes himself to be set apart from the mass of men by virtue of the superior knowledge with which he has been invested. The secret of almost all darvish orders is the same, although differently phrased, a personal relationship to God which bypasses the usual conventions of the faith. This relationship, when translated into the combination of song and dance, can produce that form

557 644 792 792 791 [158]

of hypnosis conventionally described as religious ecstasy. A Nestorian guide said that one day he had encountered Hajji Mustafa and twenty or thirty of his fellows marching along a lonely road, beating tambourines and singing, in a state of complete frenzy. "I am a good friend of Hajji Mustafa," the Nestorian said, "and have known him for years, but he did not seem to see me." Hajji Mustafa was present at this conversation, and confirmed his detachment with no little pride.

The darwishes can be organized into regular groups, for example, there are some villages in which the entire adult male population belong to an order, or can operate alone. One individual pointed out as a darwish visited Rowanduz from time to time dressed in a ragged brown cassock bound at the waist with a piece of rope and obtained money from amused patrons in the tea-shops by swallowing large pebbles. The sums thus realised he spent on food and drink. This person was generally considered demented, and was occasionally locked up by the police for his outbursts. The chief exhibition of their power by most darwishes, however, is snake-charming. The detection and handling of poisonous reptiles is considered the best evidence of a darwish's supernatural abilities and is subject to loud display. It is commonplace in Rowanduz to see some darwish, back from a snake-hunt, wandering among the guests in a tea-shop with a squirming specimen clutched in each hand. These snake-charmers often seem to be in a trance-like state, their eyes

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their exhortations. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give customers lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultuous meetings, the dervishes commonly practise white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the cash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the mullas. On formal occasions, for example, when he was called to the corpse in connection with firing the funeral cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's dervish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shahyn (Arabic, "lion") of 'Ali

al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Sajid Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public.

To illustrate further the character of the journals it is useful here to include the autobiography of Sajid Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Kawsoulas. The story was recorded in the garden of Shaikh Ajlouni with the latter present to verify some of the episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iraq displayed as a fan, which sounds distinctly unnatural, Sajid Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology.

My real name is Mustafa only, but my name as a journal is Shaikh Sajid Mustafa Kawsoulas. I am now almost sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Kawsoulas who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is with the beige in my shop and the other is an infant.

I was born in Kawsoulas and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Hadi Hasan 'Umar, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the schoolboys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I was ordered to stay." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had

went here next to the Turkish police, and I was taken to the court. The policeman was a Turk named 'Ali Riza'. He asked me what I was doing and what this "wrap" was. He swore that if I told the truth he would not hurt me. I explained that my wrap was only a gown. He asked to see how this wrap operated, so I gathered the pillows before the court. He stood in straight lines with our wooden rifles and swords. When 'Ali Riza saw this skit, he was amazed and let me go free.

By this time I was becoming a man, and was perhaps fifteen years of age. I went to a barber in the town and told him I wanted to learn the trade. He was afraid of me, however, because I always joked with him, telling him that I was going to kill the policeman, and I was forced to leave. There existed turkish police, their HQ, some with officers hundred soldiers. I went service with him, becoming a partner and a spy for the Turks. I went to carry the mail to Lake Van, a long journey on foot during which I was sick in many there. I also accompanied governor to Amerhilan as a minister. With one such caravan there was a Jew. The day he took me cable, and asked me to disguise myself as a Jew so that we could collect money from the Turkish community in Iran. To do this I shaved my head, leaving only a lock over one ear, and took the name Ismail Ibrahim Mosis. When we arrived at our destination in Amerhilan, we went to the synagogue. The Jew placed the rabbi's hand and spoke with him in Hebrew. He told him that I had threatened to become a Muslim. The rabbi came to me and said, "Ismail, my son, why do you want to become a Muslim?" I have no money and none of the Jews help me." I said, "I want support my two sisters." The Jews collected fifty tomans and gave it to me. They also brought meat and bread to the synagogue for a banquet. While they were eating, I asked to see the letter. I looked the letter over on the inside and jumped from the window. Then I walked around in front of the building where the rabbi and the other Jews were sitting inside next to a big window. I shouted at to them, "Do you think I am a Jew? There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God!" Then I walked away, laughing because they dared not touch a Muslim. When they heard this they started beating the first Jew, the one who had asked me to disguise myself and had interpreted me, the one who had hoped to gain half of the fifty tomans. Even the Armenian arrived and they asked him why he was being beaten. He said, "I am only a poor Jew of Armenian who came here to buy goods, and these people have demanded my money.

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." "How much did they take?" the Romanian officer asked. "Fifty lempira," he answered, and the officers ordered the right food to pay the man whatever they wanted to be certain sins.

When the Empires came to Romania, my family fled to Brazil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I could find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a lecturership belonging to a new armed force. He was starting new and neither was selling his arms. I told the salesman willing to be sworn, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Hitler asked me. "This is not your office," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a [767] coat and filled it with coloured soap. I went through the streets of Brazil crying, "Buttons! Buttons! I am sure all Lilliputans!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my soap on the face of the rich man, resulting from the [767] burns. I gave those soap to my father, but the Nazis arrested him and my brother in Turkey and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a private named Hajji Hamra in Zanjiman. There was a major day in the district who spoke English, and when he learnt from Hajji Hamra that a clever man I was, he took me with him to Hamadan. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Hamadan I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [44] of the Turks revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Suleymaniya, I opened a business, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an American merchant named Jaggar, and he entrusted me [45] with goods worth 8000 rupees to sell in the villages around Suleymaniya. When I returned, I found I had 800 [46] rupees profit. I took this money to Jaggar, and he felt that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jaggar, always profitable, but I found traveling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Suleymaniya to sell groceries. This

[illegible]

this proposal, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became then a man of some wealth.

There was a way to forgetting the bad great battle-ware, Ralph Waldo Emerson declared, for England or to become soldiers, representatives of the people to the government. Hardly without here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the subsequent period in other which experienced an epidemic of the time. I sought hospital for and passed the long • narrow street. "Are I am mother of Jerusalem," I told him. Strangers came to visit me, however, and I had to give them food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my plough, and most of my vegetable. Finally, I had to give up being [illegible] and he'd different was given the past again.

After this, I became assistant inspector for the Schools, for municipality. I asked the [illegible] to give me full authority, and requested [illegible] on others. I hired a man to stand in the entrance that by order of anybody with any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five pfennig, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their places of the like either. I [illegible] the butchers together and told them they must wash their meat with white paper to keep off the flies. I especially inspected the markets, and I found that many merchants were selling [illegible] the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Bremerhaven its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his clothes in it. Then people see me, they run for cover. On my reports, the government collected [illegible] from the people of Bremerhaven, Geestemünde, and Lehe. My salary was not large, however, and so was unconcerned that I was doing. People complained to the [illegible] about my fines and my methods, and I had to leave the post.

Then I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. I had been away so long in the [illegible] and you know that I was the best barber in [illegible]. I became a specialist and a specialist [illegible] Bremerhaven, [illegible] to the Englishmen by studying with some old men, and now I am a great favorite with students of my [illegible]. I would like much to go on writing about [illegible] adventure tale, planning their [illegible] with [illegible], and collecting stamps. I have to go home and [illegible] to [illegible]. My present duties are to prepare

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I was more pleased by my own ambitions. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started up program.

Sayyid Ahmad, of whom Mulla Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Ranuiya, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Ahmad was not directly concerned in the feud between Mustafa Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of northern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Ahmad for the short-lived "reign" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Ahmad was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Mulla Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Mulla Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second world war, he and several other adventurers procured golden uniforms and invited customs duties from lorries going from Iraq to Iraq at a point several miles to eastward of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was no investigation, but Mulla Mustafa escaped indictment. This accomplished man, who, in the course of his life, had been a teacher, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, politico, mullah, owner of a tea-shop,

purses, quest doctor, master of mask, servant, and spy. 159
Illustrates the personality of many of the servitors, as well [161]
as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can aspire to in the Rwandan area. A skeptic, he discovered something in the servitor movement which offered the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [159] [165]
he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the house, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are fairly supported by the house of Ubwiiri Bitwali with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly unmarked, [172]
the townspeople are fond of Bwiiji Mwinshi, who adds color and spice to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many discontinuous beliefs to be recorded 171
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folklore, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of various beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 172
drought which has resulted alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a storm on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. Brown noticed this as he was leaving Tabora:

> . . . as I mounted called many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I ever it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rwanda, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any interesting enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a cut are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the parcel in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a toothache." Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to tweet, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rwanda as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

[1]Brown, 1953, p. 176.

lightly. There are, to be sure, a number of points, old ones or youthful fancies, centered around the ruling who insist on the strict observance of the demands of the Quran and condemn those things which have grown up beyond its scope, such as the shaving of holy men or the use of charms. Those who seem to pay the least attention to religion are members of the government elite, but even they are hardly unbelievers. What is perhaps most important is the fact that Islam is a part of the daily round rather than something specially relegated to a single day of the week. Unlike the perfectionism or fanaticism of the New Testament, it is a practical faith which makes few demands upon the worshippers which are incongruous with the way of the world. It is thus that one rarely, if ever, finds a person in Rawenden who is having difficulties with his religion. Those who neglect their daily prayers or fast are assumed to make amends for this failing sooner or later and it is thought that all will be well with them. It cannot be legitimately said that the townspeople, as provincials, are slower to their religion than those of the cities, for, insofar as one has been able to observe, the urban populations of the Arab Middle East are just as rigorous, if not fanatic, in their morality as those in the country. The religious complex of Rawenden, in its multiplicity of aspects, constitutes much as daily life. It does not constitute a logically consistent whole, but is rather a loose aggregate of many beliefs and practices whose origins, whether they are Islamic or

people, have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant.

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the modern theologians was not of increasing laxity, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of parties with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be observed, the lack of condemnation of the government also for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the Faith, in which the townspeople find an interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Bahá'í life has created conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, clandestine homosexuality is not excluded openly by the town and the government also censors itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible behaviour. Similarly, the most articulate denigrators of Bahá'í independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their state colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the morality of the past were particularly phrased in religious terms, but it

was repeatedly said that they were not. It is difficult to see, however, in comparison with reactionary movements elsewhere in the Middle East that popular reviews would hesitate to make use of such material in times of crisis.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This study has had two objects, the first of which has been to present a primary description of Scottish life as observed in an administrative and mercantile centre. This attempt has not been without its limitations, indicated from time to time, the chief of which is the inaccessibility of the quantitative data desirable in the definitive analysis of a people's life. Similarly, the complete account of almost any culture can reveal innumerable properties, and one, in the time itself, was forced to limit the scope of its inquiries and in this presentation to omit or condense material which might overburden the discussion. Some subjects, such as Scottish law or the details of government administration, although they are an integral part of the life of the town, may properly be found elsewhere, and others, such as Scottish folklore or music, present objects of study in themselves. Deep topics, then, have not been exhausted, and further investigation, particularly among the villagers, would provide welcome amplification. Nevertheless, it is felt that the first aim has been achieved, an accurate, comprehensive description of the culture of a particular Scottish town, which is not too encyclopaedic to prevent the appreciation by anyone other than the

specialist and which can provide the material for broader analyses of the economics, society, or religion of the Middle East. The value of investigation undertaken in a particular town or locale is obvious. Too often the student of the ethnology of the Middle East is forced to glean his information from the chance remarks and anecdotes of administrators, missionaries, and travelers. If such a writer happens to comment on the wedding customs of one village, and, several pages later, outlines the funeral rites of another, one cannot legitimately infer that marriage and burial are the same in both villages. A body of this type of material exists for the Sarba community, but it has not been thought necessary to have reference to it. One cannot take even engineer or missionary to task for an observation, seemingly inconsequent, which cannot be identified with reference to a definite locale, nor does there appear to be much value in noticing their comments. The dangers of generalization are marked, for example, below, who writes:

> Turkish women are comparatively free to come and go as they like; they are veiled and can by open compulsion, but in almost all letters they are unveiled.[1]

This statement, as has been seen for Sarmada, is not valid. It has also been felt that a detailed comparison of life in Sarmada with that of other groups in the Middle East would be worth little, for the student has at his disposal comprehensive, localized treatments only of the Arab Bedouin, the Egyptian peasantry, and certain peoples of North Africa.

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[1] Grimes, 1930, p. 246.

The most productive comparisons would be with the Turks or the Persians, but, unfortunately, no such monographs are as yet available. To utilize the scanty and widely scattered materials on Turkish or Persian life would be at best haphazard. This study of Kawaiian, with certain exceptions, stands by itself, in the belief that it will afford accurate data for the comparative treatments of the future.

Something of the ancient of Turkish life, as observed in Kawaiian, has been preserved. It has been seen that the town contains, partly in an administrative and partly in a commercial way, a large agricultural district. The bulk of the townspeople are merchants, craftsmen, and servants who depend for their livelihood on commerce with the villagers and the patronage of government personnel. The basis of the town's importance is both economic and political. Life within the household, the structure of society, and religion have been treated. What is perhaps of great importance is the ample demonstration that the Turks are not savages devoid of culture, that they are not all "robbers" and need not "kill six or seven men" in order to be respected. With the exception of certain old Greek feuds, the district is relatively peaceful and normally one is merely in danger of exhortation. The old brigandage, carried on largely by the abolition as a lucrative diversion, was directed against commercial travelers who could protect themselves from it by the simple expedient of saying "giftir" in advance. A district population of some fifty thousand

could scarcely support itself by ordinary aims. It is interesting that the epic Dedelos, among whom the resources and helgendags are just as well applied, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Dedelo, unlike the Kurd, has been constituted neither then condemned by those who have had little experience with his. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, societies regions identified by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been molded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is more necessary to the character of Islam and to the force of its perspectives in the Kurdish societies that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or unusual.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the considerations involved in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the best of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

was in reality that of a tribute empire, concerned with the collection of taxes and recruits. Even in those two last tasks there was a contest, often in good humor, between the governors and the governed, and the victories were divided. As long as money and men were in reasonably good evidence, the Ruler left the Hutu to their own devices. They handed down justice of a sort, but were scarcely aware of their courts. They were not particularly concerned with homicide, insofar as the murdered party was not a Tutsi, and, above all, they did not tamper with the economic structure of society. The bulk of the taxes were collected, in the best way possible, from the chieftains and landowners, rather than the farmers and shepherds. The Hutu regarded these taxes, when they were turned to pay them, as a sort of levy to some superior chieftain. Matters of education or public health received little attention. This does not mean that in certain other areas of the African Empire there was not a complex bureaucratic government, but in Ruanda it may be summed up as little more than tenuously violent. The gentle character of this administration, compared with that of today, is indicated by the fact that many Hutu look back with nostalgia to the "freedom" of former times.

In ethnological theory the significant difference between primitive and civilized society is held to have the basis in economics. Basically in a primitive society is defined in terms of kinship relations, usually by "blood,"

and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phenomenology. The Barbak tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the democratic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are distinguished from their tribesmen more in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the animal produce. The Barbak tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, overlaid with the fiction of a common ancestor, and ordinarily in the tribe depends as exclusively in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Jawadian district by the remote three society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the tenant, because of his mobility and firepower, had a military advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

gradual increase of their holdings, have created a position of dominance over their neighbours. In Kurdish feudalism the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants and levies a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Kurdistan Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and owes the traditional gift. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are interwined in the Rowanduz district. There are men who are the leaders of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and still others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesmen or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to arrange them. The commoners identify their honor with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural determent, the citizens of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is normally decentralized, organized into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Assyrian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

with respect to culture. Feudalism, while it may not be "primitive," is here mixed with a primitive, tribal system and uses its terminology.

In civilized society, in contrast to primitive, membership is not held to be based on descent but on residence and property relations, and this form of society is represented by the state. This does not mean that the state does not use the primitive terminology, for, out of numerous examples, one might remember the insistence of the National Socialist government of Germany prior to the second World War on "blood" and "race." Of greater importance, the state has a different system of economy, because, depending on its constitution, it defines its resources as its own, as the personal property of its citizens, or both. The state in this sense is not a newcomer to Iraq, inasmuch as some of the earliest examples known in history were developed there, but, at least for some centuries, it has been a stranger to Kurdistan. It has been seen how, in the Kawandiz area, it has taken a large part in the administration of life. Youths are recruited to the army, not to the following of a chieftain, and the military forces and the police have the task of regulating public order. Matters of civil and criminal law are decided in its courts, and the important matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce require its authorization. Students may, if they are able, study in its schools and the sick can avail themselves of its medical facilities. Perhaps more importantly, it has insisted on the classification of land, holdings belonging

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and the regular collection of taxes. If the land is unregistered, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the users, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of efficiency, but it has quantitatively superimposed an administration far different from that of the Turks or the chieftains. 65 [423]

If the changes of the last fifty years which have taken place in Kurdish life are reviewed, it cannot be said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from the society, the areas of discord are few in number. Items of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods, for this dependency on foreign products has apparently been known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the district has, of course, conditioned versatility, but it has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life within the family, and religion almost nothing of a structural nature has been altered or replaced. The locus of modification, then, has been in the economy and the society, for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy, 177 [439] [249]

but the whole structure of society, tribal and feudal, which was only lightly touched by Ottoman rule has been challenged by the modern state.

Coupled with the impingement of the state, represented by the monarchy of Iraq, has been the question of Kurdish nationalism. The concepts of this movement are clearly a European importation. They were learned by educated Kurds, officials, officers, and teachers, of the late Ottoman Empire, probably from similarly-affected Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and other subjects of the Sublime Porte. These Kurds, drawn from the higher ranks of Ottoman society, carried nationalism to the people, and something of their success is indicated by the fact that it is difficult to find a Kurd in the rural areas who is not valuable in political matters. Nationalism, with its extravagant vocabulary, found easy listeners in the Kurdish aristocracy. If their administrative functions were to be usurped by the government and the economic exploitation of the commoners eliminated, the chieftains were to become superfluous, although perhaps none of them said this explicitly. The Kurdish aristocracy, whose lives had been oriented around the vendetta and who led a well-armed population, reacted differently than the impotent noblemen of Tchekov's Cherry Orchard or Keyserling's Adendliche Hochzeit. The first general revolt under Shaykh Mahmud took place in 1922 and the second in 1930. A third occurred in 1932, and the last, that of Mulla Mustafa, at the close of the second World War.

Between these dates there were many other incidents, for example, the assassination of the dictator of Iraq, General Bidgi, by a Kurd in 1937. In neighboring countries, there was a general insurrection of the Kurds in Turkey in 1930 and one in Syria in 1937. The revolt in Iraq in 1930 was common to Turkey and Iran, and that of Mulla Mustafa to Iraq and Iran. All of these were put down with difficulty, and demanded the use of aircraft, armored vehicles, artillery, and, in some cases, European troops. The states were often aided by quarrels among the Kurdish chieftains. It is interesting that the Kurds regard these conflicts with the government in the same light as tribal warfare of the type which arises from the vendetta. It has been noted how brigands and other outlaws frequently have their own private blood feuds with the authorities. Mulla Mustafa was largely driven from Iraq, not by the army, but by Mahmud Beg of the Barzinet who had a personal grudge against the Barzani chief and his followers.

In order to appreciate the place of Rowanduz in this process, it is necessary to review its position. The town, as has been said, is non-tribal and, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns much of its property, is not ruled by any overlord. In this way it has been assimilated without difficulty into the economic system of the state, as opposed to that of the tribe or feudalism. All of its lands have been surveyed and classified, and the taxes are collected directly from the inhabitants. As an administrative center

It has had a new class added to the society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an industrial system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, as far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and some are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Suwaisch, then, that a new social structure is being realised as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Shersh Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the state of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterised by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially decided, but, failing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participants in the new regime.

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into

civilized society. For the ethnologist the Middle East presents an important but little-studied area in which the impact of European civilization on those that are older, as well as sometimes still primitive or feudal, may provide the scope for the most productive investigation. This study has attempted a primary description of life in Ramadan and the definition of this culture, here represented by the Arabs rather than European, with a little known Islamic culture. It is believed that the absorption of the consumer group into a new system of society in which almsgiving is possible is one of the most significant trends taking place in many parts of the Middle East today. That European nationalism was always one of these developments, which are quite different then, say, the reaction of the Egyptian state against British imperialism, is a matter which must be taken into account.

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15

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Kartish and Dawiwa are written in the Arabic [illegible]
script, with the addition of the consonants گ, ڤ, ڽ, and ڭ, and the lexicographer has chosen that system of transliteration into the European alphabets in use by the foremost scholars of Saiwa today, such as Hirsh, Hirsh, and Stillman. The synoptiqon, for those unacquainted with this arrangement, follows the Arabic convention گ. The exception here bears note. In Kartish the diphthong "ay," as in English "sum," and the long vowel "i," as in English "ski," are both written in Arabic with the same digraphy. The lexicographer has chosen to use "ay," the conventional transcription, for the former and "i" for the latter. Secondly, the conventional English spelling, to be found in most of our dictionaries, of widely-known Kartish words, such as ataraki, gaolo, or aurei, has been retained. The letter "a" following a transcription indicates the word is Arabic, "G," Greek, "K," Kartish, "D," Dawiwa, and "T," Turkish.

[illegible]	A	clock, robe
adhān	A	call to prayer
agha	T	title of nobility
aairiya	A	land of the state

[illegible]	A	personal remain
[illegible]	A	personal event
[illegible]	A	[illegible] of orphan's property
[illegible]	A	servant, liegeor dignified from ploughed on below
[illegible]	E	still
[illegible]	A	tattoo
[illegible]	E	[illegible] tendour
[illegible]	E	swine
[illegible]	A	proportion allied to the body
[illegible]	A	"The Greater Power"
[illegible]	A	"The Lesser Power"
[illegible]	A	life, bread in Egyptian scenes
[illegible]	E	grandfather
[illegible]	E	father
[illegible]	E	tired weary
[illegible]	A	multiply, rustic, [illegible]
[illegible]	A	blessing
[illegible]	E	ancient
[illegible]	E	[illegible] ancestor, [illegible]
[illegible]	E	[illegible], [illegible]
[illegible]	F	title of nobility
[illegible]	E	lamb roasted whole
[illegible]	E	brother
[illegible]	E	bride, daughter-in-law

[illegible]	A, Dreq	Arab headdress
[illegible]	T	goddesses
[illegible]	E	a female slave
[illegible]	E	evil eye
[illegible]	A, Dreq	owner of a two-story
[illegible]	A, Dreq	two-story
[illegible]	E	ancestral partridge
[illegible]	E	grandmother
[illegible]	E	mother
[illegible]	E	drawgate, shoulders
[illegible]	E	front of vertical with not girdle
[illegible]	A	"pose," religious emotional
[illegible]	A	The terrific lower earth
[illegible]	A	unit of Dreq money, equivalent to an English pound
[illegible]	A, Dreq	cloth garment, casement
[illegible]	E	guest-room
[illegible]	E	out-course, foster mother
[illegible]	E, obs.	vegetation stuffed with meat and rice
[illegible]	T	title of a goddess
[illegible]	A	peasantry, particularly of Egypt
[illegible]	E	noble clan
[illegible]	A	Persian
[illegible]	A	"opening," the first chapter of the Quran

[illegible]	A	well of Zemzem water, the [illegible] part of a dinar
[illegible]	A	beast, barnyard
[illegible]	E, etc.	electrified button, sending [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible]	A	woman, helpmeet to Barbish
[illegible]	A	the greater visitation before prayer
[illegible]	A	pilgrim to Mecca
[illegible]	A	judge
[illegible]	A	ready, aware
[illegible]	A	porter
[illegible]	A	bath
[illegible]	A	irregular troops of Bolmo [illegible]
[illegible]	A	woman's apartments in a house
[illegible]	A	material manufactured from hemp
[illegible]	A	well
[illegible] [illegible]	E	bandmaster
[illegible] [illegible]	E	afternoon
[illegible]	A	period which must elapse before divorcee can remarry
[illegible]	A, Dreg	priest of the Bolmo Shaitan
[illegible]	A	street
[illegible]	A	"submission" to God, the religion of Bidermaid
[illegible]	E	glass, tumbler for tea
[illegible]'s	A	mosque
[illegible]'s al-[illegible]	A	the great mosque
[illegible] [illegible]	E	"The Greater Feast," beginning on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month

363

[illegible]	E	"The Lesser Power," ruling the north of Sweden	124
[illegible]	A	the holy war against unbelievers	
[illegible]	E	game of [illegible]	
[illegible]	A	a spirit, usually malevolent	
[illegible]	A	[illegible] sect	
[illegible]	A, Iraq	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E, Arms A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	the Turkish language, the [illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	T	"Black [illegible]," a [illegible]	
[illegible]	T, Arms A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	"[illegible]," title of a [illegible]	
[illegible]	E, etc.	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A, Iraq	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	"The Green One," personage [illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	

[illegible]

[illegible]	S, obs.	August
[illegible]	S	clover
[illegible]	S	girl, daughter
[illegible]	A	perfumed safflower used as a cosmetic
[illegible]	S	camel
[illegible]	S	hay, straw
[illegible]	A	"The Right of Power," the constitutional granting of authority
[illegible]	A, Iraq	constitutional issues used in law
[illegible]	A	"Yemen," province of Iraq
[illegible]	A	"Yarmuk," North centre of Iraq
[illegible]	A	Iraq
[illegible]	A	people, upper house of the Iraqi legislature
[illegible]	A	"Chamber of Deputies," lower house of the Iraqi legislature
[illegible]	A	property
[illegible]	S	house, family
[illegible]	S	parental uncle
[illegible]	A	affairs, affairs
[illegible]	S	sea, lookout
[illegible]	S	curdled milk, yoghurt
[illegible]	A, from S	a reclame gun
[illegible]	A	birthday
[illegible]	S	a type of sheep
[illegible]	S	here d'oeuvre

[illegible]	S, obs.	title of nobility	209
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A, Iraq	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	P	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	S	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	T	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	E	[illegible]	
[illegible]	A	[illegible]	

[illegible]	A	government official
[illegible]	E	Parliament
[illegible]	E	banking, law
[illegible]	A	Alexandria of Rome
[illegible], [illegible]	A	wooden sling or catapult
[illegible]	A	the Muslim holy book
[illegible]	A	female ornament, a metal disk
[illegible]	A	the third lower earth
[illegible]	A	mythical garment, wagon
[illegible]	A	"sewing," a part of prayer
[illegible]	P	utensil, a liquor
[illegible]	A	the sixth lower earth
[illegible]	A	sparrow
[illegible]	E	a house shop
[illegible]	A	climb, robe
[illegible]	E	daily allowance
[illegible]	A	slow, optional
[illegible]	A	inhabitant of Upper Egypt
[illegible]	E, from A	town
[illegible], [illegible]	A	prayer, blessing
[illegible]	A	peace
[illegible]	P	Ottoman administrative district
[illegible]	E	a house shop
[illegible], [illegible]	E	spring festival
[illegible]	A	lord, descendant of the Prophet's tribe
[illegible]	A	application of faith

[illegible]	E	wedding celebrations and dance	104
[illegible]	A	time, yesterday	
[illegible]	A	satan, devil	
[illegible]	A	the tenth lunar month	
[illegible]	A	"tambourine," term for a Kurdish drum of Iraq	
[illegible]	A	stone	
[illegible]	A	"old man," religious leader, holy man	
[illegible]	A	"party," the following of "Ali and his sons	
[illegible] sugar	E	baked apples	
[illegible]	E	milk	
[illegible]	A	trousers, particularly those of Turkish style	
[illegible]	A, Iraq	belongings, private possessions	
[illegible]	A	enemy	
[illegible]	A	"traitor," example of the Prophet, orthodox Islam	
[illegible]	A	chapter in the Koran	
[illegible]	A	tribe	
[illegible]	A	to divorce	
[illegible]	A	fee, combat pair bet	
[illegible]	A, Iraq	belligerence	
[illegible]	E	enemy	
[illegible]	T	registered category of land	
[illegible]	A, Iraq	grilled meat	
[illegible]	T	Turkish milk	
[illegible]	A, Egypt	head-man of a village or town	

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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FATHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER MARRIAGE IN KURDISTAN

FREDRIK BARTH

[1] THE PREVALENCE of preferential father's brothers' daughter marriage in the Middle East, and its association with Islam, has frequently received reference. Yet no clear picture of the possible structural implications of this form of preferential marriage has emerged, nor of the actual distribution and frequency of the practice. The present paper attempts to analyze the relationship between the Kurdish form of segmentary lineage organization and this marriage pattern.

[2] Any chain of unilineal descent in a stable or expanding population constitutes a ramifying system where succeeding generations in many lines tend to be larger and more inclusive than the preceding. It is this chain, generally in compressed form, which is utilized to organize a descent group in the form of a segmentary lineage organization. This organizational form was named by Gifford and later by Firth, who called it a "ramage," and first analyzed fully by Evans-Pritchard.[1] Recent work on this type of organization has been lucidly summarized by Forde.[2]

[3] In almost all the lineage systems described in the literature, the lineage, or the clan of which it is a part, is an exogamous group. This fact of exogamy has important implications, e.g. for the development of dispersed clans and consolidation of a "daughter's son" relationship as a mechanism for grafting foreign lineages to the dominant lineage of an area (as described for the Nuer), and it is further frequently reflected in the whole construction of kinship terminology.[3]

Lineage exogamy is, however, an essential feature of lineage systems. No matter what the marriage pattern in a population may be, a strict chain of unilineal descent offers an equally clear framework on which a segmentary lineage organization may be based. In a patrilineal system, matrilateral ties may be regarded as socially irrelevant to the political relations of segments and whole lineages—marriage patterns may, so to speak, be "divorced" from their role in defining the relations between political groups. This lack of association of lineage organization and exogamy is common among Semitic and Iranian tribes of the Middle East,

1 E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Lineages and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California* (American Anthropologist, vol. 28, pp. 389–401, 1926); Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (London, 1936); E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer: Tribe and Clan* (Sudan Notes and Records, 1935–1935), and *The Nuer* (London, 1940).

2 Daryll Forde, *The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups* (American Anthropologist, vol. 55, pp. 17–41, 1953).

3 F. Eggan, *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (Chicago, 1950).

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and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not assume that marriage relations and maternal ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the tira varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the typical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Warda Shatri (location: roaming in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several tira may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Lewis J. Lindwall, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1931).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. R. Leach, *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 3, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

the Jaf confederacy of nomadic as well as sedentary tirsa. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Hamawands, an independent tira of population ca. 1000-1500, which became sedentary some two or three generations ago.

The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defence and offence in war. Property rights to land and grazing area are held jointly by the tira as a whole; exclusive usufruct rights are vested in its localized segments, inhabiting compact villages with a population of 50 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have traditional rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as normal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degree of kinship (so any one level of segmentation, "brothers" exclude "cousins" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1932, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in case if a segment were attacked, from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary charter when conflicts arose within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both within, where they led to fission, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

There is a close contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the readiness with which the problems of fusion and fission are solved. A man's rights to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as hired farm help ("naqar") of degraded status. The territorial exclusiveness of lineage segments thus tends to be maintained to high degree, and there are no kinship mechanisms for developing "attached" lineages with local territorial and political rights.[7] The segmentary nature of the maximal lineage expresses itself directly in geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited nearly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map or clearly seen where one has a view of the valley bottoms. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the tira as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. No religious or ritual

[7] A permanent relationship may occasionally be established between a conquering lineage group and a conquered, non-tribal peasant population, who retain certain rights as serfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a caste barrier is set up, preventing intermarriage between the two groups. This relationship, observed on the northern margins of Hamawand territory, does not seem to be very stable.

No religious or ritual 571

mechanisms exist for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no symbiotic relations of a practical or ritual nature have been developed.

This organizational form is associated with a strong emphasis on the father's brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marked tendency to close family endogamy. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) relative brideprice, and (3) actual statistical occurrence. 582

(1) Informants agree that paternal cousins have first rights to a girl, and 583 where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the 604 paternal cousin must first release her by renouncing his claim. Cases of violence 605 resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[6] Giving one's daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals, and no one is closer in status and sentiments than a paternal cousin. Small children are pleasantly embarrassed when teased for being "in love" with their paternal cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also 582 recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where Ku-ā-zā rustic laws of inheritance, giving stipulated fractions of the estate to female descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case.

(2) It is an agreed privilege for paternal cousins, to less extent also other near 605 kin, to receive the girl at a reduced brideprice. The normal brideprice for village 583 girls ranges between £50-150. Paternal cousins generally pay only wedding expenses.

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter, and other cousin, 162 marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relationship between all living spouses in two normal sized Hamawand villages fell into the following categories:

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amoun)	MoBrDa (khalun)	SiDa (pure)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	3	2	4	21

Taking the normal fluctuations in size and sex distribution of sibling groups into account, this probably approximates the maximal frequency that marriage with actual, non-classificatory paternal cousin can reasonably attain.

6 E.g. W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan* (London, 1921), p. 71.

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When the cost of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the normative preference for near kin clear, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men make the "right" choice though they appear subjectively to feel, and inevitably express the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem in the situation centers around what the motivation of the girl's father is, that he would forego his right to a brideprice which, to the Kurdish farmer, constitutes a minor fortune. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem is: what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a brother's son which compensate one for the loss of the brideprice.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, consolidated by the interlocking circles of identification normally associated with segmentary descent systems (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups; cross-cutting age-grades; among Tallensi, further the ritual collaboration between lineages, etc.). This pressure is painfully evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all first-hand descriptions of Kurdish life.[9] Kurdish villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, at times even women. Such political power is proportional to the number of riflemen one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives: those who by descent belong to his political sub-section; and the factions in the village tend to be alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an older leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The relation to the latter is most critical: it crosses the first potential line of cleavage between collateral branches. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of his brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the brideprice. No other son-in-law can, in the lineage system, fill this role as political supporter; consequently they must inevitably pay brideprice. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the pattern of preferential father's brother's

[9] E.g. C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (London, 1836); E. B. Soane, *Through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise* (London, 1926); Hay, op. cit.

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

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daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

If this view is generally correct, one would expect to find a high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage associated with a developed lineage organization in the Middle East, and the frequencies to be appreciably lower in villages with a different type of organization. In the southern Kurdish area, this is clearly so: for other areas, the literature gives no conclusive evidence.

In the southern Kurdish feudally organized territory, neighboring on the above discussed Hamawand territory, the comparative picture might be summarized as follows: (1) The expressed norms are modified, though not basically changed. First rights of paternal cousins are not as strongly emphasized, and the ideal of equality between spouses tends to be interpreted in terms of village endogamy rather than with reference to descent group. (2) Brideprices tend to be lower for all categories of husbands, especially those of the local community (this holds true for the villagers, not for the larger towns, where great variations in class and wealth intervene); some villages have made formal agreements that no brideprice should be changed within the village unit. An alternative and moderately popular way of avoiding brideprice is the sister exchange between two indifferently related men. (3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage closely drops, while village endogamy (in villages generally larger than those with a lineage organization) remains high. A complete census of marriages in one such nontribal village may serve as an example:

FaBrDa (amount)	MoBrDa (khalmat)	Fa and Mo SDa (parra)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
6	1	1	9	19	10	46

This picture would seem to be consistent with the views expressed above.

Hilma Granqvist[10] gives some comparable material from an Arab village in Palestine, where the local community is divided into patrilineal descent groups, called clans, apparently of a segmentary type; but where several of these descent groups reside together in a large village, and have no wider political or territorial importance. She offers the following frequencies of degree of relationship between spouses in one village:[11]

10 Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (Helsingfors, 1931).
11 *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 92, 194-195.

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FaBrDa	Total marriages within clans	Between unrelated co-villagers	With strangers	Total
35 13.3%	89 33.7%	62 23%	113 42.8%	264

There is some suggestion that clan endogamy has similar factional implications in this situation as lineage segment endogamy has in the Kurdish system, but that the emphasis centers on the opposition between co-resident clans—witness the discrepancy between 33 percent marriages within own clan vs. 23 percent with unrelated co-villagers, in a village where four major and six smaller clans co-reside. Yet Granqvist perfers the standard explanation: " . . . marriage with the father's brother's son is preferred to any other marriage in order to prevent a stranger taking possession of the property and inheritance of the family."[12] This even though her argument is further weakened by the fact that her villagers do not observe the proper Koranic rule[13] of giving both male and female relatives of the same degree a share of inheritance, in the proportion 2:1— " . . . even if it be seldom that a man die without leaving any sons, yet the possibility affects it so far as to allow marriage between the children of brothers to appear specially desirable."[14]

Chapple and Coon offer a theoretical analysis of parallel cousin marriage, with special reference to the Bedouin[15] which, if I have understood their argument correctly, emphasizes the incompatibility of a subordinate son-in-law relation to a non-relative with a system of strong political and economic identification with the lineage segment—in this case seen as composed of father, son, and father's brother. This incompatibility is then resolved by a pattern of establishing the son-in-law relationship with the father's brother, through marriage with a father's brother's daughter. This appears as a rather round-about way of attacking the problem from the point of view developed here; but their discussion indicates that the present viewpoints are not inapplicable to this marriage pattern among the Bedouin.

The points of view expressed above might be summarized briefly. As contrasted to most African systems, marriage patterns among the Moslem peoples of the Middle East are liberated from their role in expressing the relations between segments of a larger lineage system. The potential relevance of these patterns to social structure may then theoretically be utilized in various ways.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 78, where further references to this view are given.
13 A. S. Tritton, *Islam, Belief and Practices* (London, 1951), p. 66.
14 Granqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
15 E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York, 1942), pp. 305-306.

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In many areas of the Middle East, a pattern of close family endogamy and preferential father's brother's daughter marriage has been assumed to be associated with a desire to maintain family property in the face of Koranic rules of inheritance. The apparently exceptionally high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage among the Kurdish tribes with lineage organization, and possibly among other groups with a similar organization, requires separate explanation. The thesis of this short discussion has been that such a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage plays a prominent role in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle. Marriages of this type thus serve to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system, not, as in most African systems, relative to the relations between whole lineages, but here, on the contrary, relative to the first potential lines of fission and segmentation within the minimal lineage itself.

[illegible]
Oslo, Norway

G. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kopi MA11

NATIONALMUSEETS SKRIFTER
Etnografisk Række, VII

The Kurdish Woman's Life

FIELD RESEARCH IN A MUSLIM SOCIETY, IRAQ

by

HENNY HARALD HANSEN

NATIONALMUSEET - KØBENHAVN
1961

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To

JØRGEN LÆSSØE

In Friendship and Gratitude

[p. V]

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PREFACE

For making it possible for a cultural anthropologist to join the Danish Dokan Expedition, I express my gratitude to Professors HARALD INGHOLT and JØRGEN LEVINE, the leaders of the Expedition.

To KAJ BIRKET-SMITH, Ph.D., D.Sc., I express my sincere thanks for his suggestion to undertake this work and for his faith in believing that I would be able to carry out successfully an investigation of the cultural pattern of Mandiye women. To him, I owe much gratitude for friendly encouragement and good advice, not only on this occasion, but for many years.

Prior to my departure from Denmark, Professor K. BASA initiated me into the Kurdish language, and later, he kindly normalized the Kurdish terms which occur in my material. For this, I tender my sincere appreciation.

The CARLSBERG FOUNDATION enabled me to travel to Iraq and, by a generous grant, made it possible for me to spend four and a half month in Iraqi Kurdistan. This Foundation has also supported me in the course of my work with the material collected, and has defrayed the cost of printing. The translation of the Danish manuscript has been done by Major C. L. BAYLIS with a grant from the RASK-ØRSTED FOUNDATION. To these Foundations, a deep debt of gratitude is acknowledged.

I further wish to express my appreciation to H. E. TAWFIQ WAHBI, formerly member of the Iraqi Cabinet, himself a Kurd, for introducing me to a woman interpreter MALIHA KARIM SAID.

This book owes much to Mr. J. G. CAMPBELL, Resident Engineer of the Dokan Dam Project, who made arrangements for my stay among Kurds in a village from which the Project derived many of its workers.

Invaluable assistance was given by Mr. J. TAYLOR, a member of the Resident Engineer's staff, and his wife during my stay at the Dokan Dam Site.

Above all, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to my unforgettable interpreter Miss MALIHA KARIM SAID, to her relatives and friends, as well as to Sheikh

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[P. VI contains no TEXT]

Travis and his family in Tegucigalpa who received me as a friend and in every way facilitated my research.

I express my gratitude to my fellow-members of the Expedition, the architects Mr. Miroslav Pasic and Mrs. Anna-Trene Pasic and Mr. Pyramus Jovanovic. Together with the two leaders, they made my stay pleasant and helped me when help was needed.

Last but not least I thank my son, P. U. Hanna, an architect, who has turned my provisional drawings of Kurdish houses into ground-plans and sections of scientific use.

1961. *Henry Harold Hanna*

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analysis of the social structure of the Kurdish woman's cultural pattern in the light of the existing "emancipation"; difficulties in connection with abolition of the veil in other Islamic areas; the role the emancipation owes from the west; the marital position of the Kurdish woman; the structure of the home; the difference between the basis on which the emancipation of European women began and that existing in Muslim areas.

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NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

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ʿ	*ain* Semitic, glottal plosive ʿ.
	In initial position: *d, z, ḍ, ẓ* followed by *ḏ* or *ẓ*; *t, d* or *ṭ, ḍ* in medial or final positions *ṭ, ḍ*.
ب	*b* voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive like Engl. *b*.
ف	*f* voiceless, generally aspirated, labiodental plosive, German *p*.
ت	*t* voiceless, generally aspirated, dental plosive, German *t*.
ث	*th* in Arabic, voiceless dental fricative *t*, ~ *th* in Engl. *thank*, in Persian, voiceless alveolar fricative *s*.
ج	*j* voiced post-alveolar plosive, ~ *j* in Engl. *jam*.
چ	*ch* voiceless post-alveolar fricative, ~ *ch* in Engl. *chalk*.
ح	*ḥ* in Arabic and Kurd., voiceless pharyngal fricative, in Persian, voiceless glottal fricative, ~ Engl. *h* in *hill*.
خ	*kh* voiceless velar fricative, ~ *ch* in German *Chemie*, *Buch*.
د	*d* voiced unaspirated dental plosive like Engl. *d*.
ذ	*dh* in Arabic, voiced dental fricative, ~ *th* in Engl. *that*, in Persian, voiced alveolar fricative *z*.
ر	*r* voiced alveolar trill, weak roll, in Kurd. with a slight flap.
ڕ	*ṛ* voiced alveolar roll.
ز	*z* voiced alveolar fricative, ~ *z* in French *dame*, *s* in Engl. *rose*.
ژ	*zh* voiced post-alveolar fricative, ~ *j* in French *jour*.
س	*s* voiceless alveolar fricative.
ش	*sh* voiceless post-alveolar fricative, ~ *sh* in Eng. *sharp*.
ص	*ṣ* in Arabic, voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative, in Persian, voiceless alveolar fricative *s*.
ض	*ḍ* in Arabic, voiced dental emphatic plosive, in Persian pronounced as voiced alveolar fricative *z*.
ط	*ṭ* in Arabic, voiceless dental emphatic plosive, in Persian voiceless aspirated dental plosive.
ظ	*ẓ* in Arabic, voiced alveolar emphatic fricative, in Persian, voiced alveolar fricative *z*.
ع	*ʿ* in Arabic and Kurd., voiced pharyngal plosive, in Persian, not pronounced in initial position, in medial position pronounced as a glottal stop.
غ	*gh* voiced or voiceless velar fricative, cf. *g* in Engl. as pronounced in the Northern parts of Germany.
ف	*f* voiceless labio-dental fricative.
ق	*q* voiced or voiceless uvular plosive.
ک	*k* voiceless aspirated velar plosive, if followed by *a, e, o, u, ê, ô*, else voiceless aspirated, palatal.
گ	*g* voiced unaspirated, velar plosive, if followed by *a, e, o, u, ê, ô*, else voiced unaspirated palatal plosive.

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INTRODUCTION

In the spring and summer of 1957 the Danish Dokan Expedition was working under Professors Harald Ingholt and Jørgen Lassøe on the Rania plain west of Lower Zab, a tributary of the Tigris in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Expedition concentrated on the excavation of the mound Tell Shemshâra[1]. Before the expedition left Denmark it offered to take with it a cultural anthropologist from the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, who, based on the excavation camp on the right bank of the Lower Zab, would have an opportunity to investigate Kurdish villages in the vicinity. The assistance of the Carlsberg Foundation enabled my association with the Danish Dokan Expedition.

Being a woman anthropologist, I was given, in addition to general investigations of Kurdish ethnography, the special task of studying women's cultural pattern, which in Muslim areas is difficult for male investigators to undertake.

The necessary female interpreter for such investigations was obtained through the former Kurdish Minister, Tawfik Wahbi, who at that time was living in Baghdad and was in touch with the Danish Chargé d'Affaires, F. Lyon, succeeded later in the summer of 1957 by F. de Jonquières. I left Denmark in May to join the expedition at the Dokan Dam Site, which is now the dam building over Lower Zab, the Anglo-French[2] engineering project in the Kurdish mountains started by the Iraq Development Board.

As it transpired that the neighbouring twin villages Topzawa-Kakawa, from which the British and French engineers obtained some of their workmen, offered excellent possibilities for study, it was arranged through the Resident Engineer of the Dokan Dam Site, Mr. J. G. Campbell, that, whilst waiting for a woman interpreter, I should be taken as a paying guest in Sheikh Taalib's home in Topzawa as a member of this village-owner's family.

In the course of three visits, through the good offices of Tawfik Wahbi and the mayor of Sulaimaniyeh, the capital of the Liwa of Sulaimani, I was gained with a young Kurdish woman school-teacher, Mullya Karim Sa'id, who, accompanied by her 13 year old half-brother, agreed to go with me to the villages mentioned and stay with me in the sheikh's home as long as my work out there went on. When this had ended, supplemented by a visit to and stay at the now evacuated and flooded Serry village, Mirza Rostam, with trips over the frontiers to Shaklâwa and Sargalu, the field of work was transferred to my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, a Kurdish provincial town. From here journeys

Map of the Middle East. The striking panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

were made into the area with stops at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Balkha and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used; hired cars, primitive local lorries, mules and horses. If no private houses were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Hassuna Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Hassuna Expedition, who every fortnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshara. I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May - 5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connection with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Tapa-mo-Bakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Sarkan, making a lengthy trip to Koreyatan via Kirkuk, Mirwal and Erbil in order to determine some epidemic variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an older brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

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Local map of the area visited. The area is covered by U.S.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the women interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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of the other women, was also an intelligent representative of the slow unwinding transformation of the Kurdish woman's life pattern, doubly manifest, as in her home at Bakhtaran there was, in addition to sisters who represented the same development, a group of elderly women that constituted the background on which this change is taking place.

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CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the shafi'i rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzurum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Senna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakka and Luru related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 3 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

[P. 5]

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195 698 by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[5], which, however, was never ratified. At the final conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shattered, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Shereef of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Brussels or Bruxing line[6] by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. The justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had seen their dream of an independent Kurdistan born at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had aired their feelings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[7], Iran[8] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[9], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1861, d. 1956)[10] *hakmdar* in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed subsidies. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government, proclaiming himself *malik*, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[11], who as early as 1906 had accepted Islam and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[12] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1921 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the peace negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922–24, 1927 and in 1930–31, and under Achmad of Barzan in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrigg and Stookes[13], and Edmonds[14].

184 698 My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I lived with in 1957 can be summarized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan, look to the north, to Soviet Russia[15]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (about one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Hoybun Committee[16] still existed, the Kurds, whilst I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realised from that quarter.

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562 291 What has previously been written about Kurdish women comes from the pens of men. Having given the following description of the Arab women in Baghad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which slip about in little yellow boots, and which you are told are women," adding: "... in fact no better disguise than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to snare away prying eyes and dump the spirit of libertinism ..."[17] Fraser, 1840, says concerning the Kurdish women that "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, she utmost practised in this way being to bring the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

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Fig. 1. Village aristocracy. Married woman fetching vine leaves. Serkan.

and chins ..."[18]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"[19]. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[20], in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

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[123]

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bleibtreu, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und geniessen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten andern morgenländischen Völkern"[21]. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947; "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[22]. Soane maintains that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds[23], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the bazaar"[24]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a manlier treatment ... than is seen among Musulman races"[25]. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chiefs

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keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...". It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qā'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Husain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).

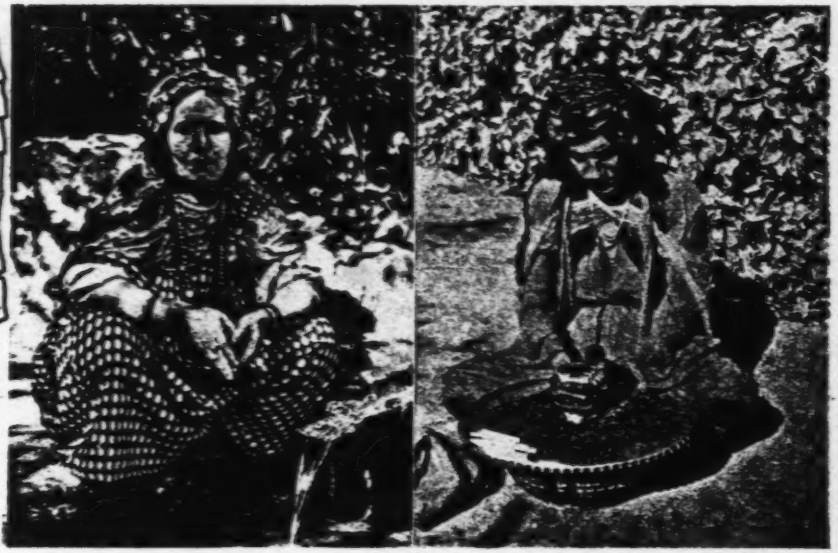

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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 45).

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a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[32], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababaile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *mdlik* (king) of Kurdistan.

[643]

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

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175 562 565 responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants [622] of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

562 114 The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 5. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

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Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kurdistan.

The watercourses and springs

condition the siting of the villages. Some deep hits—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former use of *qandīs*. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the fetching of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot plough[35], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The foot plough was seen in use down by the Lesser Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for must and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sargalu, Balkha and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are: cows and oxen, *gā*, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, *bīzin*, donkeys, *kār*, and mules, *hestr*, with ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, *asp*, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[36]. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[37]. At 5 a.m. the cows are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6–7 p.m. the animals are driven back

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to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkha that his wages were 25 fils — 6d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.n.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are clipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Scythes are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, *dâz*, (E. 2243) about 27 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *quyndx*,[38] (E. 2242) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[39]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *gurîs*, (E. 2244) about 6.80 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[40], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 8 Harvest implements, sickle (E. 2243), claws (E. 2242), and handmade rope (E. 2244).

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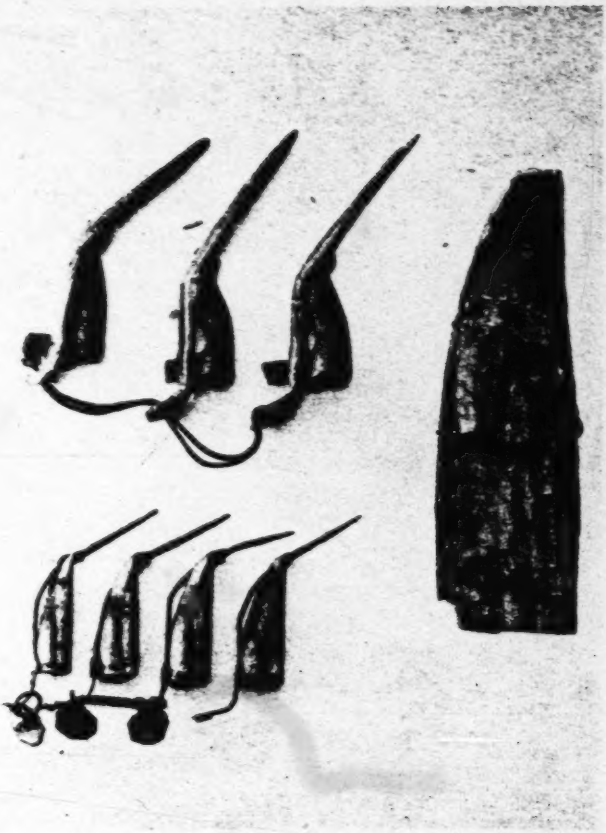

Fig. 9. Harvest claws from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark. Above, Turkish bone claws (M. 566). Below, Kurdish metal claws (E. 2242). To the right, a curved wooden board with rooms for three fingers; from the Luri, Iran. (E. 527).

243 water from the clay roof of the house after rain. Threshing at the open threshing floors takes place from July to October[41]. It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the flatly-hesped corn[42] three to seven domestic animals, such as donkeys, cows, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was seen used up in the mountains and on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

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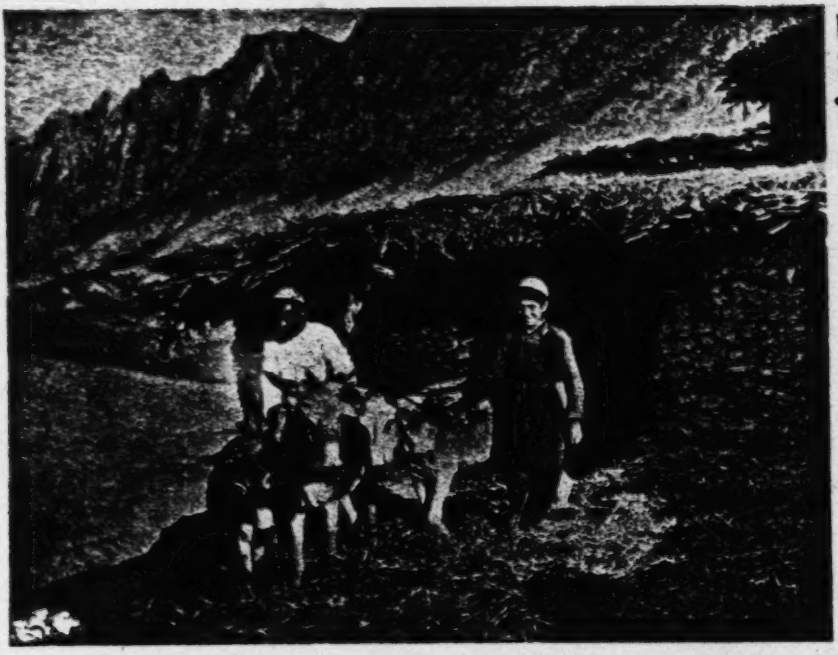

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flatly-heaped corn. Topzawa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *Janjarr*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[43], threshing car[44] or threshing
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 243
of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are 407
studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh,
two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades
whose edges are at right angles to each other[45]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests
alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at
right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine
serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven
round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into
chaff.

According to Hay[46] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

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it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Feilberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifûr, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandû* or *awdr*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jût*, has a plough-share, *galsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *hawjâr*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Werth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Werth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Destrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

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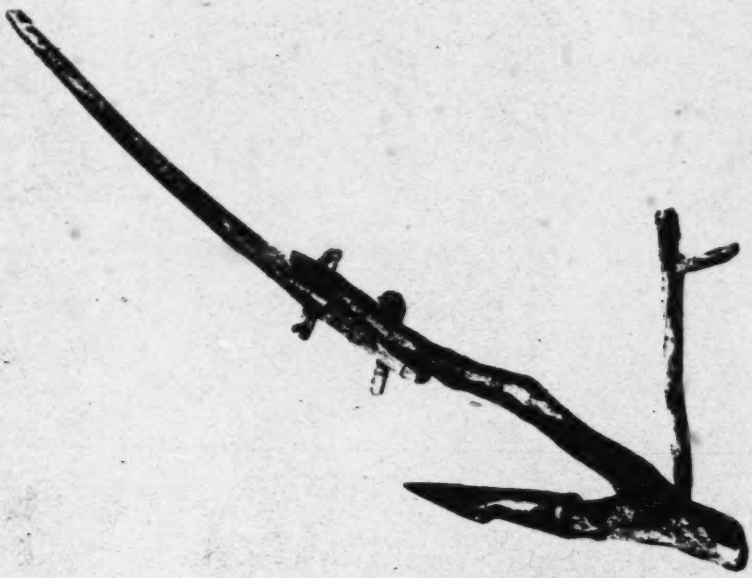

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Topzawa. Sole and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2240).

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is also stressed by Leach[60]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[61].

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The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

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The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-mouldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[62]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as is the case when transporting corn from the field to the home—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[63]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

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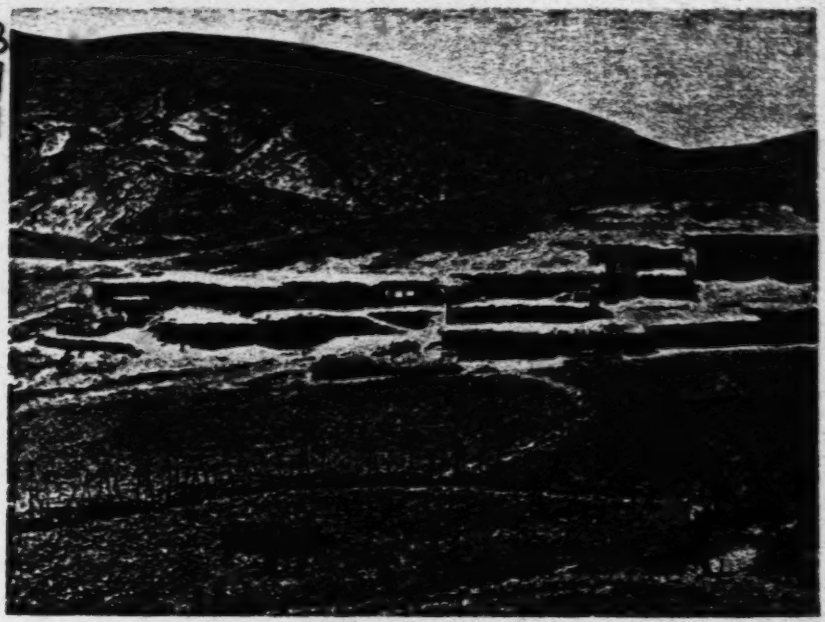

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Topzawa

So far as I could discover the
Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for
276 cigarettes, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the *sūq* in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2245).

562 Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an *Āgā*[64] or squire[65]. He had no need to
491 live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sulaimani on the Surchina plain[66]. In-
525 cidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not
621 reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adila's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sulaimani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Leach[67], a manager "kokha", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Topzawa, Rakawa,
[566] Sargalu and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

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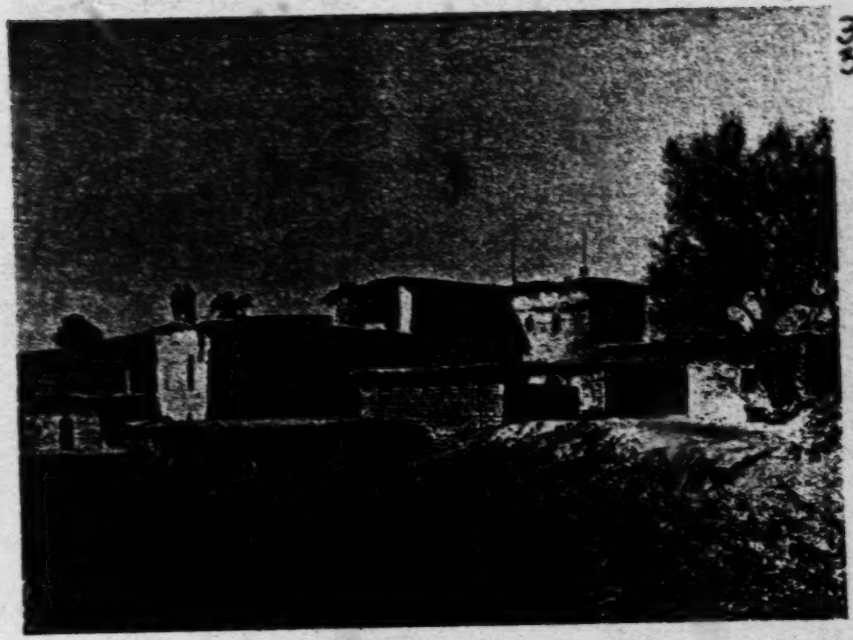

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Topzawa.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and none could sell, move away or move in without his sanction[68]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[69]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[70] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[71] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply these.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connexion with a "comprehensive program" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietory rights"[72]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

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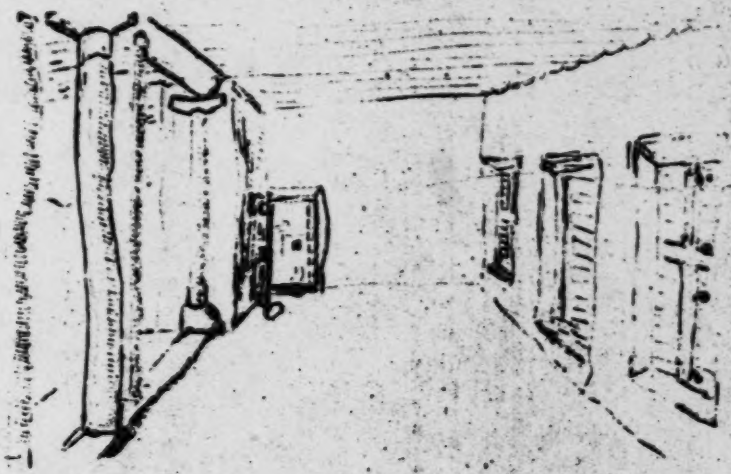
659 The idea of the Land Settlement Commission was apparently to get control of the ground and the fees hitherto paid for it, but by so doing the old relation between the owner of the village and his tenants would be dissolved, as in return for the dues he would obtain he would have to settle all the village's disputes with the administration and government of the country, give assistance in criminal, juridical and military matters, and maintain a guest house[73], a very important factor in the life of the village and its face to the world. The guest house was the place where every traveller, within definite limits, could obtain shelter and food. It was maintained in the house of the owner of the village as a part of it, and was at the same time the village club which the male inhabitants freely visited and felt part owners of. The guest house is not a business, but the village's joint solution of the obligations of hospitality[74]. It serves to enhance the reputation of the squire and of the village as a whole. If the peasants are relieved of this burden of payment to the village owner, a structural element of the village is at the same time abolished. Concerning this problem see Edmond's account[75].

C24 Within the village the peasants elected a parish officer, *mukhtār*[76], who registered births, attended to the military muster rolls and to local disputes.



CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *reŝmâl*[1], the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Feilberg[2] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the leaf hut, *kâpâ*[3], only erected for a single summer's residence, and the permanent house, *xânû* or *mâl*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa at the beginning of June when the summer, *hâwîn*, really begins. They are erected on the sheikh's harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones sunk around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin osiers reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[4], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house. [341] [467]

It is said that in the trading centre of Tutwâla, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. Hay mentions that "in Shaqlawa booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[5], but does not further describe them. 366 361 345

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, *kêrd*, the walls of the houses are built 342 324

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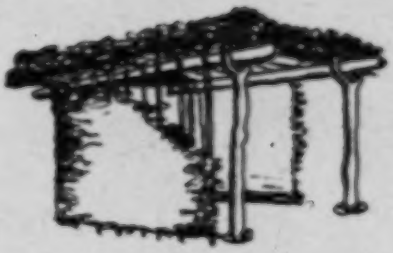

Fig. 14. Construction of a leaf hut.

Fig. 15. Building of a leaf hut with wattle of mats. Tepoztlan.

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Fig. 16. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tavella.

of this; with a kind of timber frame consisting of short, sleeper-like, wooden beams placed horizontally in the stone walls though not joined together. The stones in the wall have either no binding agent or clay is used as mortar. In the newest houses cement has been adopted. The interior walls in some of the rooms are covered by a clay or gypsum layer applied by the women, which is afterwards polished with flat stones[6]. It appears like a thick white oil paint. In villages and in the older houses in Sulaimani, on the other hand, the walls are made of mud bricks, *xiſt*. The newer houses in Sulaimani are built of burnt brick. In the villages the bricks are first formed from the clay available on the building site, mixed with water and thoroughly kneaded by the feet of men. Water for the kneading process is obtained by directing an irrigation channel to the building site, or fetched in goatskins which are hung in pairs on the back of a donkey. Pebbles for the foundation, and for the rear wall if the house is built out of the side of a hill, are also transported by donkeys, being carried in basket-shaped frames. The kneaded mass of clay is formed into the individual brick in a rectangular wooden frame, in the same way as we form raw peat. The brick is put out on the hillside to dry for some days without much attention being paid as to whether the surface is really flat. After the foundation of the wall has been

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Fig. 17. Housebuilding. Clay and water are kneaded with the feet. Pebbles for foundations are transported by donkey. Togoland.

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made of pebbles laid in a trench, a wall is put up composed of clay bricks, 1½ bricks thick. This is done with the help of an outstretched horizontal cord, but no spirit level or such like is used to ensure that the wall is plumb, and the ground is not levelled. A mixture of clay and water is used as mortar. Whereas the men kneed the clay and transport to the building site the water, straw and heavy poplar trunks for the roofs, the women assist in the transportation of the dried clay bricks and the stacking of them. The window apertures can be rectangular and, like the door opening, bounded above by horizontal wooden sticks. Arched window openings, on the other hand, are formed by loosely and unsymmetrically stacking bricks in a vertical rectangular opening in the wall. These bricks are covered on top by a sack or such like on which bricks are placed in a semicircle. When the clay mortar holding the bricks together dries, the irregularly-stacked clay bricks and the sack are removed, whereby a window aperture, bounded above by a semicircle, results. Arched window openings can be uncovered or covered by a lattice of flat wooden shavings, which allows in the light, but no stranger's gaze. This lattice is flush with the outside of the wall. The arched windows can also be fitted with wooden shutters which, when locked, are flush with the inside of the wall. Window frames

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with glass panes can be inserted in rectangular window apertures. Such windows are from a conservative point of view of remarkably poor execution. They are usually protected by iron bars.

In the same way that the arched window apertures are made, openings half the thickness of the wall are allowed for inside the rooms as niches² for storage purposes, the only places where anything can be put in this culture so deficient in furniture. Besides, the niches are the only places in the room not affected if rain penetrates the clay roof. In Nahrija a niche of this kind, covered by double glass doors, appeared to be a prototype of a wall cupboard. In Sargalu was seen a completely shaped niche wall with eight niches of various sizes, an Iranian architectural element that is met with as far east as Uzbekistan. The inside walls are plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The floors are of hard-packed clay, but not levelled. In a few houses, for example in the sheikh's house at Tepsawa, a concrete floor could be seen, a thin, inadequate layer of cement having been laid on top of the hard-packed earth. The rafters are the only valuable items in the building itself and are all that one takes if desirous of building a new house. They consist of heavy, barked trunks of the poplar tree, which are laid in

Fig. 10. Mud bricks laid out for drying on the hillside, Tepsawa.

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342 pairs, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about ½ metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in less well-to-do homes this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[1]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[2] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, Allen. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. At many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sargalu, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden nails[3]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 10. Wall of mud bricks. Tepsawa.

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Fig. 26. Loggia with columns made of slim, barked poplar trunks with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. Topzawa.

and the window frames sometimes come apart from the clay walls as the latter smoulder so much that large gaps appear. During dust storms doors and windows become more and more loose. 342

Two phenomena are typical of the Kurdish village houses of a certain size. The one is the central living room, sometimes placed on the first floor, the floor beneath being used as a stable. This central room, *hayvate*[11], looks like a huge niche in the body of the house for it lacks the fourth wall, thus becoming a cool, shady apartment during the hot part of the year[12]. The second phenomenon are the columns, often with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. The pillars are formed of slim, barked poplar trunks[13]. The three-walled room is possibly a Kurdish version of an Islamic architectural element, whereas the pillars can trace their ancestry back to Iranian-Achaemenidian architecture which is known as far east as Uzbekistan[14]. Cellars are unknown. The underground living room, *serdâb*[15], typical of Arab urban architecture, is not found in Kurdish buildings. [197]

The houses in the villages are built on hill slopes so that they often have two storeys to the front and only one at the back. As previously mentioned, they are usually built together and provide accommodation for several families. The way up to the flat roofs is nearly always by narrow ladders[16] made of thin poplar trunks with rungs of rounded sticks or pieces of a tree trunk. Inside stairs from the ground to the first floor are very rare in villages; where they do occur they are made of clay with

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a twig forming the anterior edge of each step. These steps are remarkably high and uneven[17]. Some of the houses in Sulaimani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of unfired clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. When the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The two-storeyed houses had a staircase which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a house made of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargalu, incidentally its most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of woman's life within the four different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential frame surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Taifur's property in the village of Topzawa will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Balkha. The two urban environments, the "educated" and "uneducated" were found within the walls of a single home, that of my interpreter's family at Sulaimani. The picture of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, inhabited by women representing both states.

Sheikh Taifur's house at Topzawa is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, wife, 40, three sons, 18, 13 and 6, two daughters, 17 and 8, a daughter, 12, of another wife now returned to her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 35, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 25 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a tenant of a room that had an entrance into the house was a poor widow with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 13—15 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Taifur's house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay close to a slightly sloping, unfenced piece of ground on the outskirts of the village, a little above it. A watercourse, which even in the hottest summer never ran dry, passed alongside the front wall of the property, and water from it was diverted through the wall into a cemented basin, about 2×1×0.75 metres, lying in a small garden, with an outflow under the wall.

The property was divided into three contiguous zones: the family house, the farm and the guest wing. The family house was orientated like an atrium house with cook and bake houses around a court. Four high, irregular steps led from the court to the dwelling house, which, on account of the

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taifûr's property. Topzawa.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[18]. A guest wing is typical of the finest houses in Kurdish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village to the squire. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Burton, Edmonds and Leach[19]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rakawa. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family house some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a loggia. The roof to this was supported by five columns of barked, but variegated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hacked wooden blocks inserted as

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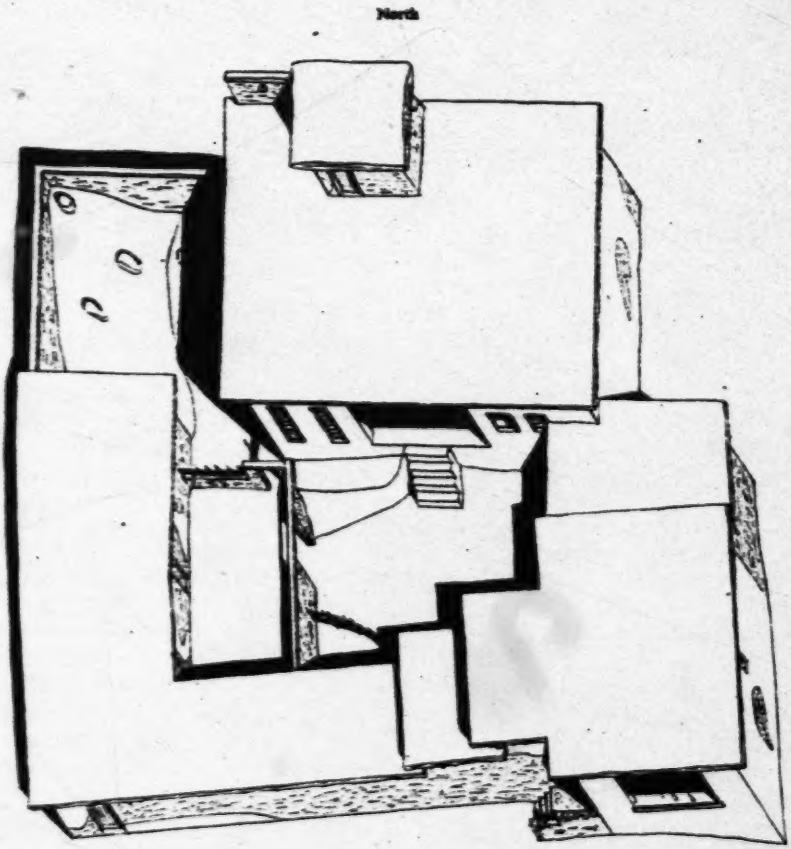

Fig. 22. Bird's-eye view of Sheikh Taffir's property. Topzawa.

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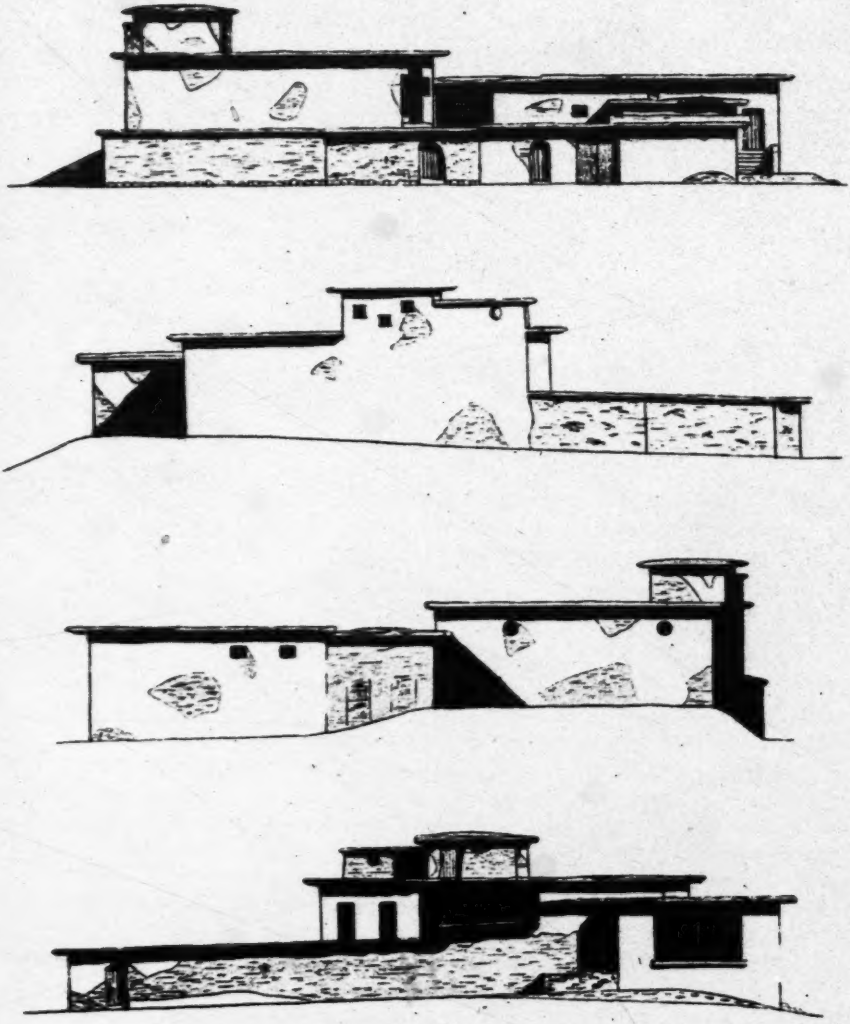

Fig. 23. Elevations of Sheikh Taifur's property, Topzawa. From above: west, north, east, and south side.

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342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, [364] built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, *adapxāne*, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin 312 lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the [364] basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their [415] families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to [252] pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for [412] rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. 343 Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless [412] store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading 342 up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the niche-like, three-walled *hewsh*. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two [515] steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

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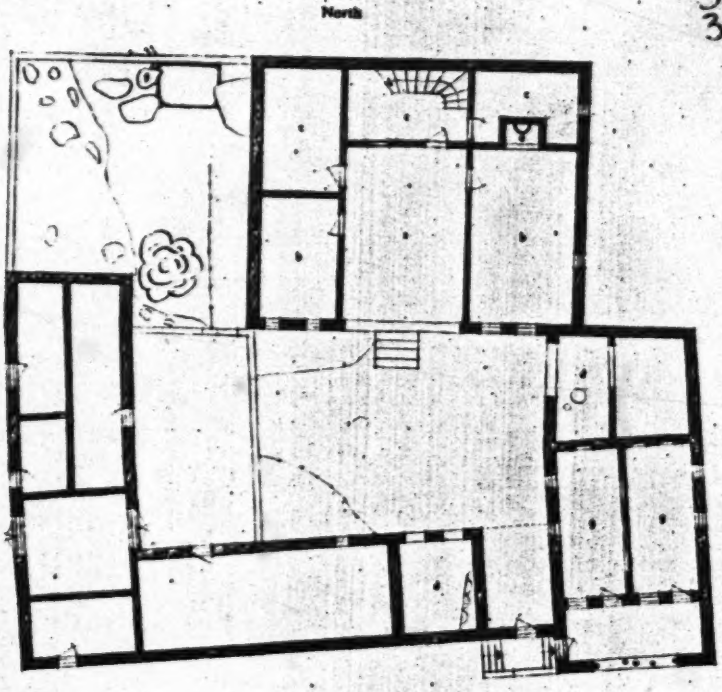

Fig. 24. Ground-plan of Sheikh Taffar's property. Topsawa. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *haywān*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store rooms; d: cooking and baking rooms; e: bath room, *hammām*; f: latrine; g: guest rooms in the guest wing.

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342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the *hammām*, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *ḥeyātu* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an [251] iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that rotated on a pivot stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accomodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which [252] was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [252] oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[20] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[21] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taifûr's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

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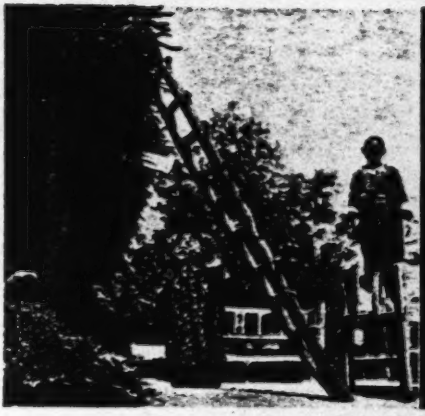

Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topzawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *libdd*[22], and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārš*, (E. 2257)[23] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *majma'a* or *sīnī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *hayw*ān in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood ceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bdw*ēẓēn, 0,323 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

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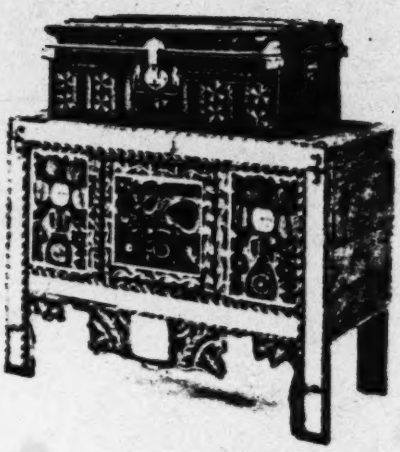

Fig. 27. Tin chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burâq*. Topzawa.

352 decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the
415 house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kᵉlila*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *sᵉnûg* (E. 2278). Made in the *sûq* of
[532] Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding animal with a woman's head, Burâq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry
[513] and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[24].

513 The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of
352 the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There,
342 for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilisation of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

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in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalised in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[25], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[26], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In this clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only based on the

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177 wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

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342 [592] A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the frame round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 5 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used [262] as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

[184] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each [462] taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on [476] the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is [352] quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and just as dignified on the floor as in the chair"[27]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron [252] sheet, *sāj* or *tāwa*, on which the bread sheets, *nān*, was baked were placed on the fire. The sunken jar-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some [312] distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour- from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house [364] was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that [513] neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 55 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

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341 342 361 369 [312] [364] off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though no connexion with the family section of the house[28]. Along the wall lining the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a sunken, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it; in addition a water container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small disrobing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaimani's good and well-cleaned municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *hayvān*—between, that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the newer part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was squeezed

[312] [351]

Fig. 30. Ground-plan of family house. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hayvān*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store room; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, *hammām*; f: latrine; g: guest room. (Cf. fig. 24).

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in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the home and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent mosque, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

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representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide— the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside it— the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

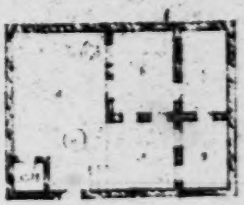

Fig. 31. (Cf. figg. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hewsh*; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e: (*hammām*) +; f: latrine; g: guest room.

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appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nân*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hawîr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ârd*, sifted through a round sieve, water, *âw*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xûe-dân*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gunek*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

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Fig. 34. Baking implements: table (E. 2261), rolling stick (E. 2263), baking pillow (E. 2264), and iron spoon (E. 2265). Small wooden spoon for eating (E. 2269) and wooden ladle for drinking (E. 2268).

252 oven, *tandûr*[33], or on an iron sheet, *tâwa*[34] or *sâj*. In both cases the woman, who squats on the floor, uses a low baking table, *pino*[35], cut out in one piece from a large block of wood producing a thick, rectangular sheet with rounded corners and a slightly convex surface, supported by four short legs or blocks narrowing towards the floor (E. 2661. sheet 0.365×0.250, height 0.07 m. – E. 2262. sheet 0.50×0.42, height 0.10 m.).

[476] When baking in the earth oven several women, as a rule three, work together[36]. The lumps of dough are rolled out with a rolling pin, a thin wooden stick about 70 cm. in length, *tirêq* (E. 2263)[37], decorated at both ends by 6–7 incised flutes all round. The two women use this implement to roll the dough into quite thin pancakes. During this process the sheet of dough is often lifted from the baking table by means of the stick, more flour being strewn on the surface before the dough is put back to be rolled out still thinner. The skill of the women was evinced in proportion to the thinness to which they could roll out the dough.

The dough is then lifted up, hanging over the stick, and placed on the "baking pillow", *mada* (?), which is shaped like a thick, rectangular pillow and made of cloth. On the one side is an opening

through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Bakkimmel bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.370 m., with a circular wooden shaft inside[24].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The oven is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.70 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[25]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *allûki*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *ebra*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and this work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are chopped flat on the baking table by hand, and then rolled in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and larger. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kunda the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[26]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[27], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal cautiously. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *bellel* or *bîd* (E. 2259), made of a whole lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was used in war in the mountains near Bellûn, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, *lît*, is never used raw[28]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flat-bottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *rahi* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into sour milk or curds. A clay vase, *dhu*, (E. 2260), height 0.345 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

Fig. 51. Cows as well as sheep are milked from behind. Turgovite.

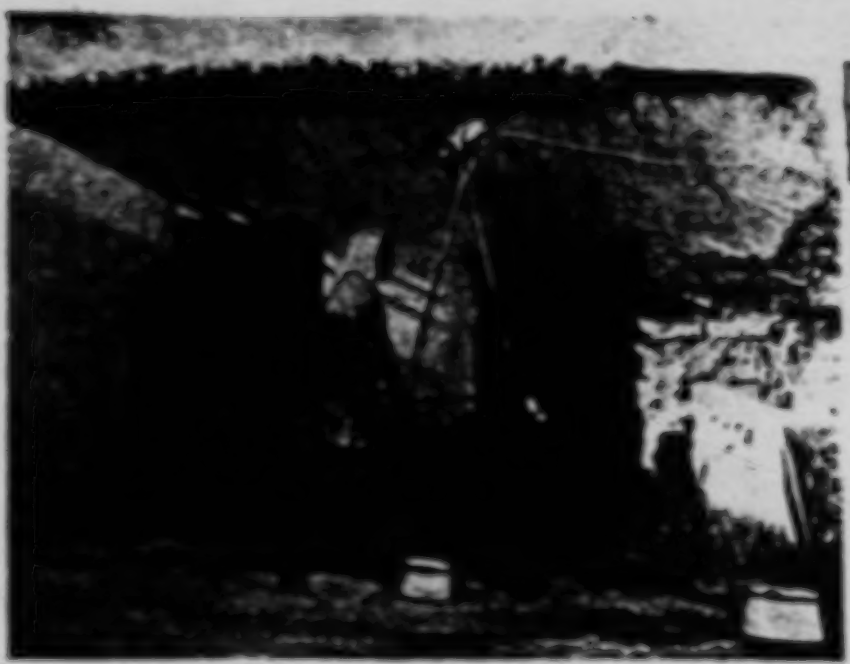
It was stated that the Beni ender attains its ultimate by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[1]. Milk could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[2].

Milk churned with water becomes matzoh[3], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. Milk is also the material from which butter, ḥem, is churned[4]. Every day at 3 a.m. in the villages, milk is poured into the churning sack, *mekh*, made of a whole goatskin turned in salt bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the milk down the neck opening of the skin, which is then knot over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[5] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

the wall of the storehouse or elsewhere in the main living and sleeping room, a woman sees to churning up into a tripod, rapid, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 30 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[29] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *rougan*[30].

Fig. 34. Women churning. The leather sack, made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Tegyare.



The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūġ*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani *chanya* of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[29]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kaw'lā*[30], (fl., 22b4), about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūġ* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper *cafetyan*, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (fl., 227b9[1], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Azali) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *chaykhāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[31], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *Mahāl*, (fl., 225b) about 1.30 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samāwar* of pewter or brass[32] standing on low legs and filled with water. A large pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the *samāwar*'s interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the *samāwar* and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the considerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the *samāwar* waited tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[33] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the *samāwar*, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[34]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[35]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

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[illegible] behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *dŏy*, sheets of bread folded into quarets to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[39], and, rarely, fried eggs, *kâlkı*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[39], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[40], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[41] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *dŏmâyê*[42] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdhjân* or eggplant[43] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[44] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also grown as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sekâwand and Bâlkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[45]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the sauce bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225–0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

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269 on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[66], but forks
262 and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mästäw* or the less-distinguished *dûg*. These are drunk from glasses if
[207] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water*. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
A15 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, *kund*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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302 *Fuel supply*. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[68]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [239] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[69]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat ember pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating*. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
304 atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool under a quilt ... formed the "kirsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[72] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret *(kursi)*, on le recouvre d'une couverture[73] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

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515 [388] 296 [24]

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths. [824]

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred. 296 [516]

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezi*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *suq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the dust-storm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating. 356 412

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either. 356 513.

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356 513 All bedclothes and mattresses are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, outermost being covered by a woollen rug, *kurut* or *jājim*, (E. 2253, 2.80 m. × 1.48 m. brown-stripe or a carpet of Indian cotton with stripes in bright colours (E. 2255, 2.08 m. × 1.15 m.). Some mattre may be covered with flowered cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons, or, after the midd meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, cove by a large piece of curtain-like gauze, which replaces quilts and such like at the height of summ

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516 *Working postures.* In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kurdistan, where the floor is place one sits and sleeps, the pattern of movements is quite different from that existing in West culture.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent to a right angle at the knee, is only met with wh working with the pit treadle-loom, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower le and when using the treadal sewing machine.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the ironing clothes taking place on a table in the same way as we use an ironing board.

462 516 Apart from this all work is performed by the woman in a squatting posture or in a tailor's positi with the lower legs strongly bent. The washing of clothes is performed squatting, whether at the wa basin or at a circular, flat-bottomed, metal vessel on the ground by the tap. The same position adopted when cleaning poultry and cutting meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whet in the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at t vertical loom, when setting up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at t basin or the tap. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of nose and mouth after me and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath the bathroom.

516 How natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of t sheikh family in Topzawa. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French stone houses at the Dok Dam Site. Here washing up took place in this posture with the china in a wickerwork basket and t washing-up tub on the floor, although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel si All meals in this home, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on t floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the meal of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's home at Sulaimani boasted of a wa basin, complete with tap, built into the wall knee-high from the ground, the women washed themselv in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the wash-basin instead of washing their hands, face a feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down the ground under their own weight. The overstretched tendinous ligaments in the hip joint[24] allow the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibil

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of the back which gives an extraordinary radius of action. In the squatting position the body is suspended from the knee joints; in this posture also women have a big radius of action, and the flexibility of the knee joint is retained to a ripe age. I once saw a 70 year old woman whose body, was as supple as that of a young girl. 516

Working positions on the floor with outstretched legs are only used exceptionally, when the feet are to be used to retain one end of a rope to be plaited or a tape for the waistband.

I saw the squatting working posture transferred to an ordinary chair when my interpreter sat on her haunches on the seat of the chair with her needle work resting on her drawn up knees.

The tailor posture is often used by men when resting in the large, clumsy sofas, the loose cotton covers of which furnish clear evidence of the many naked feet that have been placed on them. When sitting on the floor furniture is often used as a back rest instead of a wall.

The great suppleness of the hip joint or the loose ligaments are the reason why, when wearing European summer dresses, the Kurdish women in Sulaimani sitting on chairs in Western fashion often forget command of their legs, which fall out to the side in a straddle.

Pains in the back occur and attempts are made to get rid of it by massage, or, in bad cases, by treading on each other. The woman suffering from the complaint lies doubled-up on the floor and another steps onto her back. This complaint may be due to long hours of work, for example baking, in a tailor's posture. [1957]

It thus looks as though the back is strained on certain occasions by having to be kept upright in the tailor posture. On the other hand no case of stiff knees was seen as a result of a constant standing working position; nor did women suffer from thick legs, swollen or "difficult" feet.

The Kurds possess great plasticity of body. Resting positions are adopted in a completely relaxed manner and are of great static beauty. [147]

Fig. 37. Working position.

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HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

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The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the coalhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dry sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

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Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

462 Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung
512 is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house.
[312] The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the
[410] home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring
[496] basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in
association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the
[356] house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled
up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and
[476] chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of
food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are
performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treat-
ment of the roofs were also collective.

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Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sûq* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[75] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sûq* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

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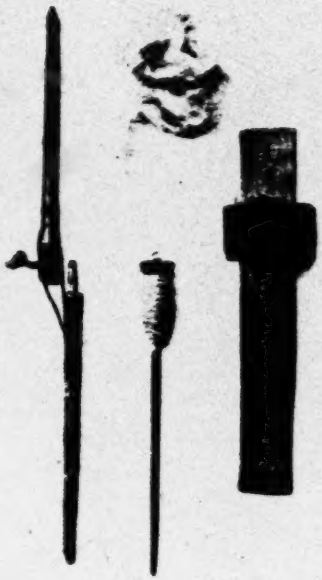

Fig. 40. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in dressmaking (Cf. p. 82). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

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Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawella the women even span during their long walk to and from the orchads.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *idfi*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindlewhorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstreched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

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Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

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production of knotted carpets with dyed yarn I had no opportunity of observing as they are not made in the area I visited.

Weaving was done on two different types of loom, *tĥwan*, the one vertical, the other horizontal. The verticle type is a Penelope loom and, as Poul Andersen[76] stresses, is not so much a cohesive implement as an "arrangement" carrying a vertically-hung warp. The device is placed in front of a wall in the work room, which in the two cases I had an opportunity to study this type of loom, was the windowless storeroom of the house, the light being obtained from the door. The room also contained clay corn silos, sacks with wool, a sitting hen and so forth. The loom consists of two man-high, barked, irregular tree trunks, *kalaka*, ending at the top in a fork. They are placed at a distance from each other of about 1.50 m. At the top they lean against the ceiling, and at the bottom each is planted in a built-up clay cone. These two side poles carry a transverse bar, *sär-där*, over which the warp, *po*[77], is hung, and below, inserted into two holes just above the clay cones, another transverse bar, *žêr-där*, to which the lowest part of the warp is attached by a rope wound round the pole. The vertical interval between the transverse bars is about 2.80 m. The warping board for the arrangement of the warp before it is hung up on the loom, consists only of two wooden sticks, about 2.80 m. distant from each other, stuck into the ground in the courtyard[78] outside the room. On them the weaving yarn is wound. Here two women work together. The warp is then lifted off the sticks, and tied to the loom. In order to be able to distribute the threads of the warp regularly on the upper bar, the weaver ascends a scaffold between the loom and the wall. This consists of two forks about 1 m. high planted in clay cones. They carry a transverse stick roughly 1.40 m. long on which the woman can move backwards and forwards. The shaft, about 1.60 m. long, is suspended in front of the warp by strings fastened to the forks of the two side poles. When every other warp thread has been attached to the shaft by means of the heddles, the former is pulled forward to form the shed, and 2-3 cloth slippers are stuck in at each end between the side poles and the shaft to ensure that the shed is firm. The shed-stick, *paž-gurd*, is a thin bamboo stick about 1.50 m. long inserted into the warp above the shaft. During weaving the shed stick is moved whilst the shaft is secured. Only when the weaving, which begins from the bottom, necessitates it, is the shaft loosened by removing the slippers, the suspending strings shortened, and the shaft tightened again. The passage of the ball of wool that introduces the weft is prepared by a long iron needle passed horizontally in between the threads. A shuttle is not

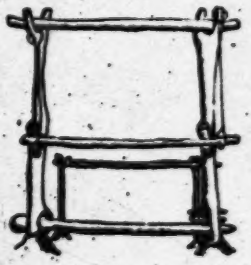

Fig. 41. Construction of the vertical loom. Two man-high trunks planted in clay cones and carrying two horizontal bars for the warp. In front hangs the shaft. Behind: a scaffold upon which the woman ascends to hang up the warp.

286 used with this type of weaving. The weft is beaten in with a hand-shaped iron comb fitted with a cylindrical wooden handle mounted at right angles, *kâlkit*[79].

[171] This vertical loom, known also from Armenia[80], is used for the making of the plain-woollen rugs that are used to cover the heaped bedclothes during the day. One such rug (E. 2253), measures 1.48 m. × 2.80 m., has a warp of sheep's wool, *xâri* (?), and a weft of goat's wool, *firê*. This type of loom I only saw worked by women. So far as I could ascertain there is only one female weaver in each village. At Topzawa the loom was owned by a widow, who apparently possessed no family and [589] kept herself and her daughter by working the loom with the wool spun by the women of the village. The loom in the twin village of Rakawa was worked by an elderly woman whose son, with whom she lived, was the village *mexsîr*.

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[171] The horizontal loom is a pit-treadle loom[81]. According to Ling Roth[82] it is the normal Hindu loom. Leach provides an excellently-drawn and thorough description of a loom of this kind in the Rowanduz district[83], though on a few points it differs from the example brought back from Tawella (E. 2249a–v). The loom type is a hand-treadle loom with finite warp. On being set up the floor forms a horizontal plane through the loom's mechanism, as certain parts of the loom, such as the warp-beam, the raddle-beam, a stand that swings back the sley-reed, and the cloth-beam rest on the ground, whilst a pit under the loom houses the treadles and the weaver's legs which are thus below the surface of the floor. At the same time the heddle, counterheddle and sley reed hang from the ceiling over the loom. The cord that keeps the warp taut passes from the warp-beam, fastened to the floor, up to a hook in the ceiling. From there the cord runs down by the side, or rear, of the weaver where it is fastened so close to him that it easily can be loosened, thus prolonging the warp, as the work proceeds[84].

The individual parts of the loom are as follows: Nearest to the weaver is the square-sectioned cloth- or breast-beam, which, in an oblong groove, takes the approx. 0.43 m. long rod, hidden by the wound-up material, to which the warp is fastened. The cloth- or breast-beam, 0.735 m. in length, attached to a pair of small uprights, can be locked at each revolution. The suspended sley-reed can be swung towards the weaver. The sley[85] is a rectangular frame 0.89 m. × 0.29 m. that can be dismantled so that combs or reeds, *šâna*, of various degrees of fineness can be changed. The sley-reed is inserted between two split bamboo sticks, 0.595 m. long, connected with two forked uprights on an 0.83 m. long transverse stick, fastened to the ground, which serves to swing back the sley-reed when this is released by the weaver. The sley-reed is suspended from a rope 2.80 m. long that passes through a hook in the ceiling. The other end of the rope carries two pear-shaped pulley-blocks which again carry by a short rope the heddle and counter heddle, each consisting of two transverse sticks with threads between. In the middle of the heddles there is an eye through which passes the thread of the warp, which is led through a reed in the sley-reed, so that every other warp thread passes through an eye on the one shaft and every other one through an eye on the other. From the lowest transverse stick on the shafts hang two transverse wooden sticks round which leather straps are stretched which in turn carry the treadles, a pair of wooden blocks about 0.25 m. long connected by a transverse stick. By alternately depressing these treadles the warp is divided so that every other warp thread is raised

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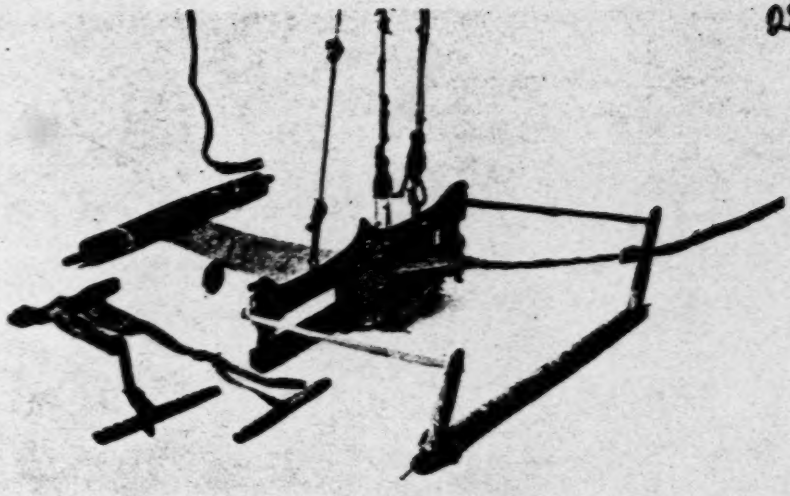

Fig. 42. Transportable parts of the horizontal pit-treadle loom (E. 2249a-v). Left: the breast-beam. Beside the warp lays the shuttle. Centre: the sley-reed, the heddle and counter heddle. Right: the stand that swings the sley-reed. The treadles with leather straps are spread out in front.

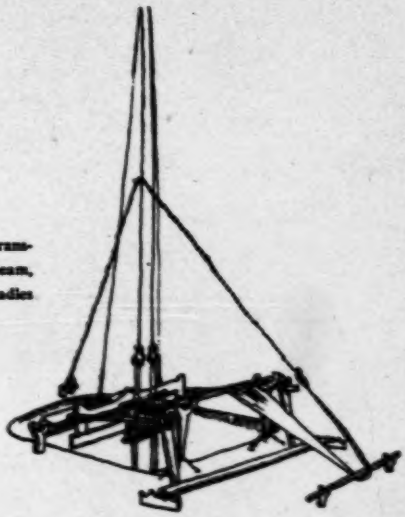

Fig. 43. Construction of the horizontal pit-treadle loom. The transportable parts (cf. fig. 42) have been supplemented by raddle-beam, warp-beam and two small uprights for the breast-beam. The treadles hang down into the pit.

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286 and every other lowered, an opening being thus formed for the introduction of the woof. Behind the suspended shafts the warp continues over the raddle-beam, a round stick about 0.75 m. placed horizontally upon two forks anchored in two clay cones, then passes under the warp beam resting on the ground, whereafter it continues in a rope some 7 m. in length which, as mentioned above, passes over a fixture in the ceiling and descends by the side of the operator where the rope is fastened to a hook and can be loosened at will thus releasing more warp as this gradually becomes necessary.

The woof is introduced with the help of a boat-shaped shuttle of wood, *makō*, (E. 2248), 0.165 m. long, containing an iron spool, *lūla*, round which the yarn is wound[86]. The material woven on this vertical pit treadle loom can be 0.30 m. wide and be used, for example, for sacks, *kerāre*, (E. 2251), or it can be woven only 0.16 m. wide, quite thin, and be used for men's clothing. In the latter case the yarn is stretched beforehand in an open space in the village (Sargalu) on 17 forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Men and women work together at this, and weaving could

Fig. 44. Before weaving, the yarn is stretched out in an open place on forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Sargalu.

Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Baltha.

be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type are sold in the *sūq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[37]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

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Fig. 47. Left: bottle shaped jar with handle (E. 2259). Topzawa.
Right: milk container made of a whole tanned kid skin (E. 2258). Balkha.

323 When the jars that I had an opportunity to watch being modelled were formed, they were dried in the sun where they assumed a greyish tint; thereafter about ten at a time arranged in a pile, a larger jar being placed on its side in the middle. The others, placed in a circle, lean up against this. This pile, resting on the ground out of doors some distance from the house, is then covered by a mound formed of flat briquettes made of cattle dung kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the house. Firing lasts three hours, after which the jars are placed on one of the flat roofs of the house to cool. The colour of the finished jars is reddish-brown with black traces of the firing (cf. E. 2259, bottle-shaped, 1.385 m. high).

Under the production of clay vessels must also be reckoned the making of the rectangular type of large grain silos or decorated with rims. These are of dried clay, neither fired nor glazed, to be found in the store rooms in villages.

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CHAPTER III

APPEARANCE

Woman's dress. The appearance of Kurdish women is created by her dress, her jewellery and beauty culture. For the prosperous the dress materials are: silk, artificial silk, brocade, satin and velvet. Light colours for the young, dark for their elders. The predominant colours are: crimson, purple, turquoise, rose and green. Woman's dress, *jilik*, consists of elements essentially Kurdish in form and composition, elements connected with Islam, and elements introduced from Western culture.

Kurdish elements. Trousers, *dwâl-k'rdz*, (E. 2333, E. 2339) are about 1 m. long and about 2.30 m. wide at the top. Here they are gathered with a casing and rest on the hips. At the extremities each trouser leg is 1.15 m. wide and gathered around the ankles[1] with a draw string. From the point of view of cut they are legging trousers[2] with an inserted square gusset 0.25 m. × 0.25 m. The upper part of the trousers is of white cotton material, the lower part of coloured cloth of, say, cotton, taffeta or brocade[3].

Shift or petticoat, *šêr-k'rdz*, (E. 2334) is about 0.90 m. long with large arm openings and large, round neckline, identical front and back. The width above is 1.20 m., below 1.70 m. so that it does not tighten when the woman sits tailor fashion. It comes down over the knees hiding the upper-most white section of the trousers. The material is shiny, coloured artificial silk.

The gown or kirtle, *k'rdz*[4], (E. 2335, 2340, 2350), is 1.28 m. to 1.36 m. long and drags along the ground. In cut it is a poncho gown[5] with inserted side gores, small circular neck line with short vent[6]. The sleeves are 0.40 m. wide, attached to the body at right angles and ending in funnel-shaped cuffs, the length of which, is 0.85 m. to 1.10 m. These cuffs are pulled out through the sleeves of garments worn on top in cold weather (coat or caftan, or both) and wound around the under arm. In warm weather, when there are no outer garments, the cuffs are tied in a knot at the points and thrown over the back, leaving the sleeves open and half-length[7]. During prayer the tied cuffs are undone so that they hang out over the hands, the tips reaching the ground. The material of the kirtle can be dark, flowered cotton or patterned chiffon. During work the kirtle may be shortened by being pushed down half-way under the casing of the trousers.

The waistcoat, *sawmâ*, (E. 2336, E. 2341) 0.36 m. to 0.40 m. long and 0.40 m. broad consists of two bodice fronts and one back, joined by slanting shoulder seams and straight side seams, or cut out of one piece of material bent in from each side so that it only has the slanting shoulder seams. It has big, enlarged armholes. The material is cotton or brocade in strong colours, lined with white cotton.

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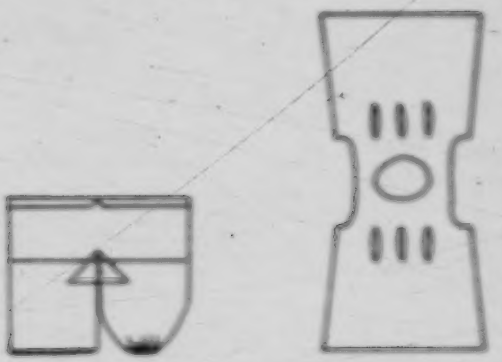

Fig. 48. Diagram. Cut of woman's trousers (E. 2333). Scale 1:30.
Fig. 49. Diagram. Cut of woman's shift (E. 2334) Sewn and back to one piece. Scale 1:30.

Fig. 50. Woman's trousers (E. 2333) of pure cotton and robe woven, shift (E. 2334) of pure cotton.

391 In a few versions the bodice front is of finer material than the back, which is intended to be covered by other articles of clothing, cf. 2341.

The jacket, *salut*, is a little longer than the waistcoat and has long, rather narrow sleeves. Its cut is a shortened poncho-*sallan*[1] with sleeves cut in prolongation of the body with added sleeve length; no shoulder seams, straight side seams. The material coloured brocade lined with white cotton, slightly padded between lining and outer cloth.

The *sallan*, *kaval*[2], cf. 2342, 2, 2353) is 1.30 m. to 1.40 m. long and a span of 1.30 m. to 1.40 m. Its cut is a poncho-*sallan*[1] with inserted side gores. Narrow sleeves cut in prolongation of the body with added sleeve length. Along the vertical opening on the front of this waistcoat-like piece of clothing two gores are added which overlap each other when the garment is put on; it then has a "false vertical opening"[3]. The lowest part of the opening side seams are open, and at top height there is a rose that leads into a pocket and also serves to take the lower corners of the bodice front when the *sallan* is pinned up in order not to drag. The material is brocade interwoven with metal, lined with white cotton cloth. Between the cloth and the lining there is quilted padding[4].

The cap, *k'ilin*, cf. 2344) is a black felt skull-cap with slightly sloping sides, containing black stitching and black fringes along the edge. Its height is is about 0.30 m., diameter about 0.30 m. At the top of the crown a silver wire is sewn from which no long the neck veil. At the side is sewn the one end of a chain round the chin, about 0.30 m. long, consisting either of glass beads or of coins placed quite close to each other. The chain ends in a big metal hook that is set firmly into the cap. The cap may

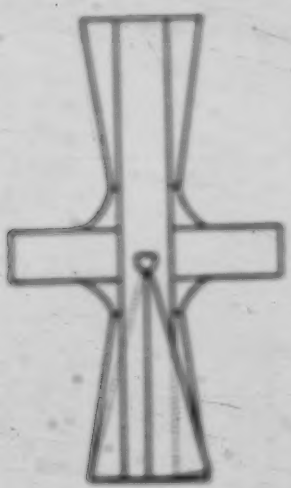

Fig. 74. Diagram. Cap of the *sallan* (D. 2342). Scale 1:10.

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Fig. 10. Caftan (E. 5/62) of wool broadcloth, woollen and quilted, lined with white cotton.

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The cap may

have a small amulet pocket sewn on to it, and genuine or imitation jewels. In a provincial town like, say, Halabja, the cap (E. 2352) was not concealed by any form of wound turban and could be seen all over with large Persian silver coins overlapping each other like tiles (E. 2298). At most other places, however, the turban and brow cloth belonged to the headdress.

The neck veil, *damali*, possibly also *fātawa*[54], (E. 2345) is triangular. It is attached by a loop in the middle of the long side to a coin on the top of the cap, and covers the neck. The point of the neck veil hangs down the back, while the two long narrowing ends are crossed in front, led over the shoulders, and tied together at the neck. The material is coarse, coloured cotton tulle[55].

The shoulder cloth (E. 2343) is rectangular, 0.86 m. x 0.86 m. There are 27 tassels in a row on each side of the two opposite sides. The cloth is placed over the shoulders so that the tasselled sides hang vertically down the back[56], the two upper corners being pinned together under the chin[57]. The material is mill-made brocade.

The turban cloth[58], *akrāba*, (E. 2346), is 1.50 m. long, sewn of two layers of narrow blue strips of brocade. In the centre it is 0.13 m. wide and tapers away to both ends, the one side being straight, the other forming a concave arc. Along the straight side 22 tassels are distributed. The turban cloth ends as a double plait at both ends, being finished off with tassels. Its full length is thus 2.20 m. The turban cloth is folded double along its length with the tassels outside, and is wound like a broad band twice around the cap. The centre of the cloth is placed on the neck. It crosses over the brow and is

Fig. 56. Neck veil (E. 2345) of light blue cotton tulle interwoven with silver threads. Fastened to the cap by a loop, hanging down the back, while the two narrowing ends are crossed over the breast and tied behind the neck.

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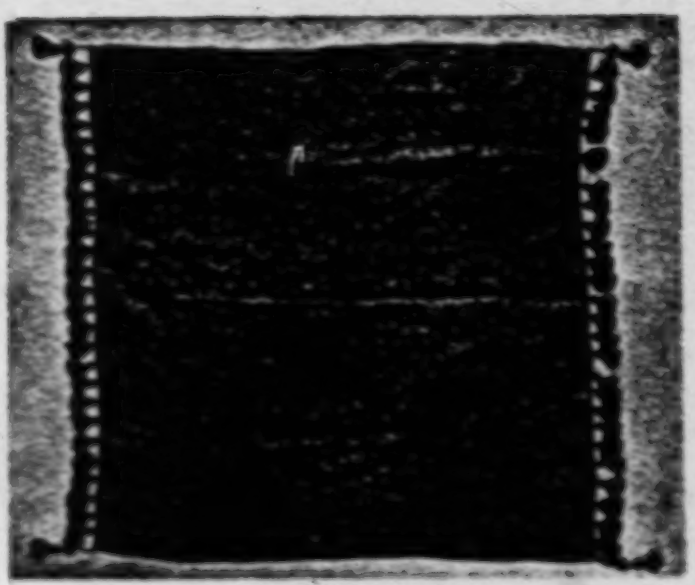

Fig. 37. Shoulder cloth (E. 2343) of kurmale. The tassels of the two upper corners are tied together and the cloth hangs around the shoulders covering the back.

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bound together at the neck so that the plaits with the tassels hang down the back outside the neck veil. The material is kurmale. The turban cloth has edges around the head in circles[29], and outside is bound[30] the forehead cloth (E. 2347), 0.83 m. × 0.80 m., made of thin silk, black with brown and white patterns, a quite different colour scheme from that distinguishing the other elements of the dress, where [illegible], crimson and turquoise predominate. It is folded diagonally and tied shortwise over the brow[31] in the opposite direction to the turban cloth, is knotted at the neck, the ends being concealed under the[32] veiled cloth. Outside the turban, pinned askant, are chains of jewellery knot turquoise and Persian coins.

The [illegible] cloth or head veil, *shyeli*, (E. 2337, E. 2340) is 1.60 m. to 2.00 m. long and 0.72 m. to 0.84 m. wide, of thin gauze, white or coloured, seamless and hanging loose. A married woman places it over the turban, whilst an unmarried girl wears it direct on the hair where it sometimes has only headgear[33]. Scarves or kefis can be worn, but are not essential. The value of a married woman's dress of this kind, apart from jewellery, is about 30 Drs. – £10.

There [illegible] either be no footwear, if the woman prefers to go bare-footed as is often the case at home, or [illegible] slippers with a heel and a strap over the instep, *qalyeh*, (E. 2338) 0.23 m. long, or perhaps

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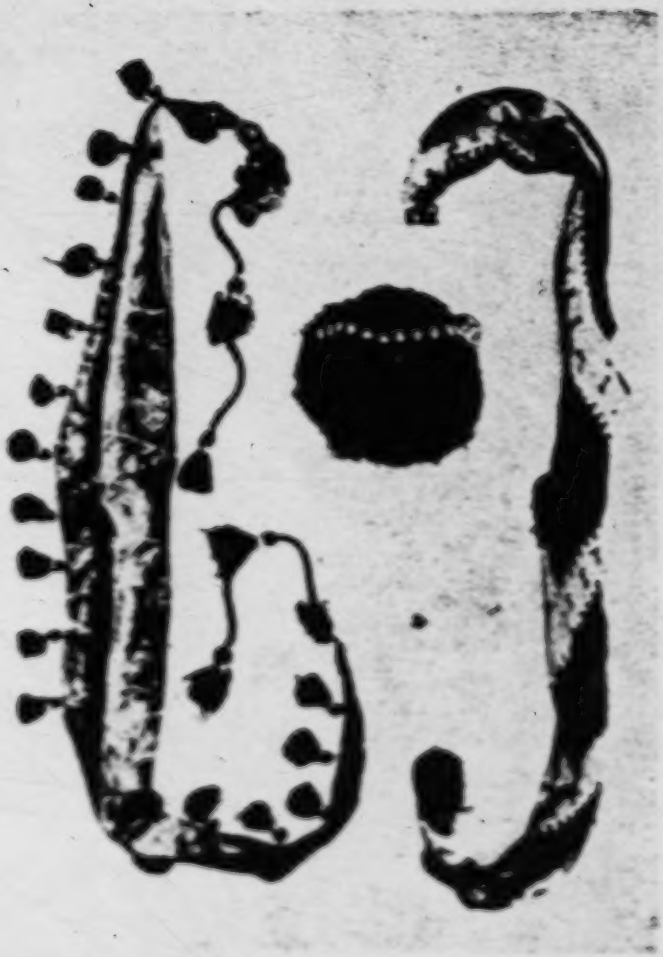

Fig. 58. The elements of the quartered woman's turban arrangement: cap (E. 2340) of black felt with chain (E. 2388) of blue glass beads, turban cloth (E. 2342) of brocade with tassels, and forehead cloth (E. 2347) of black, white, and brown patterned raw silk.

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embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, *qundirā* or *pāpuš*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left foot are identical. European footwear of "Bata"s make, from high-heeled black patent leather to summer shoes, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture. 291 [177]

Elements connected with Islam. External garment and veil. In Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, *abā-o-pīčā*, which completely concealed both the face and body. 292

The face veil, *pīčā*, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.46 m. × 0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

The cloak, *abā*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion 291

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Fig. 59. Woman wearing the black veil and the black cloak, *abā*, dressed for leaving the house. Sulaimani.

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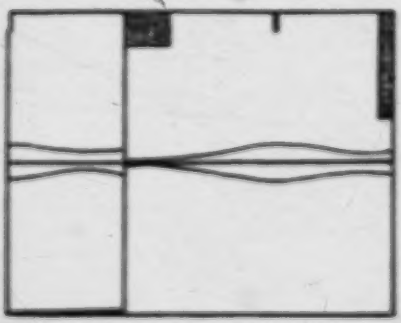
Fig. 60. Diagram showing the cut of the *abā* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the tuck. Scale 1:30.



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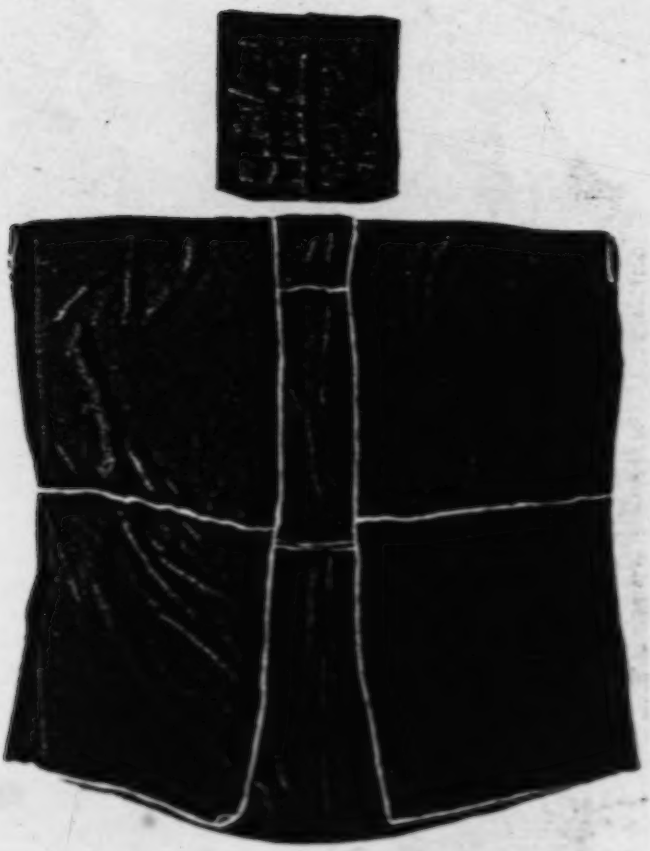

Fig. 66. Veil (E. 2332) and *ahd* (E. 2331). The cut and the construction of the *ahd* are indicated by means of white lines.

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the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Loose from Western culture. Long nightgown with padded sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dressy or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long sleeves, embroidered with spangles: Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [?]

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 565 291 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's house in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 291 [513] [296] [171]

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Fig. 62. Village aristocracy. Married woman's dress, front and back. Topzawa.

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[565]

The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black face veil and the black *abā*, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Sulaimani or places further distant like Kirkuk and Mosul.

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[565]

The ordinary peasant environment. Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried women and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja no turban, but the whole skull cap covered with silver coins (E. 2353) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant woman did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of flowered cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Topzawa and Rakawa are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Serkan is vermilion, and in Mirza Rustam black, grey oil, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheet[1]. During work at Topzawa the lower

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

peculiar to that village, is always used by the peasant women on their way to the fruit plantations at Tawella. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this bundle on the back, an attitude similar to that found in Europe in the days of the bustle. During work in the fields I saw a kind of apron in use. This consisted of a large piece of canvas wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Derbun whilst threading tobacco leaves on a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—so far as I was given to understand—by new arrivals in Topzawa, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an extra long kirtle lifted up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver bosses[22]. No turban was worn with this dress, but a hood with two long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Hauraman[23]. As with the village aristocracy the plain peasant women dons the black veil and *abā* when visiting towns.

The elaborated urban environment evinces a highly heterogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[24]. If I review the various dress types in which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the home, were, as for other urban women unlike the women in the two village environments, the black face veil and *abā*. Under this her dress could be a costume composed of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the aristocratic village milieu, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, whilst at the same time retaining as usual the trouser casing round her hips—an arrangement she transferred to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her teacher colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer kirtles of coarsely-woven tulle so transparent that they disclosed the fashioned European petticoats which in this female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (E. 2293) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black *abā* my interpreter might have a long rose nightgown with or without its appurtenant jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is not in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adopted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In this educated urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of girdle. This adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that day

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 77,133). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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[832]

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The uneducated urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women, in the uneducated urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

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Fig. 64. Ordinary peasant environment. Haleiji.
Fig. 65. Uneducated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The "Kurdish elements" of women's dress viewed in a larger context.

Area	Literature	Examples in the National Museum of Denmark	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Egypt	Lane 1944, 42ff., 48ff.		+		+		+	+	+	+	
Arabia	Musil 1928, 122, 125				+		+		+		
	Dickson 1951, 154ff.	F. 543, 45–47 (Qatar)	+	+	+			+	+	+	
Syria and Palestine	Jouin 1934, 481ff., 501		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	Dalman 1937, figs. 42, 88, 89				+				+	+	
		F. 466a–h (Hama)	+	+	+		+		+		
		F. 453 (Hama)			+						
Iraqi Kurdistan	Cf. Edmonds 1937, 87ff.	E. 2333–37, E. 2339–48	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Armenia	Bishop 1891, II, 242, 351		+	+			+	+			+
		M. 489a–d	+				+	+			+
Turkey	Pentzer 1936, 168ff.		+	+		+	+	+	+		
Turkish Kurds		M. 413a–d	+			+	+	+			
		M. 538a–c	+				+	+			
		M. 563a–f	+	+		+	+	+			+
Iran	Chardin 1711, IV. fig. facing p. 158, no. XXIII		+		+			+			
		E. 1434	+		+			+		+	
	Fowler 1841, I, 136. II, Title picture		+		+					+	
Iranian Kurds	Aristova 1958, fig. 1, 3, pag. 226, 235		+		+				+	+	
Bakhtiaris	Bishop 1891, II, 117		+		+						
Luri	Faillberg 1952, 120ff., figs. 111, 112, 114	F. 246–51	+		+				+	+	

As appears from the table, where an attempt has been made to compare the main elements of Kurdish female costume with that of a similar nature in surrounding areas, the visible treasures of genuine Kurdish dress correspond to those worn in all adjacent territories. The same applies to the birds, with the exception of Turkey and Armenia. The long pointed sleeves characteristic of the Kurdish birds is paralleled by the costume worn by Arab bedouins and, particularly, in the Syrian-Palestinian dress, from which these sleeves can be presumed to have been derived. The waistcoat of Kurdish women is probably a loan from Turkish costume. The caftan is an accessory to female costume in all regions. The Kurdish tribes in Turkish and Armenian areas are influenced by the birds-less dress of

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Turkish women and the Arequipian costume with aprons, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most closely paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1474). According to Bishop (1891, I, 214) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1800. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "ballet" skirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2235).

The Luri in Iran, visited and described by Fellberg, have the same type of trousers-kind-of-skirt costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Fellberg 1952, 119, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Peasant women		Mixed urban		Urbanized urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and caftan	x	x	x	x	(x)	(x)	x	x
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and brow cloth		x		x		(x)		x
III	Head cloth	x	x	x	x	(x)	(x)	x	x
IV	Sash or belt	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	x	(x)	(x)
V	Footwear	(x)	x			x	x	(x)	(x)
VI	Face veil *abd*	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	x	x	x
VII	Cotton material			x	x			x	x
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	x	x		(x)	x	x		
IX	Dress changes					x	x		
X	European garments					x	x		

x: The element appears consistently everywhere.
(x): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, it is constant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married women in all environments. Not existing in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married women and constitutes the main headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women who come from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European, female.

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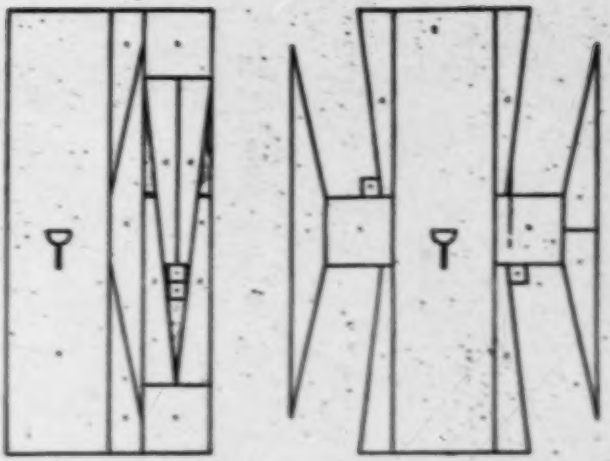

Fig. 46. Demonstration of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's kirtle. Scale 1:30.

a: the body; b: the two sleeves; c: the two funnel-shaped cuffs (one of them sewn together from two pieces); d: the four side gores; e: the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (CT, fig. 31).

[804]
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[804]

The production of feminine garments. The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[37] from abroad for sale in the shops of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2353a–c). The pedaled garments like jackets and caftans are made by bazar tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[38]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, gaz, (E. 2372). This is a round stick, 0.535 m. long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together by a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-kirtle and kirtle are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and utilize most expensively the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measurements, well-known to the bazar tailors. When cutting-out the kirtle the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (1 yard). Fullbright[39] writes of the Lurs measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes at one time used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the foot.

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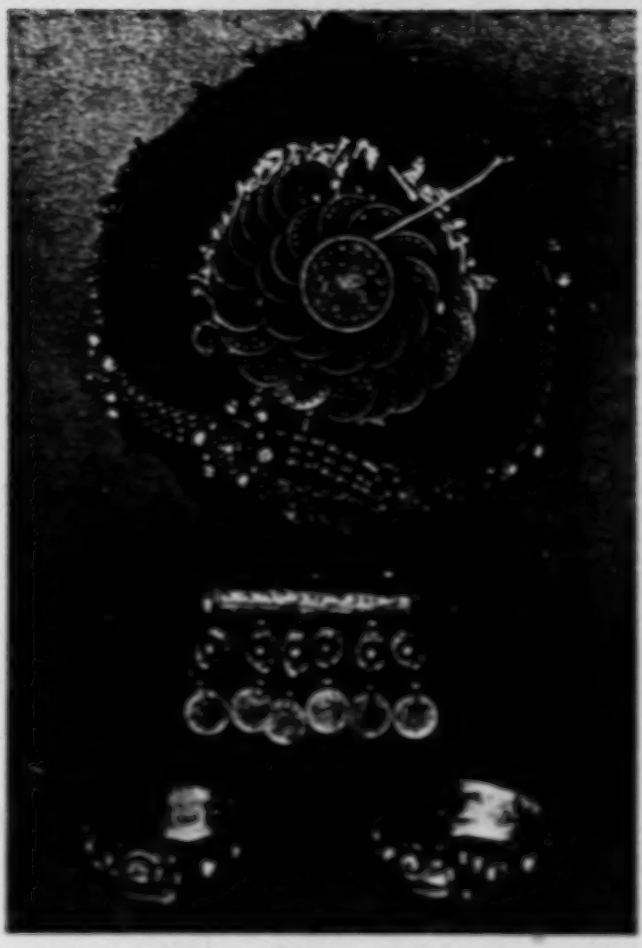

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Fig. 47. Jewellery for women: cap with Persian silver coins sewn on (E. 2298, Halabja. Cylindrical wooden box (E. 2302) and bangles (E. 2296-97), Sulaimani.

[P. 83]

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301 Jewellery. Jewellery in various forms belongs to woman's clothing. It is an element in the presentation of a dress, affects its whole character, and, as it were, completes the picture. It is necessary to go back to the Renaissance and Baroque periods to find in Western culture times when jewellery was so closely linked to woman's appearance and so integral a part of the dress as it is in the Kurdish woman's costume of to-day.

291 301 Certain parts of the dress are simply jewellery, for example the cap chin chain, *Sin-tâna* or *Lewadi*, composed of coins or glass beads (E. 2288), which holds it in place on the head, and the coin at the top of the fez to which the neck-shoulder veil is attached. A chain of small ornaments may be worn on the dress along the edge of the jacket (E. 2293), 0.90 m. long. There existed circular temple ornaments, *gul*, (E. 2294, 2295). Some necklets were composed of stones and silver objects whose form and material were supposed to possess protective qualities and to avert the evil eye. Certain amulet boxes were used as ornaments, for example a cylindrical silver amulet box, *Ilka*, (E. 2292) with attached coin[291]. Last but not least the jewellery represents ready money, clusters of coins being worn on an cover for the fez (E. 2298) or assembled in the form of chains of coins with inlaid gems, attached to the turban. Jewellery is a part of the bride price, is the woman's private property, and thus an investment publically exhibited in witness of the woman's economic status. She carries it on herself, the safest depository.

[583] 301 Other kinds of jewellery include earrings, bangles, necklaces, nose ornaments and belts. Bangles, *Adzm*, (E. 2296–97)[291] can be of silver and also of turquoise-coloured glass. Necklaces consisting of various semi-precious stones with pendant amulet packets called *Jdwadwa* (E. 2299) or *mthedala* (E. 2291), glass necklaces of 20 fragment beads of dried cloves, *mVuli*, (E. 2289), also with small amulet packets, are worn. Woman's belts can be composed of gold coins side by side or a military belt on which are mounted one very large, eight small, and twenty very small silver buckles (E. 2300)[291]. This type of belt was, as mentioned (p. 77), worn at Topzawa by new arrivals with a specially long, pleated-up kirtle and a hood. These women were across the hood a triple silver chain mounted with turquoise, *pâtvak*, (E. 2290).

Fig. 68. Nose ornaments for women (E. 2303).
Worn in a hole in the left nostril. Sulaimanî. Scale 1:1.

Nose ornaments in the form of a small gold pin with movable attachment, *Shwedan*, (E. 2303) are worn in the left nostril. Children also wear jewellery. This may be blue buttons or blue glass beads (E. 2287) to ward[1] Superstition and Witchcraft, p. 174), but also of more precious metals. Rose ornaments of gold, plaited and stuck into the hair on the front of the head, in the form of a little ornament with three heart-shaped, movable pendants, known as *gul* (E. 2302), the same type being called by the Arabic *kâsh*[291]. Bangles of silver with one or more chains that link them with one or more finger rings, an Indian form of ornament. Finally the child might have subsequently across its chest an ornament and amulet chain, *Lâlâk*, (E. 2301) called after one of the objects, a small reproduction of a beggar's bowl[291].

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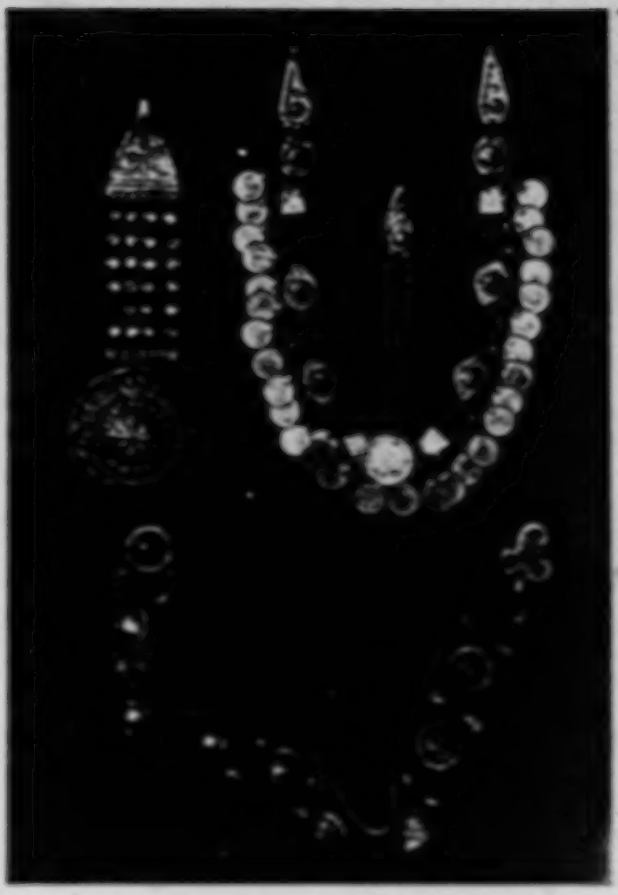


Fig. 48. Amalbay for "Pamirs" entrance to Tagaymu; night after hard climb (E. 2200), but with heavy sweat from (E. 2300). Bright is the sky in Indonesia.

[p. 85]

309 *Beauty culture.* Women's hair is cut short at the side of the head in line with the mouth. Older women in the two village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu wear their back hair long, plaited in an unequal[37] number of plaits. The cutting off of the side hair has led, in the case of the younger women of the village aristocracy and all women in the educated urban milieu to cutting it all round the head so that the result resembles the European-American bobbed hair of the '20ies. Kurdish women's [140] hair is curly and looks as if it were permanent-waved, but I never saw any woman go to the hairdresser. The women cut each other's hair and that of their girls. Women's hair is black, but ash-blonde or [386] blonde is not unusual in the case of small girls. Women often dye their hair red with *xanna*[38]. The result is a somewhat carroty tint. This is done in the case of young people and children for esthetic reasons. On the other hand the grey hair of age is concealed by the aid of a double dye. The hair is 302 first dyed red with *xanna* produced from the dried, pulverized leaves of *Lawsonia alba (inermis)*[39], 386 which is bought in the *sûq* in linen bags ready for use (E. 2356). It is then dyed green with indigo *(Indigo fera anil)*. After 24 hours, during which time the head is swathed in a cloth, the hair assumes the desired ink-black, rather heavy, colour[40].

Henna is also used to stain the soles of the feet, the sides of the feet, the toes, and the palm of the hand and finger tips[41]. This staining I only saw resorted to in the two village environments. Within the village aristocracy this form of beauty culture is gradually becoming engaged in a struggle with [141] European-American nail varnish which, like the henna, can be purchased in the *sûq* and has also found its way to the villages. Nail varnish of whatever tint serves to emphasize the whiteness of the skin. The henna dye hides it. Use of them both results in a most unfortunate meeting between East and West, particularly when the henna dye gradually fades without at any time appearing unsightly, whilst the nail varnish peels off, as varnish remover is not apparently indulged in, giving a very shoddy effect.

309 Beauty aids also includes eye make-up, *kol*, that is to say powdered antimony (E. 2355), kept in a small leather bag, *kol-dân*, (E. 2354a). Eye make-up is smeared on with a small wooden stick, about 0.062 m. long, *kol-âwa*, (E. 2356b-c), which is pushed over the lashes, the eye being kept closed[42].

American cosmetics could be bought in the *sûq* at Sulaimani, in the big store, Orient Bak, and similar shops in Baghdad. A large flat velvet beauty box belongs to the treasures in urban environments. A bride coming from Sulaimani to a humble village milieu will be very made-up, but this is only practised on special occasions.

309 *Tattooing*[43], on the other hand, must be considered as belonging to the more permanent forms of beauty treatment, though it was not practised among the Kurdish women I had an opportunity of observing. Tattooing consists of single or groups of spots round the mouth, a stroke across the mouth, spots on the forehead, or the back of the hand, the instep or between the breasts. It was said that tattooing was performed with an ordinary sewing needle dipped in a paste of eye make-up (antimony) or soot mixed with milk[44].

Fig. 70. Left: man's dress of Rowanduz type. Right: man's dress of Sulaimani type.
Fig. 71. Man's dress of Sulaimani type. The funnel-shaped cuffs of the shirts are wound round the arms.

The elements of men's dress. Insofar as I had an opportunity to study it, men's dress in Southern Kurdistan presents a less complicated picture than women's. However, men's dress also contains special Kurdish and foreign elements. The genuine Kurdish male dress is a trouser costume[9]. Two types can be determined, each connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the Sulaimani region, the other of the district around Rowanduz.

Kurdish elements. Shirt, *kras*, (E. 2314) is made of plain, white cotton material. In cut it is a shortened poncho-caftan[9], 0.86 m. long and a span of 1.50 m. Open in the front, it is fitted with a low collar. The shirt's breadth over the shoulders is 0.67 m. Two sleeves, 0.24 m. long and 0.30 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at acute angle. These sleeves terminate in funnel-shaped cuffs, like those known in Syrian male dress[9]. The cuffs prolong the arm by 0.34 m. and hang down 1.10 m. like long gussets exactly the same as the sleeves of a woman's kirtle. Just as with the woman's dress, these funnel-shaped cuffs are drawn out through the garment worn above the shirt, and wound around

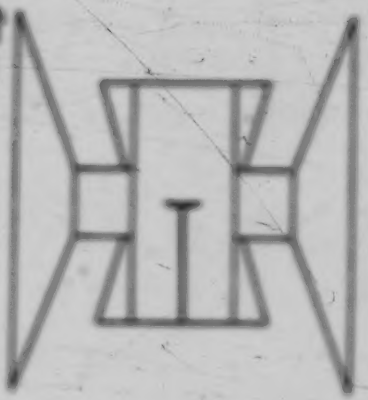


Fig. 13. [illegible]

[illegible] the trousers [illegible] are made of close-woven white cotton material. In use they are [illegible] of the same type as those typical of Turkish male dress[1]. However, from the point of view of use they vary. In the middle of the leg, a threshold of material is cut out, turned 45 degrees, and then sewn on again as a gusset (see diagram). By so doing the trousers are given repairing legs whilst the great breadth around the hips and posterior is retained, a shape Edmonds calls "peg top bal"[2]. The width at the top is 2.00 m. and each leg, 0.60 m. long, is 0.40 m. wide. The trousers have a casing at the top with a rope running through it that gathers the fullness around the man's waist. These trousers are peculiar in that, as evolved by Chambo as early as 1724[3], they are quite closed having no fly in the front.

[illegible] The outer garment, a "k zad", shell-a-kigh[4], consisting of jacket and trousers made of the same material, home-woven woollen[5] cloth, grey-silver. [illegible] Each sides are the gauntlets [illegible] ready-made in the slip and, as mentioned, represent in two different types typical of the Sokkomani and Bukwalian areas, respectively.

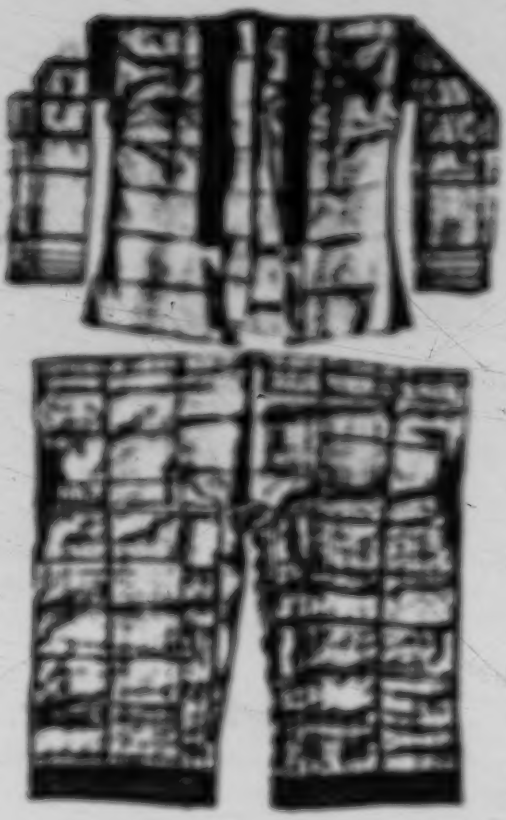
[illegible] Trousers, ideal, from the Sokkomani district (S. 21/66). The material is woven of goat's wool, dark-brown, light-brown or gallowish-white. The weaving breadth is only 0.342 m., and the trousers therefore consist of 12 lengths of material sewn together. Before being sewn the material is folded together and folded out, p. 150, so that each length of material shows two sharp longitudinal creases which,

Fig. 13. [illegible]

complied with the many norms, produces a plastic description of the uniformly coloured and otherwise unembellished material. In shape, cut and size this type of trousers is exactly like the drawers above described, that is to say of "yag kap sat", so that the latter act as a loose lining to the former.

Jacket, (kijil), from the Sukkenani area (S. 2314a) composed of 10 lengths of material were together, each of which has two skeny longitudinal creases. In cut the jacket is a shortened poncho-cut[illegible] with sleeves cut in prolongation of the body. Like the shirt the jacket is lined with a low collar. Its length is 0.68 m., its span 1.38 m. The sleeves are 0.36 m. wide, slit from the bottom and there lined with reserve silk, whilst the rest of the garment is unlined. In cool weather the men might wear a waistcoat, (kedi'ek), under the jacket and above the shirt, or a padded vest, sewed, closed in front by buttons. However, I had no opportunity to inspect these garments closely.

Trousers, (dak), from the Komandor district (S. 2322a). The material is yellowish-brown hemp cloth, a mixture of wool and hemp, weave 0.30 m. broad and unpleated after weaving. The material



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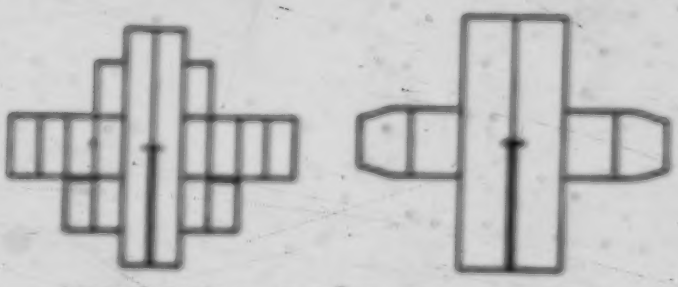

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Fig. 15. Diagram. Cut of the jacket of [illegible] type. Scale 1:10.
Fig. 16. Diagram. Cut of jacket of [illegible] type. Scale 1:10.

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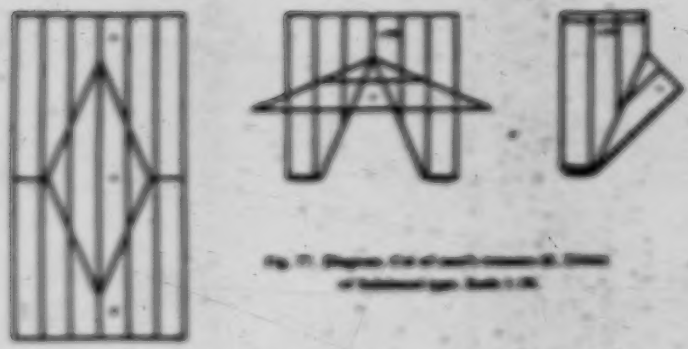

Fig. [illegible]

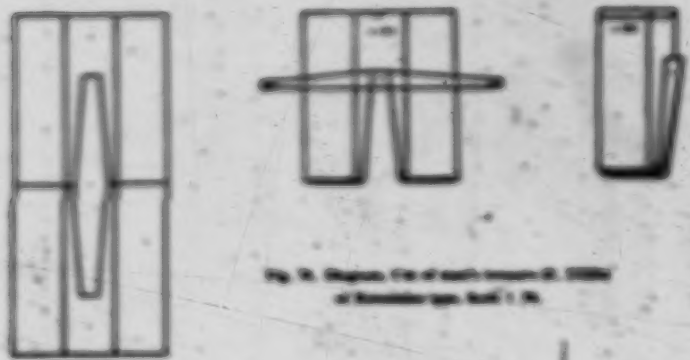

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

Fig. 93. Eskimo: above, left, woman shipper (S. 2345), above, right, cloth shoe for men (S. 2336), below, left, the sole of the shoe is made from wings of skuas, below, right, metal fastener (S. 2272) for holding the wings, beside and under the fastener wings exhibited and folded (S. 2274a-d).

291 copper hammer, 0.170 m. long, metin, (E. 2270)[P], dotted on the outside and ending at the top with a knob. The strips are then placed side by side and a leather strap is drawn through them making a sole which is given a crocheted upper of white cotton yarn. A piece of leather inserted into each end of the sole protects it against wear. These cloth shoes is made in the city, one man producing the sole, another the upper. In the area I visited the nicest and strongest cloth shoes were made by the craftsmen in the city at Tawella (cf. fig. 76).

Men's headdress, like women's, is a cap with a turban cloth wound round it.

The cap, *kōfia*[P], could be of crocheted cotton yarn (E. 2222), of black and white silken yarn (E. 2224) with a pointed crown and side pieces of woven cotton material (E. 2224), or have a flat crown and be decorated with coloured silk and gold embroidery (E. 2226) to mention a few examples. The cap or skull-cap, which is not a fez like the women wear, can be worn alone. However, to be properly dressed the cap should always be overlaid by a rectangular head cloth, *fringāl* or *fringāl*[P], folded diagonally. This is twisted into a coil the thickness of an arm and from the wearer's neck wound around the head from right to left, the one end hanging down. The other end is pushed into the convolutions. The turban, the fringes of which hang down over forehead and neck, could be arranged in more or less pillow form.

Turban cloth, *mūlā* (?) or *fūta*[P], may be of cotton or silk. An example can be mentioned a cloth (E. 2219) of black and light-grey silk, 1.20 m. × 1.40 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long knotted into tassels on the two long sides. A cloth (E. 2220) of maroon and grey silk, 1.20 m. × 1.90 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long hanging loose on the two long sides. Turban cloths, known as *jamaar* (E. 2227) of European black and white chequered cotton material, 1.20 m × 1.20 m. with fringes on all four sides—the same cloth that Arabs wear folded diagonally.

In addition to the male dress here reviewed a felt waistcoat, known as *jibāgh*, (E. 2226) is worn by shepherds, amongst others. This is perhaps the "jerreid" mentioned by Edmonds—"a felted waistcoat worn over the jacket"[W]. This felted waistcoat is unsewn[P]. It is cut out and sewn together with cotton, but so to say moulded. Its length is 0.33 m. When worn the arms protrude through holes at the arm pits, whilst the rudiments of short arms stick out like flat flaps resting on the wearer's shoulders.

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291 *Foreign elements of men's dress.* The woollen cloak *caftan, abā*, a characteristic feature of Arab male dress, is not worn by the men (though made of black silk, it is the street dress worn by Kurdish women). Amongst the Kurds I only saw the Arab caftan, *cabāa*, worn by a single malla and a couple of old shaikhs in Shaklāwa and Serkan. It therefore cannot be said to be a regular element of men's dress in Southern Kurdistan.

Characteristically opposed to the Arab caftan narrower that hides the legs and the trousers, *shalvār*, worn underneath, provided a low cloth only is not worn, Kurdish men's dress, like that of the Turks, is definitely a trouser habit. This has given rise to the Kurd's nickname for the Arabs: "The trouserless"[W].

On the other hand the long Arab kirtle worn in striped materials is included as an element of Kurdish male dress, but only as a home and sleeping garment worn above the simple Kurdish drawers. It is only worn amongst town dwellers.

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Whereas Arab elements thus only appear sporadically in Kurdish male dress, certain European elements have been adopted. The first item of genuine Kurdish male dress to be exchanged was footwear. This was replaced by European leather shoes. In replacement of the Kurdish jacket a European jacket with collar, lapels and pocket was used worn with the Kurdish trousers of the Sulaimani area type. But despite its form, intended to be worn outside the trousers, it was tucked down into them inside the sarong and tied round with the long waist sash. Sometimes the original native jacket could be seen influenced by the European jacket to the extent that a breast pocket had been added.

In many cases a European suit had replaced the Kurdish *mish-o-rāgil* in Sulaimani. With this a European shirt, tie and socks were worn. On the other hand, even under a European suit the baggy Kurdish drawers were retained. This is due to the custom of removing one's outer garments at home. In fact an informal visit to a café could be paid in one's *underclothes*[1]. Naturally the wide and ample Kurdish drawers were more suitable for this purpose than their European counterpart.

Another European element adopted by more advanced young Kurds is pajamas (cf. p. 37). As in this cultural pattern one sleeps in the same clothing as that worn by day, pajamas became a garment that could be worn all round the clock. My interpreter's 28 year old brother rose from his pallet in pajamas, took his coat in the hired car that was to convey us over the desert to Baghdad, and eight hours later entered an Arab hotel in the main street of that town in the same crossed attire.

In Kurdish male dress pajamas certainly appeared to be something of an urban phenomenon. In the villages I only saw pajamas worn by the sheikh's young son at Tuqarwa. The uncle, the 28 year old Mama Khalo, told me that this Western habit was only about 15 years old, and that personally he was no admirer of it as it was so unsuited to the tailor's position whether on the floor or on one of the large, clumsy sofas. The son, Sardar, who favoured pajamas, on one single occasion also wore a European suit. Apart from that occasion this dress was not worn in the villages.

Men were no beginners with European clothes. Nor did I get any men wearing European dress taking part in the daily prayers ordained by Islam[2]. However, when men dressed in Kurdish fashion were to pray, they twisted the turban cloth around the skull cap if it had been removed, and slipped off their shoes. I did not see them loosen the cuffs of their shirts as women loosen their sleeves prior to the prostrations of prayer[3]. The somewhat too-pointed, black-white or brown-white European shoes, calculated to appeal to the Oriental sense of luxury, constituted—on account of the laces that had to be loosened and tied—a breach of certain traditional habits in the cultural pattern.

Whereas women's clogs, slippers, or low cut European shoes were easy to step out of before walking on the rugs or felt mats in the house, and always lay around in a singularly unconcealed way outside the carpeted area—incidentally being used by all the women of the house in turn, regardless of ownership—men's European shoes were personal property necessitating bending down and loosening laces every time they were to be taken off, and tying when put on. These European shoes thus conflicted with the admirable custom that footwear should never come into contact with rugs and mats. In the same way this kind of footwear makes it difficult easily to adopt the tailor's posture on the floor or to draw the legs up under one when sitting in chair or sofa. These shoes therefore constitute a step towards a readjustment of the pattern of movement and sitting habits[4].

Authentic Kurdish male dress[5], in type akin to the Turkish[6], followed the example set by the

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Fig. 91. Fish accessories (E. 2328), cap (E. 2318) accompanied by various shells (E. 2321), and scarf (E. 2329).
Fig. 92. Knives and scissors. From left to right: E. 2282 with E. 2284, E. 2284, E. 2283 with E. 2285. Scissors embroidered with gold and silk (E. 2286).

291 latter in adopting the trouser costume, by discarding the long clothes in favour of short waistcoat and jacket, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the long pointed ends of the shirt arms that could be tied round an object, the velvet sash in which a cloth bundle could be stuffed or, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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293 Accessories to the costume, corresponding to the ornaments of women, were pocket knife with horn handle (E. 2277) and the curved dagger, *canjar*[ib], with sheath, 0.30 m.-0.40 m. long, the value of which varied according to the execution and the material of the handle and sheath (E. 2282, 0.403 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a thimble acting as tip; E. 2283, 0.230 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's horn; E. 2284, 0.345 m. long with silver sheath and handle studded with turquoise). The prayer chain or rosary, *tasbih*, composed of 99 beads was worned round the handle of the dagger. These beads could be of horn or other material, every 33rd, being marked (E. 2281 of horn; E. 2286 of bone pipe). As a rule the prayer chain is carried between the fingers even

by young men wearing European clothes. Only by means of the county swinging between the fingers was it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans. 293

The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not well shaved. [302]

Children's dress. A baby's clothes in the villages consisted of a small little with some long, pointed sleeves, a padded jacket, *dukas*, of flowered cotton material (E. 2320) or silk, and a semi-shaped silk bonnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of mid-like trousers, but it was an exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the towns I saw a boy of about 4 months wearing a dress with a short yoke, a gown, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly copied from a European pattern (E. 2320a, c, d, e). The same infant I saw at a wedding clad (although normally ill) in a dress of rose and light-blue nylon (E. 2320b). 291

As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short-sarongs, *sarpet*, 291

Fig. 11. Children's dress in the village Tagaung.

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long shirts, without visible trousers up to the age of 6, whereafter they are given small men's overcoats of home-woven goat's wool material, and conform generally to the men's clothing scheme (cf. figs. 45, 58, 62).

The somewhat larger girls wear long frocks with a high yoke of the type known from Afghanistan – velvet, dark-flowered cotton material, or silk. At the age of ten the little girl is clothed in adult woman's dress consisting of long, gathered trousers, kirtle and waistcoat. European children's dress could be worn in an urban milieu.

302 In the villages a boy's hair is shaved at the neck and right over the crown, the hair on the front of the head being not quite short. This may be done in seven ways[1].

Girls wear their hair long and plait it into several plaits held together by a horizontal string running across the back of the neck.

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CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

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Bringing children into the world is the justification and bliss of the Oriental marriage—also the Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the district's wife at Tapuzawa.

Parturition takes place in a sitting position. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor beforehand. Over this is laid a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour soon herself. An assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Sulaimaniyah there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in England, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's home at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife, then the first to be trained in Sulaimaniyah. At the time I was there this woman was about 30 years of age.

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Birth take place in one of the rooms of the house. I was told that the father can be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The Arab doctor at the Oshnu Clinic has told me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

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In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynecologist at the hospital at Sulaimaniyah told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her vaginal functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimaniyah to seek medical attention. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynecologist.

In another case a woman in Rania continued with fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimaniyah. The child, which was a few days old, could not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

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The new-born child, naked, is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that acts as a nappy and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded over a trough that reaches to the shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.20 m. x 1.20 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are then wound round the feet. The two upper

§46 §54 points of the triangle opposite the shoulders are crossed over the chest and the arms outstretched along the side of the body. The points are led round the child's back, arms, and return to the front where they are tied in a knot around the child's legs. The head is bound with two pieces of triangular material tied together. The one piece acts as a head-cloth, the other, outside, as a functional bandage. Similar clothing for a new-born infant is also reported by Granqvist[1] in the case of Arabs in Palestine.

The child then swaddled is placed on a circular, layered grain sieve that is covered by a thin mattress. This constitutes the child's bed for the first seven days. This use of a grain sieve by the Kanda in Southern Kardofan is referred to by Nikkiine[2], who says, however, that the child stays on the sieve 4, not 7, days, as it is especially at night that there is a danger that the evil spirits, will kill the mother and child. He also states that during these days neither the midwife nor the other women who have assisted even leave the house or remove the objects they have brought with them in connection with the birth[3]. A sieve as the child's first bed also in Iran is mentioned by Donaldson, who says that it acts as a protection against a witch, who is blamed for the many deaths of infants just after birth[4]. Lane refers to the use of the sieve in Egypt, reporting that the child is well shaken in it, which is said to be good for its stomach[5]. Lane, whose information dates from the middle of the previous century, is supplemented by Blackman, who writes that the sieve used in Egypt is the large one employed when grain from the threshing floor is thrown against the wind to separate the chaff, and he states that on the seventh night, that is to say the night before the seventh day of life, the child is shaken in the sieve on which a few grains of corn have also been laid. The grain is thereafter consumed[6].

Lying-in can be confined to a single day or last as long as 30 days.

After the first week the sieve is replaced by a cradle, which in Kordofan I found existed in three different types: transportable, hammock, and stationary.

§54 The first, transportable kind, Ayubo, (E. 2364) consists of a flat wooden bottom, 0.50 m. × 0.40 m., mounted between four legs, vertical wooden sticks, which above join, two by two, flat transverse wooden arches, and below join in pairs of transverse rockers. Above, the two wooden arches are connected with a heavy pole that runs along the cradle. With this pole the cradle can be carried. The wooden bottom has a low edge that serves to retain a mattress stuffed with cotton, gitoli, (E. 2365) 0.42 m. × 0.36 m. × 0.06 m. In both the wooden base and the mattress there is a hole near the centre, or there may be two holes, enabling the mattress to be turned and the head of the cradle to be arranged at either end at will. A pipe-shaped wooden object, kibuki, 0.23 m. long (E. 2340 and E. 2341) is put vertically down through the hole in the mattress and the base of the cradle. If for a male child there is a circular opening at the head of the pipe, if for a female an oval one. The retaining rope is carefully wound round with rags (E. 2342a-b) in order that it shall not be uncomfortable when pressed up between the baby's legs. The child lies outstretched on its back with a cylindrical pillow, ukita, (E. 2366) 0.30 m. × 0.10 m. × 0.060 m. under the neck, and its arms extended along the body. In this position it is bound fast. This is done with two padded bandages, dandas, (E. 2368a-b) 0.12 m. broad and 0.60 m. long. At the one end of these bandages there are straps through which is pulled a heavy woollen cord (E. 2369a) that is stretched out along the one side of the cradle underneath from leg to leg. A woollen cord 2.60 m. in length, ending in big woollen tassels (E. 2369a-b) is sewn on one end of each bandage. One bandage is passed over the child's pelvis and chest, the other across the

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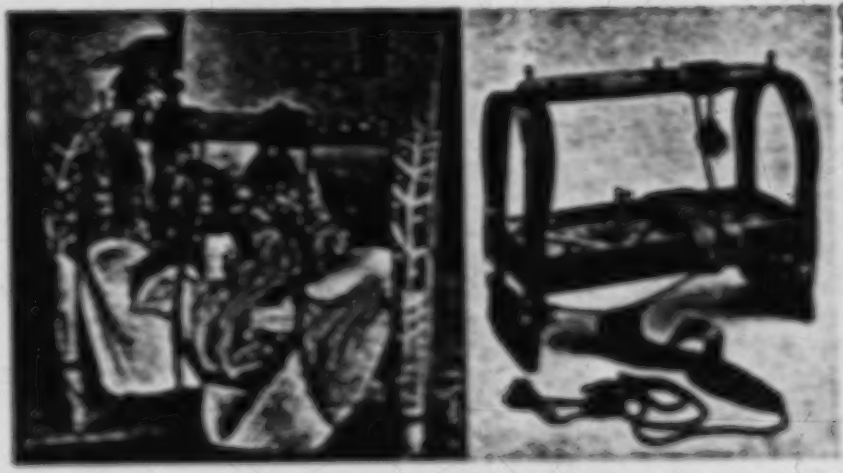

Fig. 84. Transportable cradle, Ayoba, arranged for the child. Behind the cradle the child placed on a nightmat. Sokoto.

Fig. 85. Transportable cradle (E. 2364) with bandages (E. 2365a-b) and cords (E. 2366a-c). The wire discharge pipe (E. 2368) placed upright in the hole in the bottom.

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stalwarts and legs, holding the wire discharge pipe in position. The wooden cords that prolong the bandages are passed under the cradle and then twisted round the heavy longitudinal carrying pole, the tassels hanging as decorations and perhaps for amusement of the baby-tying baby. The application of the abdominal bandage turns the child's legs outwards, and I discovered that this unnatural position of the feet persisted until the age of three[1]. A small rug is placed under the baby to absorb any excrements, urine being taken by the pipe. I was told that a bottle or tank like could be hung under the cradle[2], and that an arrangement of this kind was used during the winter in rooms covered with rugs, but I never saw this used in the summer on the roof, in the courtyard or in rooms without carpets, where all liquids running on to the ground or the floor evaporated immediately. Above the bandages a small quilt, *Bille*, could be laid. The cradle possesses a curtain. For a newly-born child this was of black material, suspended from the transverse carrying pole, so that the child lay as though in a tiny tent. For a slightly larger child a turquoise or purple voile curtain was hung up. This surrounded the whole cradle like a bag with an opening on the one side. The curtain, *gorale*, (E. 2367) is formed of a piece of cloth 1.80 m. long and 0.84 m. broad. It is folded together into a bag of the same height and length as the cradle, and sewn together with a seam along the upper edge, with an opening on one side. If the night air on the roof was cool a woollen blanket was laid over the curtain to shield the child from draughts. To enable the child to sleep peacefully it could be blindfolded with a white cotton rag

In order to move the baby, the mother squats down, by the cradle end, with one arm on the carrying pole, pushes the curtain aside.

Supplementary to the cradle type whose urine tube ends in the use of nappies, and all the washing that goes with them, unnecessary, there was a night-commode in the form of a small arm chair in which even an infant can be placed in a semi-lying position, in order to have its bowels moved. The night-commode has a hole in the seat around which there is a ring of painted sherds with a flowers. A container is placed under the seat. This seat has a cushion for the back so that the child sees fine thus sits, comfortable and secure.

Instead of two smaller holes in the bottom that allow the head of the bed to be turned, the cradle may have one larger hole, corresponding to a bigger hole in the mattress, a little below the centre of the wooden bottom. In this a clay vessel (E. 2313a), 0.128 m. high, diam. about 0.10 m., similar in shape to a flower pot, is lowered. The urine tube, Abe. (E. 2 [illegible] 0.17 m. long, is of bamboo, with a longish opening in the side near the one end, then intended for a girl, is planted in the clay vessel. I

Fig. 66. Clay vessel (E. 2313a) with urine pipe of bamboo (E. [illegible]) for a girl. Below: Wooden pipes for boy (E. 2318) and for girl (E. 2[illegible]). Reduction.

Fig. 47. The stationary cradle: a two-shaped bed suspended from a frame. Sulaimaniyah.
Fig. 48. The transportable cradle: A cradle is being over the transverse beam. Tegyarra.

are a cradle of this type to see at Bekhta, near the Iranian border. On top of the vessel, under the mattress, was a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (E. 1948). This is used by the Uigurs, Penjikent[1]. A quite similar cradle from the Tartars of the Crimea is described and illustrated. This is fitted with a clay vessel and arches tube. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[2].

The two other patterns of cradles in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from its four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A ring is laid underneath the child which is taken up as soon as it wishes.

The stationary cradle is a hammock converted into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, two-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In the villages the bed, which prings from side to side, consisted simply of a sack or rugs, in Sulaimani a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and slower children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress laid on the floor, just like an adult. A similar two-shaped bed (E. 773) has been brought back from Persian-speaking immigrants into Central Kafiristan in Afghanistan, a [illegible] Frame, 0.80 m. × 0.50 m. × 0.70 m. with base and sides of wickerwork and a rope for suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle in its Kurdish form is also found with the Chamirs[3] and Georgians[4] in the Caucasus. Plain[5] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lithuania; they are also found in Armenia[6] and in Turkey[7]. Sweden mentions

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Fig. 84. Fragment of sun-dried clay pannel in grey-cream "Wiener ware". Found in Bayy, Early 11 century. (Ralph Pinder-Wilson, Islamic Art, London 1957, fig. 36). Shelter-warming child in a cradle like the Kurdish type.

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that they can be taken as homeland[34], a thing I also saw done by some passing nomads in Kurdistan. It is depicted by Bishop[35] as an Iranian-Bactrian cradle, and Pope mentions its use in Iran[36]. The cradle made of clay and wood show that this type is also to be found with the Tajiks and Uzbeks[37]. It is met with in Baluchistan[38], and the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition brought one back from Afghanistan (E. 1948). They are also in use with the Uigurs, Dunganes[39] and the Kirghiz[40].

Urine tubes of the Kurdish type have been brought back from Turkestan (Q. 72-73). The same type of tube is depicted by Le Coq[41]. Urine tubes (E. 2961-62) were brought back with the cradle from Afghanistan (E. 1948). Such "tubes it urine on boys or on ox" are illustrated from Georgia by Pokrovski[42], are mentioned from Armenia by Virabov[43] and from the Crimea by Lomax[44]. The Kirghiz[45] use them and make them out of the bones of sheep.

Even nowadays Russian Armenia as the area to which this cradle type originated[46], though this can hardly be correct. It is more probable that its origin must be sought among peoples in Central Asia for whom its portability must have been a most important feature. In my opinion, the mother-on-secondary, as with the Kirghiz that horses is lacking in the kind of cradle[47], and the heavy carrying pole, by which the cradle can be lifted, is primary. It is then a form of portable cradle allied to the cradle-trough characteristic of reindeer nomadism, extending from the Lapps in the west to the Indians of the North Pacific coast in the east[48], where it meets another pattern of carrying cradle, the cradle-board, that is linked with the secondary culture widespread among Amerindians from the Algonkians in the north to the Amazonians in the south, with an offshoot to the Ainus in the northern islands of Japan[49].

Among the ancient Incans, mummy-wrapped remains of the "spring type" are known in northern Lambayeque.

In north and central Asia there are also portable cradles with devices related to the urine tubes in the Kurdish cradle. Concerning the Ostyak Pokrovski says that in the cold, hot-shaped, portable cradle made of pliable wooden or bark sheets, a box filled with sawdust is placed. If the child is a male, his penis is covered by a piece of bark designed to direct the flow of urine to the foot of the cradle, where it is quickly absorbed by the sawdust[50]. Similar pieces of bark form part of the

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equipment of a portable cradle brought back by Henning Haslund-Christensen from the Sabu people in Mandschuria[27]. With the Kalmuk a box-shaped cradle is used with a horizontal cedar tube "tsorga"[28] placed in the base. With the Tuktat a cradle board on rockers, to which the child is fastened and which at the end is fitted with a tube intended to carry off the urine[29], a form of cradle the principle of which is clearly the same as that of the Kurdish kreffa[30].

Parallels to the second type, the hammock cradle, consisting of a sack suspended from its four corners, seem to me in Bedâwe and Hidaibu, are found in Iran, made of leather with inserted poles[31]. It is also in use in Armenia. It is stated to be formed of a piece of material or garment hung temporarily in a fold; this hammock type cradle is said to be more comfortable than the Armenian parallel to the Kurdish kreffa, and is preferred when the child is ill[32]. In the Caucasus it is wrapped round with broad bands, so that the child is held fast[33], not lying free as in the Kurdish model. The Arab tribes in Syria have hammocks with transverse sticks inserted at both ends[34]. The Kuwaiti bedouins in Arabia use as a hammock a shawl hung up in the tent[35]. In Yemen there are hammocks of precisely the same form as the Syrian for use in tents, whilst the leather portable cradle, also in use there, has a semi-circular piece of stiff leather inserted to keep the head of the cradle distended, and a carrying strap that draws the cradle together around the feet of the child[36]. Finally there is something between a hammock and a portable cradle in use among the Tuaregs west of the Niger. This type is produced like a vaulted wooden bier with two circular pieces of wood inserted at each end of the cradle in which the child lies fastened[37]. It is hung up in the tent.

Whereas in Kurdistan I only saw a rug placed under the child in a hammock, it is said that Arab nomads in Syria use dried, crumbled camel dung to absorb urine and excrement[38]. With the Kuwaiti bedouins the child is smeared or plastered with dry camel dung before being hung up in the tent in a shawl[39].

The third type of Kurdish cradle, the stationary, hanging cradle on a stand, is used in Iran[40]. An Indian cradle in the National Museum (D. 4178) consisting of a stand on which hung a frame, cor-

Fig. 66. Indian cradle (D. 4178) in the National Museum of Denmark evinces the same principles as the Kurdish stationary cradle, a box-shaped bed suspended from a wooden frame.

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triangular in form with a flat wooden base and inclined sides, so that a cross results[9], evinces the same principle as the Kurdish hanging cradle. In its simplest and most primitive form this stationary hanging cradle was brought back from the Luro. It possesses features of both the transportable kyndka and the stationary frame cradle. The Luristan cradle (E. 200) consists of a "rocking board" composed of two parallel pieces of bamboo to which the child must have been fastened in order to remain lying and particularly to retain the urine tube in position. The cradle has cords at each end and is suspended from a transverse pole resting on two forked sticks[10]. There are two examples of urine tubes, pipe-shaped for a male child (E. 201), and formed like an open vessel for a female (E. 200). According to report they are not placed vertically as in the Kurdish kyndka, but horizontally as in Kalmuk cradles.

Of the three types of cradles used in Kurdistan, all of which are also used in Iran, the portable one seems to be a nomadic element deriving from the nomad tribes of Central Asia, the hammock cradle seems to be an Iranian-Arab element, whilst the stationary hanging cradle in a frame points towards India.

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In the Kurdish kyndka the child was only kept in and fastened to it at night, and in the two other types of cradle only by day as long as it slept. The child cradle was carried around by bigger sisters or lay in the arms of sitting women. Out in the villages one always saw the slightly larger girls with a smaller child on their backs. Even a sick child, in one case a very sick child, is considered better placed

Fig. 11. Mother and child. Drawing in a home viewed through the eyes of a 12 years old boy. Sulaimaniyah.

4: Heaven E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

to its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Nursing. According to the Coran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sura 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ...". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "grave diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, lime-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could—and particularly what it could not eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[37].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 26 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 13 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (18, 17, 16, 10 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to see sexual while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get sperm all over its body[38]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kiż*. Muhammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Coran that male children are more desirable than female[39]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

[842] [845] [889] 108 Circumcision - Naming

The birth of a girl in Kurdish might cause a national problem

neighbours' presents, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[1], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[2], by sewing triangular amulet pockets onto its clothes, and by fixing ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

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304 851 Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Jayyâsî[3] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Shorgh[4], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 3 days old.

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852 553 [551] Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mullâ, sitting in a tailor's position, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Hawwa (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arîf, Hamîd, Ja'far, Karîm, Kemâl, Mahmud, Majîd, Muhammad, Qâsim, Sa'îd, Sawân, Wahîd, Wahîd*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Afîya, Galîa, Hadîja, Nahîd, Nahida, Sahîja*.

551 In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[5]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Shaikh existed. My host at the village of Tajarawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Shaikh" Taffar. In my experience the term shaikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Shaikh Tajfar* and his brother, usually called "Hâwâsh-Effendi", but whose real name was *Abdul Qâdir Shaikh 'Arîf*, who owned the villages of Tajarawa and Rakawa in common. There was also a third brother, *Akkâ Bâbâ* (Elder brother B.) or *Shaikh Bâbâ*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Shaikh Taffar was likewise addressed as *Shaikh Sawân*. Thus the word shaikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[6] and Layard[7], both of whom confuse the term "Shaikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Shaikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[8] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[9]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[10].

[911] Additions like those, used in Arabia and Iran[11] "father to, slave of, son of ..... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

571 572 Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Hanny, not Madame Harvey). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "Khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[12]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bebe Khan, called Shaikh Taffar's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Madâm Khan.

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558 184 *The kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it does recognise the child as a member of the community

often, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt to the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[8]. On the other hand the Iranian, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparatory for it[9].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as much as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphoniously called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often keep our children out of the adult community stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. In the various ages the child entered to different place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained to its coming duties, with an inverted feeling of its positions and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social intercourse prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The chief has a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly self-evident manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant environment in the house. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with politeness present. As Gunap has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[10]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the home and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the home which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. associated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than ours. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the fear of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prized themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not exposed to aggression with subsequent punishment and the

[illegible] assuming that the child was outside adult society. Children were sheltering, weatherwise, gaffer and babysitters. They were never put to bed in the evening (apart from infancy), but left asleep when adult return it called them. If they had been taken by the women on a visit, they fell asleep in the course of the evening, and when the mother left the child was put on her shoulders, leg or arm and carried home. The children of the home fell to the floor when tired, and were covered with whatever happened to be available at hand, often a prayer rug of goat's wool. Later, when the adults arranged their own quarters for the night, the children were carried to the mattress on which they were to spend the night. Everybody rose very early, the children when they awoke. Undressing at night was just as welcome to the children as to the adults, and the same applied to regard to the evening or morning wash. During the day the children were caught, given short shrifts, if necessary, and washed. When there was plenty of warm water in the home their turn was marked.

In the children always stayed among the adults they observed all the sexual transactions they could understand, and became aware of all phases of life. In regard to conditions with Egyptian Arabs about 100 years ago, Lane[1] says that however much children were caressed and fondled, they had the deepest and most admirable respect for their parents. He adds that disobedience shown to parents is regarded by Muslims as one of the major sins. To round off the picture of the child's life among Arabs, which in the main agrees with Lane's account of conditions in Egypt, a few examples must be cited of children I met who suffered from difficulties of adjustment. This may serve to throw into relief what I have attempted to describe above as the reason why a child with the Arabs had in general a quiet existence devoid of psychic snags. Within the village schoolmistress, Sheikh Yusuf's youngest, 4 year old, son was cruel to the small birds he earned round in his pockets, he teased the kids and cried to maltreat the donkeys. When able to do so he also stole money from the household store. His father treated him surprisingly gently and affectionately which unnecessarily removed my fretfulness. But this child, the youngest male offspring, the mother cried in long at the baby stage, while he is now accustomed to compete with his 12 and 10 year old brothers. He appeared to be quite an exception, created by certain idiosyncratic exterritorial circumstances. Then the children of the village would formerly assembled also, tried to run off with camera apparatus, and showed in the beginning no spontaneous friendliness, must be attributed to the mistrust complexities also evinced by their adults when the European engineers arrived some years earlier to plan the building of the Dokan dam. It was said that from the village of Tigsarra, where I spent a few and from which workers were later obtained for the construction work, the Europeans had been fired upon. The same hostile attitude received by the children I met was in the economics case on isolated farms, where some little girls and sisters or six and seven boys on the way home with sacks of grass on their backs, threatened me and cried at me with their sickles before I was permitted to pass along the narrow mountain path. In the village Ashkawa I met a case where a schoolchildren Kurdish official's wife on an excursion with the assistant's wife, married to the Arab mamoorah in Sulaimani, Kurdish that her boys had not behaved correctly to the children of the mamoorah, began [illegible] to tell her children who were quite innocent of the alleged offence. It was said that the same to [illegible], who appeared to be very embarrassed, got her children locked in at home for several minutes.

My companion and I had her 10 year old half-brother living with her at Tigsarra, and later

accompanying us on our trips, without there being the slightest suspicion of difficulty with him. We literally scarcely realized his existence as well did he fit into the various situations. In the now populated towns at Sakkarani, however, I once saw my interpreter's mother, the elder of the two wives, run through the room with a gleaming ring from the fire in her fists with it for some reason or other. My interpreter was then the woman responsibility had demanded some service or other from the lad, which he had refused, and that it was she who was in the wrong.

In another urban milieu, an absolutely unobtrusive one insofar as the woman was concerned, I once came across what we should term a difficult and recalcitrant girl of 6-7 years of age. She was the elder of two girls, two others having died, and the mother was doubly embittered because she had been, pressed by neighbours and possibly also by personal grandfolkes, had several times been about to abscond with who would have him the son refused to the present wife. The child was a visible manifestation of the mother's conflict situation, and was, in my opinion, only to considered as an orphan among the Kwoloki children I had an opportunity of observing.

By reviewing the activities of the children in and outside the home in the four different Kwoloki environments I learned in Grand to Southern Kwoloki, an attempt will be made to give an impression of their adolescence and upbringing.

Small girls of the village aristocracy took part in mother's home work according to their age and ability. They assisted in rolling out the dough for baking from the age of three. They kept the strong chili when being milled in the mortar(pot), and kept the flies away when their elders were at meals. They helped to pick the vegetables in the field. They watched adult men and women in the washing of hands, which took place in a squatting position whilst water from a jug was poured over the hands. They lifted the saucepan with charcoal and took part in washing-up. Later, but not least, they participated in the serving of tea, as it was the children, or, if none was present, the forefather in the company, who received the tea glasses from the saucepan and returned with them when they were empty (cf. p. 48). This was done with seriousness and decorum, and with no little pride at having reached the stage where that was entrusted to them. They attended to the small brothers and sisters, helped them to eat, and had small jobs on their backs when they left the house. Bilharzi attendance was not part of their life pattern. It really, however, only ran that for had although not attending the village boy's school where he taught (Sadiku), but that was an exception[1].

Small girls of the village aristocracy were, when grown up, fully trained in the skills expected of them. They were well-acquainted with house work, the care of children, and with decisive behaviour.

In Abdin Traffe's home at Tugaara most of the home work was done by a 17 year old daughter, who also acted as attendance if, for example, her mother wanted to take a bath in the forenoon. It was said that small son of the sons—the oldest of whom was only 10—came home with a daughter-in-law, the mother did not wish to give away to marriage the indispensible working power represented by her daughter.

The boys within the village aristocracy were sent to school. As they reached a suitable age, the sons of the chiefs at Tugaara were sent to relatives' homes at Kolinde or Sabampari in order to attend school[2]. During these years they glided out of the village milieu, only returning on a during their

common habitation. During their stay at home in the village they led the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They used to sleep two here and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the men of the house was the making open any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

The elder of these two sons, aged 18, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers at the Oxbow Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in his pattern of behaviour, the structure of which has its inner coherence. As the leading young man of the village, he left the children's home every morning on horseback. The other lands from Tagaona and Ribera covered on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (work) an hour's walk, only trying in great summer heat. At the Oxbow Dam Site he then was submerged among the other exploited Cordish labourers, a dirty work, exclusive to coolies, concerning the inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's house. Here his 12 year old half-brother took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, gave it oat to graze, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash, if this was performed on the clay terrace outside the central room and not on the garden basin.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation on a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the calling of his fathers, for he only received slavery which now of no interest whatever to the aristocratic village widow, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the Europeans, a thing he most unpleasantly forged for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its family fixed code of values, being disturbed under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic services which also comprised the fetching of water, often from far away, and milking out in the mountains. Small girls were always given with smaller children on their backs, whose they helped with anything there was to do, and marked in the nearest environments if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages learn nothing of schools, but they grow up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

For that matter schooling did not enter into the life pattern of boys either among ordinary peasants in the villages. On the other hand their labour was much utilised in agriculture. They watched the sheep and goats. They fetched grass from the mountains on foothill, equipped with sacks and sickles. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

In the third and fourth environments, the educated and semi-educated urban milieus, schoolgoing was customary for both boys and girls.

An elementary school attends usually in Southern Honduras consisting of a 4 year primary and 2 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 2 year intermediate and a 2 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1948 4 years primary schooling is obligatory where possible.

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Sellins, Sellins and Sangin, but not by any means in all. In Tegsorm and Sellins there were no schools. Sometimes there would be a Koran school in connection with a mosque as, for example, at Sangin, where children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Langelag and Sveden[1]. I shall here deal with the education of the school in the homes where I stayed, the elder of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out by Langelag and Sveden, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed"[2] in a community like the Swedish, there decisive a watershed, can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Swedish homes.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Tegsorm district's 12 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unobjectionable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the home. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the wall niches, unsuitable for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any such table in the dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for privacy.

In my interpreter's home at Sellinsmark, I found examples of the various learning possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1937. My interpreter had been trained as a folk school teacher at the Teachers' Training College at Baghdad[3]. During her studies she had lived there in a hostel. The training here lasted two years if the girl was to teach at one of the five 4 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Christian School for Girls opened in Sellinsmark in 1936. At her home I was able to see how accomplished in the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 10 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete her 5 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her grammar and rules, her blackwall with maps, globes, multiplication, she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried in vain to concentrate on the maths and thoughts she was describing or the globe/atlas she was engaged in. Finally she left the lesson. With books and drawing instruments under her heart, and she wandered off to play with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with new unobservable manners in the home, where all manner between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sellinsmark's urban milieu, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training at times and duration is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were mothers, as was the case in my interpreter's home in Sellinsmark, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 10 persons devolved, except for the holidays, on the two unobserved wives at home. In addition there was the bearing of guns and the taking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, as between School a

[illegible] Schooling [illegible]

[illegible] school on the assumption [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

adulthood that will provide that deep contentment of mind, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6-7 years of age, had to Sukkomati what we should call a sense life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give sense life to Ibo, it must be remembered that the men, as in many Ibo in the small, inhibit the women and small children except the home. In work and at leisure boys and men spend their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a sense education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[1] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Cross, Gen 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..... and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Ibuid climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Onitsha Town Ibo with the sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a motor[2].

MARRIAGE

The limitations on the choice of spouse are listed in the Cross[3]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relatives and consanguineal persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law of the same time commandments that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[4]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousins on the father's side is preferable and then the cousins on the mother's side. The terms in the Ibuid kinship system, partly descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relatives[5], are: father's brother's daughter, *ezeiuli* (unfavourable marriage), father's sister's daughter, *ifiuli* (unfavourable marriage), mother's brother's daughter, *udiuli* (unfavourable marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, *ifiuli* (unfavourable marriage).

In the towns I stayed in I met in the village square often the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[6] and Barth[7] is most preferred by Kachin. In the Ibuid family at Tigbawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Bangkok. In Serbian two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to have political influence" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[8]. In my experience this was not so, for the most I ever knew the father's brother's daughter choice as comments to Ibuid wives.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Tadjer's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 16 year old son of the Sheikh of Tigbawa said further that a man in the saffron was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much form

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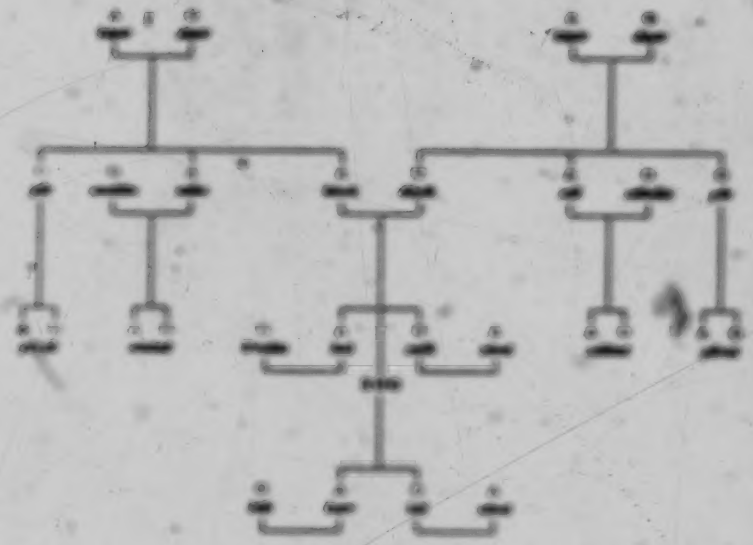

can be attached to what the young man said, as I prefer to stick to the facts available about his immediate family. In the Israelite village environment (Fuqqarin) I came across three examples of brides having been brought from Sakhnin as they grew prestige in the village. In the educated milieu, on the other hand, I met a strongly expressed wish to be linked by marriage with good, prominent families.

Difference in the position of man and woman when contracting marriage. Those of the brides in Kafrkana whom I had an opportunity to observe appeared as radiant as we are accustomed to see in our cultures. The Kurdish bride when looked remarkably unaffected on the directly ensuing day (interpreter's sister, whose wedding preparations and later wedding I witnessed), went about in the days prior to the wedding extremely sedately and with an attitude of complete indifference. In reply to my questions my interpreter told me that it is not the custom for brides to take any part in the preparations, and that out of regard for her future family no impression must be given of emphasizing the working capacity of the young woman. In addition, the bride-to-be must not suggest, by paying too much attention to her appearance, that she is interested in being married.

In her study of weddings and marriage in Palestine, Granqvist probably provides an explanation applicable also to the Kurds, for she says[1] that it is the bridegroom who is happy, and with him his family and friends. Happiness prevails in the home of the bridegroom, the home of the wedding. A bride, on the other hand, must herself her fate. Is she ever to leave her family home, and will ever this home lose a member? Besides, Granqvist points out, it is considered highly unbecoming for a bride to evince happiness.

Where, on the other hand, the marriage negotiations began in the case of my interpreter's brother and the wedding arrangements were being discussed, it was planned as a joyous festival, the home was done being decorated and a dance arranged in its large courtyard. A few letters dated 23rd August 1956, told me that 600 people were invited to the wedding, and that the dance had lasted from morning to night. As an unexpected sum, his accommodation in the home was confined to a restricted which he spread out with the rest of the family, plus a cloth behind a screen for his few effects. His pyjamas (shorts and changing garment) lay, when not in use, rolled up on a chair in the guest reception room, which he also used for changing. In a word, he had had only a minimum of room at his disposal. When he married he said his wife would be allowed in their cab one one of the friend's three living rooms. He and his wife, at all events initially, would have a cell within the family with a claim to space and a private life - a notable improvement of his position in the home.

Marriage policy and marriage negotiations. "Many families have walked out", was my interpreter's reply to my question as to what possibilities she had had to be married. In other words she could boast of the fact that many families had applied to her regarding the instigation of the marriage negotiations an essential a preliminary to a marriage in a Moslem area, where the world of men and women is divided, and a young man wants no woman other than the nearest relations with whom marriage is precluded.

In the family home of my interpreter in Sakhnin I had an opportunity of watching a few queries the marriage negotiations conducted by the young man's family with that of a possible candidate.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

was rather low interested in return, as Arab game of chance, at the last home (Sam 3, verse 9) of the Canon Sahida gambling). However, these interests were denied in strong terms by my interpreter, the young man's sister, who invoked Allah to witness the truth of her refutation. The next question to be discussed was the amount of the bride price and how much of it was to be spent upon jewellery, household utensils and so forth. This bride price and its size was parliamentarily referred to by my interpreter as "what one will do for the girl". A third subject also arose up for discussion: the young man's appearance. Curiously enough, no photograph was produced although there were photographers in Sakkhawan. A plan was considered whereby the girl's mother—clearly rather of enemy—should drive to a set density past the small shantytown's shop occupied by the young man's father, where, at the time (the moment forbidden) the suitor was. In this way the girl's mother would obtain a glimpse of the person to whom she might decide to hand over her daughter.

It was the intention that the third meeting should be the final one between the mothers, and then the girl's mother would then place the matter before her husband to secure his sanction to the decisions reached by the women, whereafter the matter passes to the men. After that the girl's father would arrange a meeting between himself on the daughter's half on the one hand and the young man and his father, possibly accompanied by some friends, on the other. In regard to similar situations in the villages, which, however, I had no opportunity to witness, I was told that at one place (Bir was Dura a young man's village committee to thank a girl's father for having sanctioned the alliance. These friends and guarantors for the young man's qualifications were served with tea by the girl's father, the prospective bridegroom being supplied the dowry here, namely the enormous quantity of half sugar, chopped into big lumps, used as such occasions. This may have had a Swedish parallel in the engagement meal of the men of the two families then, according to Ehrenpreis, a paradise by the Palestinian Arabs.

Incidentally, after the third and final meeting of mothers, my interpreter believed that it would be fitting if some time elapsed before the meeting between the men took place, as it did not look well for the young man's family to refuse too great an eagerness after the marriage had been arranged. My reason to Dawood's request ran from informing the matter on the spot, but a letter from Hafida brought me further news. She wrote: "Please can advise me about my brothers wife. She is not the same girl which we wish you meet in Arab Israel because we did'nt agree with the family, so we seek another girl from the Arab Israelish family. Her father is Sheikh Mohamed's cousin which you met he use Abdu Jiff". From this letter it appears that it is possible for the young man's family to break off marriage negotiations at a relatively late date. It also seems from the words "we seek ..." that it was not the young man himself, but the family, in the first instance to initiate matters, which demand the prospective bride. The question is made of the girl's appearance or qualifications, the most important factor in the urban milieu apparently is to become related to a family of good repute and high social position.

To sum up the question of marriage negotiations in urban circles, it can be said that the bride must not be sought within the family. The father's brother's daughter marriage appeared to be practised by the village settlements. Marriage was a matter of family policy, weight being attached to the social prominence of the family with which a marriage alliance is sought. The reason of the young man's

Within these two contractions of marriage is signalled by two things: the drawing up of a marriage settlement and the wedding festivities.

The drawing up of a marriage settlement is, as Levy points out[1], the main. I am tempted to say the basic feature of a contracted marriage. According to what my interpreters told me, a marriage settlement drawn up by Kurds in the urban milieu of Sulaimani demands the presence of four male members of the bride's family, the most important of whom is the bride's guardian, as a rule her father. Four male members of the prospective bridegroom's family, that is to say the groom and three others, must also be present. There is also a mulla and the gadi by whom the marriage settlement is drawn up[2]. My interpreters informed me that the prospective bride might also be present, though usually veiled and in a respective passive role. Whereas the bridegroom thus has an opportunity of seeing the bride until the marriage is consummated, the bride apparently is afforded a chance of seeing her future husband. I was also told that on this occasion she is asked whether she agrees and that it is then open to her to refuse to go on with the marriage, but father being unable to take her. According to the Jaaf I was the bride must agree to the marriage[3]. The marriage settlement is not concluded between the bride and bridegroom, but between the bride's wali and the bridegroom with the others present as witnesses[4]. The bridegroom agrees to pay the bride price, in size a finally fixed, and with a the divorce price, here given a part of it is to be immediately available, before the wedding, and here meant is to be held back for payment in the event of a divorce, that is to say if a man repudiates his wife to right and divorce by the latter), or in case of the husband's decease. When my interpreter's sister contracted marriage, I was told that the sum set aside for the unambiguity of divorce or widowhood was not, as normally[5], a half or a third, but if I understood aright, exactly four times the sum paid out, 1000 Dirs. (1000). The gold up part of the bride price was 600 Dirs. (600). This large sum my interpreter's family demanded guaranteed to secure the cost's marital position and to give cost any expenditure in the event of another wife[6]. I cannot say whether the sum was made larger than in fact it was in order to add savings to the family's economic reputation.

With the drawing up of the marriage settlement the man, in addition to paying out the bride price, undertakes to support his wife, give her food, clothes and sometimes contributes with the standard obtaining in her family home[7]. A breach of this marriage settlement gives the wife grounds for divorce. The other possibility a woman has to obtain divorce is the abandonment of the bride price. Apart from these occasions the right to dissolve marriage lies with the man, who alone does have the word utáq, "I repudiate thee", or talaq, in Sorāni[8] equivalent. "I renounce all rights over thee", or in some cases when drawing up the marriage settlement certain clauses, or by oral or recorded or enacted in due authentic forms or positive actions on the part notify the rights over the wife, thus providing her with any more possibility to obtain a divorce. On contracting marriage the wife retains also to bear the husband's children who belong to the husband, also in the event of divorce. Here is a case, the woman takes the children with her so long as they are quite small, but is obliged to send them back to the father's home when the boys are six and the girls eight years old.

As mentioned, the drawing up of the marriage settlement takes place at the gadi the judge. It was stated that in the villages only the local mulla was necessary. This has several things[9] to declare that the drawing up of a marriage settlement is a civil act, consisting in proof of the condition that

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to the room [illegible] as there with whom marriage was precluded. After the showing up of the marriage settlement he was then considered as already her brother-in-law. (The engagement can [illegible] as binding as marriage is mentioned by Shakespeare[17] in regard to the Egyptian [illegible]. On the other hand, he was never alone with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the new young people were talking together, and he told me very often jest a rule. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the white veil over her head when speaking to him, but at the same time wore about in a considerably decently way, almost to veil, dirty clothes. The new young people were to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with that part of the wedding bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture items were to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedroom suit in polished wood and so forth. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 12 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed in an Iraqi hotel in the main thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all four shared a room in which they had both days and eaten their meals, prepared food having been brought in shops to the hotel. As at home there was no undressing at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 30-year-old brother in the same hotel. Here also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay in Baghdad the young couple were never alone but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them.

When the prospective bride was on an excursion by car with the mother of the fiancé and her elder brother, she used the other moment, when old and sick, grew very being taken that she will may not [illegible] or shifted. It was explained that this was to show that nothing would be said about her either by her prospective husband or her future in-laws. There was no special sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Granqvist[18] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people never see each other while they are engaged, and the prospective bride even hide herself when the young man pays a visit to the home. However, the young people in my interpreter's home in Sulaimani appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their offhand ones than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[19], its emphasized and sociological significance.

[illegible] The bride price made is mentioned in the Koran, Sura 4, verse 4 and Sura 5, verse 5, as the ordained marriage gift, but it expressly says down that the Faithful are permitted to take to marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the people who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1778 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from all Arabs in that greater pleasure was ordered at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could later be obtained for her, only a small insurance being given her by others, whereas the Arabs and Turks expend the whole bride price on the bride's effects and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying "Hence daughters are thus with them a source of wealth"[20].

In a Kurdish village called Nalkha, I was told that a 12–13 year old bride was expected for a bride price of 30 DKr, plus a dress for the bride. Whether the sum was paid out in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Belleyl[21] says of the Sabbeans that the bride price was to be paid to the [illegible] of a

dowry, high-legged, mahogany sofa and chairs, while the best pieces were reserved to be used when in the French fashion of the '90s.

Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and her personal use, specified with the 400 Dhs. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expected about 100 Dhs. as gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

The bridegroom received from the evening to-fore the wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirt, underwear, pyjamas, soap, shaving outfits, bath gloves, small bath mat of velour to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a hand-embroidered silk cloth[14], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Three of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed calicos for clothes. Some of the bridegroom's male relatives received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of trousers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, while the other four shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of trousers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs accepted to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were not as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English grass was purchased for this purpose, being cut use to the home by a seamstress who took them away to be made up.

In addition to the expense of these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, were the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit to her family home a week after the wedding in order to display them. The value of these trinkets was said to be 40 Dhs. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my information, bridegroom and his family 400 Dhs., bride's family 140 Dhs., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day and the 3rd.

Hay mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village native in Kurdistan in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[15] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the men pay a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dowry for the bride, consisting in textiles mainly obtained from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lewis's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[16]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom has to give, also the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts running about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

[illegible]

[illegible] does not mention that the men must pay any bride price. This does it quite agree with the information I have given above when conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where for him the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid to them wealth by the bridegroom, but stated that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her to the home of [illegible], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

[illegible] wedding preparations. Of the bride's neighbours the male folk and the gathered women are made by male craftsmen in the town. On the other hand a commonness story to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, the cars are brides, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimaniyah. When the material was cut out, the bride's sister-in-law, then a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was crushed and sieved over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

The same ceremonies are not of a cult of English grays the claims of genuine Kurdish form and the dresses given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimaniyah a woman arrived to make to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the public hairs, placing a metal razor built in the bride's bathroom. Whereas an ecclesiastical Kurdish girls, as with the Arabs, never shave or remove hair from her body in other ways, she does from the time of marriage long her body [illegible] of hair[11]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the feature, a mixture of [illegible] and arsenic[12] used by the ordinary, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "hilbe mbeed", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with piece of charcoal"[13]. In another place Lane[14] refers to a depilatory, "rusmi", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in one minutes, after which it is washed off.

The removal of hair in my interpreter's family then took place in the home with the help of an [illegible], and not, as reported by Chesnaye about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[15]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[16].

By the bride's home the Duke of beauty treatment is completed with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This was to be that as soon of the bride grasped her by the hair as she sat under-baldness in the courtyard, and attempted to overcome her in order to satisfy herself that the public hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride had crossing was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, gaily nightgown with puffed sleeves, a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a wide jacket has without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding dress in the last detail, is a family and not a private affair. Kurds

were exceedingly modest. Modesty, on the other hand, was of a type different from what we are accustomed to in our patterns of behaviour. 834

They felt shifts at displaying the ideal body. All changing of clothes during the day among women took place in a squatting position without the body at any time being exposed. An alternative European costume dress in which the daughter of the Sheikh of Tripoura had wanted to be photographed covered her to knee off the sitting and to dark into the dark confinement in the courtyard, where she sat bunched up in the corner with her naked arms clung protectively around her bare legs, when two peasant women from the village, fetching water, happened to pass the gate to the courtyard. In the urban milieu, where my interpreter and I took a room both together in the bathroom, she always kept her hand covering her lap when the sitting position on the small wooden stools whilst being dressed was not sufficiently concealing.

On the other hand dryness did not apply when relieving nature. This took place collectively and in the presence of other women fetching water from the basin, where water was available for the only separate washing, whether in the garden basin of the sheikh's houses at Tripoura and Sarkan, or the more private wash-like shelf in the courtyard of the Sheikh's house at Sergale, or as one of the big public washing basins for women in the villages. This was done discreetly sheltered by the singleness of women's costumes, but was not a private but a joint undertaking, in which solitude and peace was neither sought nor expected. 834 924

The wedding. Lane[19] says that Arabs have a special preference for Mondays and Fridays for the celebration of weddings—that is to say the day on which the bride is handed over to the bridegroom—whereas, according to Hanoteau[20], the Turk-occupied Berabber Muslims favour Sundays and Thursdays. 835 114

To judge by the four wedding feasts I had an opportunity of witnessing, wholly or in part, in Southern Kurdistan, the Kurds appear to follow the Turks in this matter. In the villages the two weddings took place on Sundays (16 June and 14 July, 1957), the third on a Wednesday (22 May, 1957), whilst the one wedding I was present at in Sulaimani was celebrated on a Thursday (8 August, 1957). Later my interpreter informed me by letter of her brother's wedding, which took place on a Monday (26 August, 1958). No rule can be discerned from such sparse material, except the negative one that the Arab predilection for Friday—the most important day of the week (Al Islam—as the day for the handing over of the bride does not apply to the case of the Kurds. The weddings I witnessed in Tripoura and its neighbouring village, Rabaran, took place in a humble village setting. The upper class village setting wedding was not celebrated during my stay in Southern Kurdistan. (197)

At two of the three village weddings I was able to observe the men's rule in the festivities, at the third the women's. In all three cases, however, I was in the bridegroom's house to which the bride was brought. In none of the cases did I have an opportunity to see what went on in the bride's home. 835

The booking of the brides, fell, who all spoke their mother's, was a matter for the men[21]. As it is the custom for the bridegroom's party to send a carriage of Isrud cars filled with men left the village for the bride's residence. Among the men, most of them in the village, was the bridegroom's father, but not the bridegroom, who

585 [971] With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[13], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host –in this case the father of the bridegroom– must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[14]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[15]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men.

585 [811] 585 [833] The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

585 585 The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and, at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semi-circle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wikan[16]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[17] and from the Bakhtiari[18], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

[911] 584 585 The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in the group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth cradle up under his waistband. The drum[17] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[19] had a funnel-shaped bend, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topawa one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, sometimes tones being used instead of one routine. There was no polyphony or

585 533

Fig. 52. Wedding dance. Men dance in a row to the music of a drum and a clarinet. Rainawa.

harmonization, so, as Hornbostel[19] points out, this music to us sounds flat and false. Other instruments include a 20-30 cm. long shepherd's pipe, both single and double (E. 2280-81), referred to by Hay[20], one of which I acquired though I did not hear it played.

To sum up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's rite comprises fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there. (At the one wedding in Rainawa it was said that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a chain dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the villages, pay for the cars used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance.

The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's cortège, including the bride's car, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the clay roof covering the entrance hall to the house.

585 from which clay stairs, with high, narrow steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the bridal's wife and daughter were on the mattresses facing the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 12. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[1], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women, a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[2], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[3], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her pregnable[4]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her bearing its wings, at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[5], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseau, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dowry given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to complete the marriage bed, and the unavoidable factory-operated window set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 302 302 [492] The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore markings, a thing [illegible] only are among Turkish women in Mosul, but it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the male way to stay at the new home with her for a week, the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Sulaimani, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[44]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was provided for the women. This was served in six large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

The women's rôle in the village before then comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a bird over the bride and a libation on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle there includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the house and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the bird released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let it loose. In this connection it may be of interest that Crawley reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[45] when the bridal people enter the bridegroom's home.

Crawley also mentions that according to Arab customs, every time a house is always an important station, as all kinds of spirits, demons, jinns and ex-lovs attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[46]. As regard to Islamized Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Ecsker calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the preservatory measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grenard, Ecsker writes: "Es handelt sich sich darauf von den Mohammedanern, die Frau von ihren Eigenschaften zauberischen sind zu einen neuen, den der Eigen des Hauses, aufzunehmen"[47]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[48], the libation I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to assemble the heavy stick.

The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost solemnity, as act that in the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull her which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled woman's group. Ecsker's analysis can probably be accepted that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Crawley refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the head which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Crawley quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolical act that are to ensure

[illegible] that the husband will have his future residence in the home[illegible], an explanation I did not have given for the time offered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the bird and the blow given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture. As Wilkinson points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[illegible].

At whose service in Sulaimaniyah I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding moved from the opposite angle to that last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an urbanized milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergences in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

As this wedding the family's own were, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the house early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimaniyah, and the two people most concerned, who both belonged to the urbanized milieu, wanted some months later to seek positions as school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding this house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken, only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and loggia of this quite small house that the groom's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled to some extent because the arrangement of the two rooms and loggia was done under the free direction of the bride's sister to such an extent that she halved the three arranged rooms: the bedroom, the guest reception room and the small miscellaneous store room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from upsetting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village relationship. As many of the ladies of Sulaimaniyah as the bride's house and courtyard could accommodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and to lend cars to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and sherbet, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

English ornaments being replaced by exhibition jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin are combined with sapphire scent a short, white bridal veil, shadow and bridal's bouquet of white paper flowers. Then bedecked she was placed in a showy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The rare should have come at 7 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the sacred alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red velvet silk cloth on the outside and silk hands of the same colour that all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bridal's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride married on her mother accompanied by the family's umbrella who was in unison with the bridal chair with the guard of the bridal's majesty, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by cars to cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 3.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car covered by mosses. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bridal's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bridal's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the bigger part outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and no exhibition to the bride were made on the floor. Even the pairs mattresses intended for sitting on in the bigger and for sleeping not on the mat.

In connection with the urban-urban wedding, a dinner was given a week later to the bridal's personal friends by the men of the new families, the bridal's father being the host. The women of the house personally received the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party were on as detached from the mothers as was undoubtedly possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, in order a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins in hang on her necklace, in this was something to 40 Ellen- a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her mother. This was, then, a suggestive of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity, as mentioned by several questions[?], the doctrine known when, taking a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the commemoration of the marriage, is with the Vedic, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin the must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her views, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She was not the same risk in India I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying women did not secure bloody proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who is given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the uncle. However, my interpreter added that before

[illegible] the bride was examined for non-having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the women-gynecologist to discover whether the lacking growth of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was found that the cases of white widow examined then comprised the armed, shamefully, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's virtues if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "Virtue a year" seems to shame the birth of the two child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

In view of the very definite virginity prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of sexuality, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of love making is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and even therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young couple, equally painful even it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, the guests adjourned, to have the field to the waiting women, who roughly draw the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a view on the sheet as possible. A friend of mine whose a second bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

Hajji[illegible] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who encroaches herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of encroaching herself, must surely die, and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way is considered to have lost the honour, and a Kurd's attack on honour is one of the most grievous provocations". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet ceremony, Nikitine[illegible] says that it was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume constituant à montrer que la fille des montagnes marche en Dage Islam ("Ayatollah"), qu'il ne soyons mauvais aux garçons de la grande Science, comme gardons de se soigner".

The use of the bridal sheet with the broken hymen is mentioned by Hallberg[illegible]. Then the Kurds kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and then this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Ekelund[illegible], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being sometimes enough to smuggle how the bridal chamber a Kurd piece of meat with blood on it, with which to sell the fact them ...". To this can be put Rawson's information about the Kurds as long ago as 1850, that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "save an intact Eldest"[illegible].

Polygamy and divorce. According to the Quran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[illegible], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[illegible].

The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing [illegible] "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the explanation of the 'idda-period[illegible] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[illegible]. By [illegible] a man can relive divorce himself from his wife but, should he repent the act, can without further

ceremony ends the tie with again within the above-mentioned group[28]. Should to have pronounced only three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife would instruct upon forma marriage with another man and even be recommend by the "seven husband" before the husband can take as wife[29]. The Coran forbids the practice of divorcement, as if you will, a man divorce wife to marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", however, or other [1217] [1218] [1219] [1220] [1221] [1222] [1223] [1224] [1225] [1226] [1227] [1228] [1229] [1230] [1231] [1232] [1233] [1234] [1235] [1236] [1237] [1238] [1239] [1240] [1241] [1242] [1243] [1244] [1245] [1246] [1247] [1248] [1249] [1250] [1251] [1252] [1253] [1254] [1255] [1256]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the highest rank extant in the present Arab countries and Turkey, small Kurdish chiefdoms and the aristocracy in the Hills.

In the home I stayed in at Erbil, the order that both wives should be treated in the same way was punctiliously fulfilled. The wives lived in two dwellings[17] which were the reflection of each other, each consisting of bedroom and a reception room divided by a corridor that led from the courtyard door to the inner-most courtyard. In each house this courtyard was surrounded by outhouses, barns, bathrooms, etc. Cement steps led up to a flat roof. The two dwellings were built together, but one house, that with separate entrance from the street. There was no connection visible between the two women's domains. The women were of about the same age, about 35, and childless (elsewhere, operations etc.). Both had been sent separately on a pilgrimage. Their home furniture was identical. The husband circulated in the daily household purchases, and took it in turn to spend a day and a night with each, that is to say as much of that period as a man spends in the home, which is the case except the morning and evening meals plus the night. The women visited each other, but not, as at all events could have, as evidence quite independent of each other. My main impression was that if was the women's houses I visited, where a man infrequently paid a visit—and what with daughters in law married with a man's house with two wives.

The other home also with two wives was that of my interpreter in Sulaimani. Here there was a diverse history, with complete information concerning the acquisition of a new wife. The elder wife in 1957 was in the middle fifties. It was difficult to obtain accurate particulars about age, as women only welcomed with before or after the change of life. She had passed her climacteric. The other living child was 30. The youngest wife was in the mid of the thirties, her oldest child was 14. The father had been out in a village as a matter, seen the young woman and asked her family if he might have her to wife. Ceremony, this was not done until he had conferred with his first wife, whose he had promised that the new wife would help in the home where the two women were to live together with the small children of the first wife. However, the two women had not got on well together. The first or elder wife had been crossed in her home with all her effects, her leaving behind sadly children who were even in 7 years of age. When they had reached maturity they had demanded that the father should also have their mother. This had been done after the last, as the law demands, gone through a pro forma marriage with another man and been repudiated by him. My interpreter told me, however, that her father did not live with her mother, but as at the time I was there she was in the mid fifties this was not of immediate importance. There was daily life between the two wives now? On family visits during periods between the husband took both his wives. With this I condemned the marriage regulations for the son of No. 1 wife. With No. 1 visited the cradle and looked after No. 2's baby child, an infant 4 months old. The newly-married daughter of No. 1 paid a visit to the house in mourning clothes (that is to say devoid of ornaments) when the baby of No. 2 died. My interpreter, who had a daughter of No. 1 married her small half-sisters with the same sum, both sentimentally and economically (in regard to the purchase of footwear, gifts and children's clothing in Baghdad), as the dowry of her adult brother and sister. When the daughter of No. 1 was to be married and the women of the family were planning the future life of the young couple as a pair of mothers in one of the villages, it was suggested that the bride's mother, that is the elder wife, should move out and give her daughter

e found with the housework, took care her future children, and kept her company when the husband, as is the custom in Ve[illegible] spent a large part of the day in company with other men. The arrangement, I was told, was purely one of personal considerations. The presence of the second younger wife in the home in Sabaragamuwa with her own children (one, a daughter, was married), who with the three adult children of the elder wife, plus the husband, brought the size of the family up to 10. All the girls over a certain age took an apparent to their brothers, grew over to an elevated status away from the home, and left behind a colossal handful of work, particularly in the mines, in the form of cooking, fetching, washing, etc., for the two wives at home. The burden was equally divided between the two wives, which was too much for the elder. By moving out to the village with her newly-married daughter she could obtain a far easier life. In the home in Sabaragamuwa it was apparently not possible for the one wife to have an [illegible] amount of work to the other, on the contrary they appeared to share it all loyally. The one working was made it for the whole family, the one cooking or washing [illegible] the same. Evidently, the two wives eminently seemed to share the daily work in the house, and their children showed equal affection for both mother and stepmother.

In the case, then, the husband had won to a village a beautiful, accomplished girl with whom, to use a European term, he fell in love, showing due consideration for his first wife he had made her his second. The divorce here was due to the fact that the two women could not agree.

A young wife with two quite small children, who was married to her family by the husband, was quoted as an example of incompatibility of temperaments. The husband was much older and very wealthy, too, it was said, incredibly wealthy, and the wife refused to submit to this. Before I left I heard that the case had reported for separation which apparently had not been right and final. No one wanted her to return before [illegible] formation of her [illegible] married.

A case of my interpreter's [illegible] a half-brother of her stepmother, was married to a woman of about 25, who [illegible] was married to him (at the age of 11), had borne him four daughters, two of whom (7 and 3) had survived. In all the children had been female, and under pressure from friends and neighbours, he was entering a second wife who would, he hoped, be able to bear him sons. Three cross-marriage negotiations had been initiated on his behalf but for various reasons had broken down. The case was sore at the end of the [illegible]. His wife appeared to be reluctant to depart by the elder one, and it would be difficult for the new wife to [illegible] with her. Furthermore she faced the prospect of the new woman demanding her divorce before consenting to maintenance, or that, competition being between the two wives, she would have to quit not.

To sum up: Polygamy exists among Kandy in the unobtrusive urban milieu, but the number of cases does not exceed two. Successive marriages, with children of earlier marriages as members of the family, exist among the village aristocracy. Monogamy prevailed in the humble village milieu, marriage mainly for economic reasons. Monogamy also prevailed in the urbanized urban milieu.

[illegible]

and placed on a rug on small mattress on the floor. The children were 3 years and 4 months old, respectively. The little girl lay covered with a cowrie. No doctor was summoned to issue a death certificate. It was said that this is unnecessary in the case of small children. The death is notified later on the authorities. On the funeral was a shirt given the same day, one of the men of the house was sent to the city for a suitable piece of white cotton material for the ceremonies, while the women of the house busied were for washing the corpse. This most include both the small mouth, performed prior to proper burials. Ceremonies, first and a light smearing of the face on the head with a damp hand, and the big wash, which includes the whole body, so that the deceased achieves complete ritual purity[48]. The little girl had died in the neighbouring house in my interpreter's house in Sokkosaré, where I lived. It had originally been an ordinary mid ward's house, but had now declined into a slum building inhabited by several families. In the centre of the courtyard there was a watercourse from which the several families on the property fetched water for household purposes. This water, the doubtful cleanliness of which was possibly the cause of the little girl's illness and death, was not used for washing the corpse. Many gerrit cans of good municipal water were fetched from my interpreter's home, where water was laid in. A big cauldron was got over a fire in the courtyard. On the floor in one of the rooms on the side of the dead child sat the mother, grandmother and aunt, mitigating the child and lamenting its death. This death lament, an old Israelite custom, has been retained although

8

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. 4a. Hagana Cemetery south end of row length of cemetery in the centre path; c. d. the row head stonings or marking pillars; E pathway used for burying

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] stone enclosure using the matting found around us and here set by the mosque, and one within sight of the mother. Her life is a completely austere one. The enclosure even consists of an occupied corner of graves of dads. Neither baths nor utensils are used to divide the convicts. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the house to the mosque, and then the burial ground, overlaid by a green carpet over the ceremonies. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother usually, accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a goat were practiced in the southernmost ethnic tribes. The sacrifice was not generally known; a child was dead as in the case in Egypt, but however this deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was deemed a curse, a debt in the near future. The accursing period for a child is a forty night. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The mosque of the family was the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Wholesale orders are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The accursing period for adults is one-three years. Those of confidence who grieve for eight days when a child dies. The houses of the family remains their ornaments and utensils when bodies starting into dust.

Fig. 65. Burial place [illegible] the non-muslim for village Tropanna

§ CHAPTER 6

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily services of Islam, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year.

Whereas the confession of faith is one duty only in the five books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the spiritual life of Islam.

What place has this left to the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the synopsis of Paradise, hearsay, something the faithful in Paradise are told that only women at the beginning of Mohammed's revelations' and is later dropped - the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is in some senses excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that we practice to church on Sunday - the only day devoted by us to religion - are women, the women are seen in Islam's mosques, scattered, silent forms of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, go to a city at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque in any great strength. The men who visit the mosque daily and on several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or on their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and so perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their fields, or at their place of business. Kurdish women must travel to possess a name and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village embroidery in Tegawra, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost precision.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually - one like the others, in succession by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and her up to one hour later. The prayer rug, himself, (5. 22cm of goat's wool), rectangular in form, 1.65 x 1.10 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, indigo patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the side of which was unroofed towards Mecca. The women and the

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

The morning prayer with its two rak'a took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic features of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually, never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only pressure lamp in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin[8] of interrupting the worshipper.

Leach[9] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 97. Women praying in the house on a snow inside the water basin. Sulaim.

given exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8-12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village women said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a downsliding motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand lying passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stones, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Tirqawra were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dukan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient, as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and, midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest rooms by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Tirqawra. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the home, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black crow at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the alms of piety of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a fashionably-clad girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European pram/conveyance, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Koran than they would if they

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouses of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of ramaḍān began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[1], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargala. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connection with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". One of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the condemned urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jeddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Dip. (say £200[2].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrim mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *shyāl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kur4 MA11

normally the case when the funnel-shaped veils are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured ideographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk sleeves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the four days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it. four days around the 10th *dh-l-hijja* namely 9-12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two unstitched draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Meccan pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *Ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *Ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at Marwa, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as on other feasts, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, greased inside. The dough was pulled into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 3-4 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

traffic jam occur as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there were only tribal mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1937) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mina, the actual 'id-i-qurbán or qurbán bairám, that is not to be confused with the return from 'Arafát to Mina. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (or Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was necessary by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was six years when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to see the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1937) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the Ka'ba seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, Safá and Marwa, whereafter they proceed to Mináh where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. A Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 12, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions to the farm of pinnies in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canal. There are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which also set with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1937) for pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Mináh. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1937). Departure from Mináh with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last circumambulation around the Ka'ba, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of Zamzam. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish women:

When unpolluted, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 250 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3-4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself to the month of ramadân to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialized community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Sulaimaniya, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily on the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

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841 Underclothes. During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieus in Sulaimaniya (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

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Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and menarche in this connection were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and extensive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[1] (see p. 139), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[2] (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[3]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[4]. 515 888

Sufism among the Kurds. "They are *haqqi*", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Arab *qa'im maqam* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Tegawra and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Shadula, lying in the valley between Chermahand and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that so far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 795

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of *Ahl-i Haqq*, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kaka'i and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[5] Naqshbandi[6], Naqshbandiya[7], founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Mohammad Baha-ud-Din or Baha-eddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Mawlana Khalid of the Jaf tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowen[8], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Hajji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of sodium. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 795 391

According to Edmonds[9] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Karim of Shadula, near Sargalu, a relative of the Hajji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have resuscitated or founded the "way" called "Haqqi". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Desire of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 795 831

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1795 8311 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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991 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[26], and to avert the evil eye. 789 They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topawe); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[27].

[822] The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 1789 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue 858 button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[28], the one red and the other blue. In 301 addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[29]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

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Sulaimani, and is called: *kâlâ-k*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver begging bowl. It is this begging bowl that Kurds call *kâlâ-k*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[38]. From the chain hang two silver bells[39], two triangular amulet cases of silver[40], two small silver watering cans[41], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[42].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *Ishwâna*, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate lyra[43] has been inserted to avert evil[44]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *mâwâlâta*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[45] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of moss agate[46] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are temple ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294-2295) known as *gul* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.036 m., reported to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by bazar craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (*hjar*), their shape (snail shells), their sound (bells), or their material (carnelian, moss agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[47] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[48] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklet worn by women[49]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075 × 0.08 × 0.015 and 0.06 × 0.06 × 0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[50] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[51] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *lâla*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[52]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (cf. p. 108). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aristocratic village milieu. Two itinerant sayyids, recognizable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Shaikh of Topzawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that

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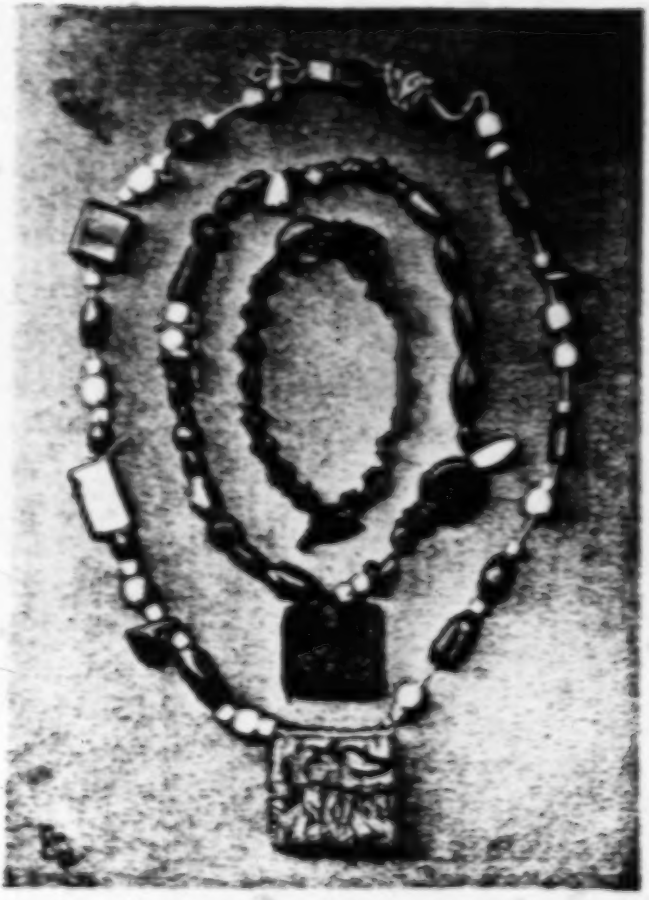

Fig. 98. Necklaces with amulets for women: dried clove with triangular amulet (E. 2289)
- stones and cowries, rectangular amulet (E. 2291)
- stones, rectangular amulet (E. 2290).

Fig. 99. Jewels protecting the child against the evil eye: shoulder- and chest chain with beggar's bowl (E. 2301) – chain of blue glass beads with small beads (E. 2287a) – blue button (E. 2287b) – scorpion of blue glass beads (E. 2287d) – crescent of gold (E. 2302). For the woman: temple ornaments (E. 2294-95).

1792 1554 463 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[46]. None of the grown-up men of the house was home at the time. The sayyids were not received in the guest room of the house in accordance with their station as strangers of a certain rank, that on exceptional occasions could be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard, and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather reluctantly, a deal had been agreed upon—amulets in return for flour and sugar emptied into the beggars' bags that the sayyids carried over their shoulders. These persons appeared to rank with the sheikh's servants. No refreshment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

1792 789 463 The amulets were made whilst we watched. The one sayyid placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the sofa by the side of the ink bottle. He then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn red lines, forming rectangular panels. These were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to distinguish this from the distance away I had to stand. On another piece of paper he took out was drawn a sword. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes. These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded into a triangular packet, the bottom corner being bent diagonally, and the paper was then folded together.

306 789 The needles were picked up from the sofa, broken in the middle, and stuck into the triangular paper packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular packet but without any iron content. When the amulets were handed over to the women they were laid in a little box in which already lay other amulets not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to view the amulets whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

Lane talks of the Arabs in Egypt with "written charms ... consisting of certain passages of the Kur'an and names of God"[48]. So far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was forced to keep, the amulets, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That iron is included in amulets, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[49]. It did not appear that these amulets were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known from Afghanistan (E. 2193), and, referring to a Kurdish book of prophecies, Nikitine[47] reports that "... le même livre donne des spécimens pour les talismans utilisables dans tous les cas imaginables ...".

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789 *Holy hand.* Fellberg[48] refers to the Lurs having a rod with a small carved wooden hand at the top, that was carried in the waistband of an old man who allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the one cheek and then the other. A large wooden hand, wrapped round with a fluttering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round in the village of Topawa by one of the other four sayyids who were "working" the place at the same time. This man also tried later to visit the sheikh's house, but got no further than the steps up to the loggia of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to clean. As he entered

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the door to the loggia he greeted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad.

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, traded for flour and sugar, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to tarry among the women of Sheikh Taffir's house in Topzawa. When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the waistband of the one, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice.

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Nikitine[48], who says: "Les Kurdes aiment beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("dibt"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial en persane ... on l'ouvre à l'aveuglette, on regarde la sentence qui s'y trouve la première et on consulte l'indication que porte en haut chaque page ("bire" ou "mal") ...". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1275). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sargalu, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[49]. We visited a saint's grave outside Halabja. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the carpet-hung superstructure from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her menses (*cf.* p. 153) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a rag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall at the side of the grating. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not.

Saints' graves were found in a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Tawella near to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *tekuge*[50], was apparently a Sufi religious house[51]. The superstructures over the saints' graves inside were like houses and were hung with silken rugs[52]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[53] respectfully, and accepted some soil scraped together and handed her[53] by the *mulla* who accompanied us. Over that part of the building, the architecture of which evinced considerable Persian influence in the horseshoe arches, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was surmounted by a hand with outstretched fingers.

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Rag trees, rag poles and sacrifices. Two different religious survivals could be seen in Kurdistan: The one, a tree hung with rags standing outside the chapel-like building that housed the saint's grave outside Halabja. A similar type of rag tree adorned not only by rags but also by a ram's horn, with a holy hand set up beside it, stood inside the grating that protected a sacred grave. This lay in the middle of a newly-built section on the outskirts of Sulaimani. Gravestones sticking up here and there between houses showed that the quarter had been raised on what once had been a burial ground.

The other phenomenon: rods each of which bore a single rag like a flag. These rods were placed within a rampart at the burial ground at Topzawa; similar rods were placed within an earthworks at the burial ground of the twin village of Rakawa. No rags were hung on the branches of big trees in the burial ground. A group of rods with rags attached, also behind a low earthworks, marked a grave at the side of the Sulaimani-Chamchamal road in the vicinity of Sulaimani. (No rags on the trees near by.) It appeared to be a matter of two different phenomena: in the one case a tree with branches hung with rags; in the other, rods each bearing a single rag. These rods might be sited under large

Fig. 100. Tree hung with rags outside a saint's grave. Halabja. The woman wearing *shal* and headveil.

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Fig. 102. Rods with rags tied on, planted inside stone wall on the burial ground outside Rakawa.

trees which bore no rags at all. Fraser[36] also distinguishes between these two cases when writing about "heaps of stones" in Kurdistan, which must correspond to Feilberg's[37] saints' graves in Luristan; the matter is also referred to by Bishop[38]. Fraser says: "Those who have benefited tear shreds from their shirts or trousers and tie them to the bushes around", but he also speaks of other graves of great men marked with "... a pole with a flag to point out the place to utter a prayer". Maunsell[39] also distinguishes between the two things, but lets them be found at the same spot, saying: "... a low stonewall" (that surrounds a holy grave) "on which ... green and white flags .... On the branches which overhang the shrine rags and scraps of clothing ...". It was said concerning the grave with the rag tree on the building site near Sulaimani, that it was pregnant women and sick persons who had become hale that hung up the rags as votive offerings. This agrees with Feilberg's[40] report that the Lurs "envoie les femmes pour qu'elles deviennent fécondes ..." to the holy graves.

Dunkley[41] refers to "desire giving trees", though without a grave, and goes on to say: "Perhaps at one time a holy man, or a descendant of the Prophet, sat under such a tree ... it came to be re-

0178 revered .... the crabdown .... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some restrictions act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "first seen creature" is mentioned by Mann[64].

1789 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of shrikhs' and saints' 0178 graves, Nikitine[65] writes: ".... tant qu'il reste attaché à, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Feilberg, that there may be a parallel between [191] these long-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Mannus[66], Ehrengft[67], Feilberg[68] and Sauer[69], Ehrengft[70], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the oldest consecration ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

955 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She 982 intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 4 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

[369] [389] [525]

Visible wooden	+	+		+
Covered wooden	+	+		+
Holy bread	+	+		
Saints' graves			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag pole[71]	+			+

CONCLUSION

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned (p. 68) members of male travellers' have made statements about the position of Kurdish women in society. With the exception of Frauer, who distinguishes between the urban upper class and the village dwellers, Kurdish women are referred to under one heading. However, even from the limited material available to us, it is evident that there are at all events four different environments, each with its own pattern (and this division ignores the nomads). Some emphasize that Kurdish women are "... as free as in any European country"[1], and Rambout declares that "... in Amadia and considerable class the Kurdes esteem Hgale de Florence"[2]. Even though in the case of the Kurds we must consider ourselves faced by a variant of the Islamic cultural pattern less orthodox than in other Muslim areas, I would point out the risk of using the terms "free position" and "equality" as understood in the West when attempting an assessment of the position of Islamic, and in this case Kurdish, women. Freedom and equality are concepts that must be viewed on the background of the position of Western women when their struggle for changed conditions was in progress at the end of the previous century. These terms bear no relation to the status of Kurdish women at present.

In an attempt to explain the Kurdish women's position in the community I shall now deal with the various forms of veil and their mode of dress, contact with the world around, women's possibility of movement, and the degree of seclusion. I shall discuss also the distribution of authority between man and woman in the home, and, finally, the degree of common life in the home. These elements will be investigated within the four female environments existing within the area visited in Southern Kurdistan.

ANALYSIS OF VEIL TYPES

The veil. Five different types of veils, each with its function, but differently distributed in the four female environments, were found to be in use. These were as follows: The triangular neck-shoulder veil, shemaH, the head veil, shepik, the yellow cotton "bridal" veil, the white European bridal veil, and the black face veil, peSt.

The first type, really a shoulder cloth fastened by means of a loop to a strip sewn onto the crown of the cap, is included among the veils because its material, unique title, interwoven with metal thread, of a green, rose or light-blue colour entitles it to be called a veil, and because its function was to hide the neck and pigtails of the married woman. It was an indispensible constituent of a married Kurdish woman's dress were to be complete form. The neck-shoulder veil presupposed the presence of a cap, but not necessarily the use of a turban. At Halabja, for example, it was worn with a calico-covered cap or

293 562 [114] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban women, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

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[354] The *head veil* of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Tajarwa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt. Within the village anhemmary it was mainly white. The humble village women in Tajarwa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women wore black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the now flooded furry hamlet of Mirza Rostam all were black and in Sargalu bright red.

293 576 562 In the two urban milieux the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof or windows to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a pot of tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Sarkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, modern European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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293 562 The yellow-white "bridal" veil I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Tajarwa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

6 Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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turban, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured 'final veil'. Nikitine refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil cast over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le visage de la femme est couvert avec une mouchoir rouge pour que ..... les jours de sa vie familiale qui commencera soient rouges (c'est-à-dire heureux)"[4]. Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as is also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it must not be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[5], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that match up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

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A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Granqvist in the case of Palestinian Arabs[6]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sack, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a caftan hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the ochre-coloured veil was used in the other Kurdish milieus.

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The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent red-white "bridal" veil, used in the Kurdish village milieu, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the escorting cars were closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[7].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's hair is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficiency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil seen in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

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The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the women's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an upper-garment over-garment, the Arab abā worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Russia in 1928 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the over-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognized by it[8].

Sura 24, verses 30-31[9] of the Koran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

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Sura 24, verses 30-31

of the Custom are Mostly Considered to Stem the religious basis for the

complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sura 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the home in order that they shall be recognized as honest women. Sura 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely Allāh is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to Allāh all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[1].

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Mohammed[2], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Suras of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a man's habit. Unknown and incomprehensible, she in that dress represented something invisible and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[3] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil .... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand .... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ....".

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Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kandilion, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 76). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was then a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu. Many times in the city of Ankiomori I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Rord MA11

by residents of Tquoa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sleeves of the costume to cover the face even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[1].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensable part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Sukkmani or the smaller trading centre, Fiddija, could leave the home, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its exhibition in the form of the *abā'a* and *yāšmāk*. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13–14. One of the adolescent daughters in the house of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realized until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very shoddy European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the *sūq* to buy the necessary *abā'a* and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu uphold the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Talibi of Tquoa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She clad herself in *abā'a* and veil in order to walk from Tquoa to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this covering ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain track carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Tquoa closely veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Charmahead pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this around her as, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sargala nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her inevitable companion, back to to the Sheikh's house at Tquoa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakuwa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear *abā'a* and veil after the first day in the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four areas.

Veil types	Village settlements		Nomadic villages		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular cloth + shoulder veil cloth		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cotton bridal veil		?		+				?
European white bridal veil						+		
Plain veil black	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11: Kure MA11

WOMAN'S POSSIBILLITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

Possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion. In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy hold a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the centre off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Tuqueen the wife and daughter in the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pluck fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained to themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the sons received my interpreter and me in the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Tuqueen should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sergala, was bluntly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. Thus what we understand by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of them ever allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

In the meantime the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy. Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brother-in-law,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Topzawa this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dukan Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sargalu and Sirkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind *mullā*[4], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in no static form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Halabja's first lady, Lady Ajāda, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my home is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rawanduz district "... the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk whom strangers are present while countenance, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[5]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellāhin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womenfolk"[6]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[7] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Mahammedan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[70]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[71]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodman[72] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1956.

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As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

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562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
571 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apart-
594 ments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other houses. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ostrup[23] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his house is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a sunken, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the convex iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the house only made purchases in the city and then only of material, never, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[24].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the houses of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind up-

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holsterer, who had to make some mattresses and pillows on the occasion of the wedding, arrived one morning at my interpreter's home. He hung up in the courtyard his carding bow[25] with which he would thoroughly beat the cotton, converting the thick grey lumps into white, airy batting. Later in the afternoon this home-treated cotton was put into the cases made by the women and the upholsterer then completed the sewing. This work, which took a whole day, was done in the women's section of the house. The upholsterer left twice during the day to have his meals in the town.

Very occasionally a bazar tailor, an old man, was admitted to the house to measure me for a quilted caftan. Certain goods, such as rugs, etc., were brought by traders to be viewed. However, these men never entered the women's precincts, never getting further than the front door, and when going out to see them the women tied a head cloth tightly round head and neck. The same thing happened when a man with three donkeys came up the three steps of the house into the tiled hall to unload the supply of wheat for the coming winter. This was brought in large, woven panniers sewn together, and was unloaded behind the sofa in the hall. I never saw the two wives in my interpreter's home go to a cinema. During *qurbân bairâm*, on the day devoted to family visits, they accompanied their common husband or went visiting alone.

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No part of their daily activities brought them outside the home or into contact with the men's world. Their contacts with the women's world in the town were on the other hand unlimited. This fourth feminine environment thus maintained complete seclusion, that is to say there existed what our Western world misleadingly calls a position of bondage.

COMMON DOMESTIC LIFE

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The distribution of authority and man's position in the home. The family's economy among the village aristocracy was naturally attended to by the man, It was also he who decided whether or not a 18 year old son could go on a family visit from Topzawa to Kirkuk or Baghdad. Equally, it obviously rested with the Sheikh of Topzawa to say whether or not he would accept *me*, my interpreter and her young brother as paying guests.

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Like all rural women, the women of the village aristocracy were completely illiterate, whereas their husbands and sons had been able to acquire at all events some book learning. Despite lack of schooling a woman could be extremely intelligent. This was evinced by the way she arranged her complicated daily tasks and ran the house, children, and husband. Besides, she knew her job, was highly qualified domestically, trained as housewife and mother from an early age. Within the home she was certainly man's equal. The family rooms were her domain where the husband was accepted and shown his natural place. In the cases where the wife's intelligence was greater than the husband's, it is a moot point whether the man could be said to possess an equal status in the home. Hay suggests as much when writing about conditions in Southern Kurdistan: "Most chiefs are to a greater or less extent under the thumbs of their womenfolk."[26]

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In regard to freedom, that Western concept into which attempts are made to adapt features of an utterly different social pattern like the Islamic, it can be said the women of the village aristocracy were

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562 592 not "free", being subjected to an elastically-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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565 562 462 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milking in the mountains, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the man, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 369 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 369 591 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the dayly visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

574 593 572 During *qurbân bairâm* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Gautier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... coalition silencieuse, souriante et implacable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maître du harem, armé du pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus revoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ..."[27]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

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THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women. 562 592

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his radius of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, inspected his fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimani on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, urge, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the house. (This to us seems a matter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the man spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or chatted with groups in the village booth. Village men danced alone some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some musicians who had arrived. In the village milieu there were far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Muslim areas—was encountered. 562 369 517 565

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home thus belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, created out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way. 562 369 517

This division appeared in its purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure 562 593

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His leisure

562 hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the streets. The division applied also to the adolescent
593 sons, who in their leisure hours were sent out from the homes to obtain a "street education" (see
[883] p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 5 to 6 years of age still belonged to the home, that is to say, the
517 women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From tea houses, booths, or on benches men saw only anonymous, concealed figures hasten past. No woman's face or form was visible. When Østrup[28] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home meet the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual content, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the man also meets in other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social conventions of Kurdish men evinced at
[838] times a homosexual tinge; they could be seen walking together with arms round waists, holding hands and interlacing fingers.

Within the home there seemed to be remarkable little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for
593 his clothes, a place on the floor by the meat tray, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided
562 to sleep—that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A woman's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 26 year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses
[352] and clumsy sofas, their black over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to rush simultaneously to obtain their *abā* and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but insurmountable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over wide pants for the elder man and pyjamas for the younger. Re-appearing, they once more stole past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

593 The way this home was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the
595 husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However,
562 there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, twin houses at Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's home it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or retired to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a house possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

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was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate how a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dokan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit ... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there ... it is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[39] says of the Egyptian *fellāhīn*-woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practice they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands ... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of culture elements in the four milieus.

Culture elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and *abā*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

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middle of the last century. Within her seclusion the Kurdish woman, like other Islamic women, is assured by the law and by the Coran of rights quite other than those accorded Western women prior to their emancipation[30]. Kurdish women were not suppressed. Even the humble village women were no more suppressed than any woman in a peasant community could be when the biggest share of the work falls to her lot. It was a physically, not a legally, inferior status.

Nor are there any grounds for talking about lack of equal rights because men and women in Kurdistan each have their own pattern of life. One might as well say that a man had not the same rights as a woman because he was unable to follow her pattern of life. The world of men and women were simply divided, more or less (mostly more) from the cradle to the grave. One can therefore talk of an existing justification for this division, with a deviation in favour of the man within the humble village milieu, and in favour of the woman in the educated urban milieu.

ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE KURDISH WOMAN'S CULTURAL PATTERN IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMING "EMANCIPATION"

It is a fact that the Kurdish Muslim area, like other Muslim territories, is on the threshold of a transformation. The introduction of the necessary industrialisation to improve the material side of this technically-underdeveloped country was, in 1957, practically on the doorstep. Even though these changes in the structure of society will last reach the Kurds, that political minority in mountains difficult of access, the years ahead will also bring this area into the melting pot.

In conclusion, therefore, a glance must be cast on the culture pattern of the Kurdish woman, a culture sentenced, if not to death, at all events to radical change, and some of the conditions existing in 1957 are judged in their relation to coming reconstruction. As mentioned in the introduction, I had in the person of my interpreter, an example of the most "advanced" feminine type among the Kurdish women studied. When placing the word "advanced" in inverted commas I do so advisedly.

As a rule one overlooks the fact that cultures older than our own, despite the lack of our Western technical facilities, may in other directions represent a more advanced culture stage, and that a change caused by bitter economic necessity so far from representing progress may, on the contrary, well have to be paid for by retrogression in other spheres. At first sight the introduction of the Western woman's form of life is regarded as being of direct benefit to women with foreign culture patterns. It thus seems surprising that the abolition of the veil, the dropping of seclusion and so forth meets with opposition from women at some places. A few examples of this can be quoted.

In the Muslim areas of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the veil was abolished by Marshal Tito in 1952. Two years later, when visiting these provinces, I was told that it cost a woman three months' imprisonment to retain the black veil and chequered over-garment which, with variants, I

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had seen women wear at Mostar and Sarajevo in 1938. This threat of imprisonment if the emancipation ordained was not complied with, hardly suggests that the women accepted their "freedom" with enthusiasm.

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In Iran, the veil and over-garment were done away with by Shah Rizā in January 1936[31]. This was done in the course of three weeks. Each week the area of the different towns was reduced in which women were permitted to go veiled. At the same time models of European coats were exhibited at the town hall with the idea that women could copy them in replacement of the forbidden over-garment. By offering the material at cheap prices, attempts were made to hinder economic considerations holding up the abolition of the old Muslim dress. The Shah's own ladies headed the reform, and were the first to show themselves in public without the veil. Nevertheless, the wife of a Danish engineer, engaged with Kampsax on railway construction, told me that her Iranian maids in Teheran demanded in the beginning to be fetched and brought home by cab to avoid having to show themselves in the street unveiled. Concerning Iranian conditions, Aldin[32] writes as early as 1931: "A most interesting speaker gave the point of view of the Moslem ladies; they were content with the veil as a sign of care and respect and it was the economic position more than anything else that had forced women to unveil and take up work". Levy[33], twenty years later, furnishes the information that "Shah Rizā enacted his unveiling laws in Persia ... Since his death the old restrictions appear to have been reimposed except in Europeanized families".

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In Turkey the veil was abolished by Kemal Atatürk in 1925. Here the changes in women's pattern of life coincided with a general attack on all Arab elements in Turkey's culture. The Caliphate, which passed from the hands of Egyptian Arabs to the Osmanlis in 1547, was abolished on 3rd March, 1924, two years after the Turkish sultan had been deposed. In 1928 Islam was abolished as the state religion, the Church and the State being separated. The religious law was replaced by legislation based on Roman and Swiss law. The Coran was translated in to Turkish, Arabic script being replaced by Latin letters. The opposition to all things Arab, the weakening of Islam as a rule of conduct for daily life, were to facilitate the swing-over in a Western direction of the Turkish women. In addition, thirty years earlier, a voice had been raised among women urging a change in her century-old culture pattern. Between 1880–89 Djevdet Pasha's daughter, Fatme Alije Hanum, a member of the Young Turk Party, published a book, "The women of Islam", and demanded, within the framework of Islam, the access of women to a better education and greater spiritual development[34]. But even in Turkey the changes imposed by the government on the status of women did not go through entirely without friction.

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Rygaard[35] thus writes in the 1930's: "The ban on the wearing of the veil has, among the humble population in the Turkish quarters, acted contrary to its injention of making women more free than formerly, for many Turks still do not wish their women to be in the street unveiled, and forbid them to leave the house". He also gives another explanation of the government's interest in abolishing the veil and over-garment, an interest that has nothing to do with the alteration of woman's position.

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He writes[36]: "As an excuse for the ban [of the wearing of veil and over-garments] the reformers stated that dangerous criminals and adherents of l'ancien régime all too easily could hide themselves under the long, armless "feradje", the black "carshaf", and the flimsy "yashmak", transparent only from inside, which naturally afforded the best security against search, and it is an undoubted fact that many a spy and criminal has concealed himself under this woman's dress, that veils and hides all forms". Rygaard likewise stresses[37] that "... the so-called emancipation of the Turkish woman is regarded with some justification by many Turks as being an abandonment of a natural protection, and that the Turkish desire to guard his women strictly in the home must be viewed as a symptom of modesty and not be credited to the very widespread, but erroneous, impression that he jealously wishes to hide strictly private mistresses in his harem under the most humiliating conditions".

Should one wish to learn about conditions in these Turkish harems prior to Kemal Atatürk's day, one can hardly do better than to apply to the women themselves. We have an account of conditions under the Sultanate just before the first World War, written by an Arab Sherifa, Musbah Haidar. As daughter of a brother of the Sherif of Mecca, who dwelt in a castle on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, as the "guest" of the Sultan of Turkey, and with an English mother, she gives in her memoirs (published 1948) a woman's assessment of life in an Arab-Turkish upper-class home. Musbah

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Haidar[38] speaks about: "... those well-guarded, exclusive and dignified homes—*the harems*". Regarding the beginnings of the transformation of the Oriental women's life in Turkey to a Western pattern, she writes: "With the rapid decline of old courtesies, breeding and old customs, all that the women got in their place was the doubtful liberty of being able to go out when and where they liked, instead of being guarded and protected as they always have been, always attended and back in their homes by sunset". Incidentally, she strongly denounces the descriptions that have appeared in book form or in articles that purport to provide an authentic picture of the life of a Muslim woman in Turkey. "... In all the years which Musbah spent in Turkey, never did she see Europeans being either allowed or accepted into the Imperial circle, or those of other great houses. Great Eastern ladies were not in the habit of receiving inquisitive and curious foreigners. If occasionally an Ambassador's wife or that of a Consul-General was permitted to visit the Harem, it was done most ceremoniously, and no lady present ever relaxed her polite and formal hospitality into intimate friendship. So these so-called intrepid travellers and globetrotting journalists could only pick up their impressions and ideas from some ninth-rate Levantine, or from some self-styled and much advertised "Hanoum"[39].

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It was symptomatic that in Iraqi Kurdistan it was among the young men[40] and not among the women that I met a definite wish for a change of existing conditions. It was among the young men who had studied at the University of Beirut, or who had been trained in Europe or America, that one heard talk of, as an ideal for the future, "an educated wife" and monogamy. The right people in the West are most inclined to envy, the Coran's sanction of polygamy, was apparently not a right they wished to avail themselves of in the future. From what I saw of the man's position in the home, particularly within the uneducated urban feminine milieu, it was understandable that a man could

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dream of not having to face a united women's front of, say, mother, wives (usually chosen by the women of his family), plus sisters, daughters half and fully grown, who ordered his life from start to finish. In an "educated wife" he hoped to obtain compensation for the social and emotional contact he was now forced to seek during the hours of day with other men.

This leads us to a discussion of the Islamic, and thus the Kurdish woman's marital position and the marriages arranged by the family. As already mentioned, the choice of a young man's married partner is practically always left to the women of his family, that is to say the mother or step-mother and sisters, whereafter the matter is laid before the father for approval. In regard to the fact that married couples in many cases have never seen each other before the marriage is to be consummated, the general Western idea is that it must be difficult for a young girl to be given to an unknown man. However, it must be equally trying for the young man. This is also pointed to by Granqvist when she says[41]: "In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man".

It was characteristic that the brother of Sheikh Taifûr in Topzawa, who was thinking of going to Europe, asked me if it really was true that one could walk up to any woman in the street and offer her marriage. That was his first impression of liberty of choice in Europe. He had never envisaged any sentimental basis for marriage.

The young woman is thus selected by the women with whom she will have to live and work, as the young couple usually dwells in the bridegroom's home. She must beforehand feel highly-prized by the bride price paid out on the contraction of marriage, which is expended to a greater or lesser degree on the luxury with which she is to be surrounded. In most cases she knows the women who are to be her daily companions and fellow-workers. From her own home she is well trained in the domestic work that can be expected of her. She has been brought up with the quite natural idea that her most important destiny and greatest happiness is to be allowed to bear children. From the years spent in the home among other women she has heard and witnessed everything worth knowing about the difficulties of matrimonial relations. She is not expected to be her husband's comrade on a spiritual or intellectual level. The basis for the joint family idea, with several generations housed within the same building is a married life of a different nature, less organised than in our culture pattern. During the day the husband, even among the village aristocracy, has little opportunity of companionship with his wife, as the great boundary between the form of life of men and women compelled him to seek the society of other men, whilst on her side the woman enters the feminine half of the community. On entering marriage, a young woman, in addition to her own personal qualities, is regarded as a representative of a whole family, with which it has been felt desirable to become allied. She arrives in an aura of her own family's glory. She herself had no personal expectations beyond the advantages to be derived from the married state and the fulfilment of a woman's natural desire to have children. As young people in good families had not seen each other before marriage, it was obvious that no sentimental basis existed on which to start the union, but this did not mean that later on a high degree of sympathy might not develop between husband and wife and that this was quite

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562 593 sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together, particularly because the share pattern more or less separated the couple during the day. The young woman was thus faced with demands she was able to fulfil, highly-valued beforehand, with a prospect of a gain if greater sympathy or love was born between herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparison with other women, for in his outside life the husband never met them; the wives of his friends he never saw. In the home he met only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were thus not the chances that at his place of work or in society her husband met and fell in love with another woman, but were far more logically justified. If life together proved impossible, both husband and [586] wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage (see p. 121). Should she bear no children, or no sons, an extra wife was justified. This might mean that the family of the other wife stipulated that the first wife should be renounced, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family assured the bride beforehand as adequately as was humanly possible.

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584 The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps insisted by his family, for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should he not like his bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money in this disappointment, and secondly had to maintain his case against the women of his family, who had selected her. A new wife of the four sanctioned by the Coran, depending upon one's economic circumstances, was another unknown ticket in the marriage lottery.

593 562 [586] From the moment a man passed from the unmarried to the married state, he was for the rest of his life the head of a family. As the bride price was paid when marriage was contracted, the husband had not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[42] in the event of divorce. Quite small children, it is true, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father. In the event of a fresh marriage a man thus had no chance of leaving his children. The new wife, or [587] wives, who entered his home took over the work of looking after the brood of children that might already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is not always the case in the West. The constant factors in the home were thus, theoretically, the father and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children a mutual status quite different from the position of these three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women when one more of the four wives sanctioned by religion was acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when the home she entered had adolescent or adult 562 children. Nor has much consideration been given to the possibility that the stationary children, whom 586 the father is unable to marry off, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been renounced 593 by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and went back to her family, leaving behind her three children aged about 6, 7 and 8 (see p. 137). When these children reached the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

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With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[43] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sure 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[44]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the man's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *sûq*, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

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198 371 562 particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 148). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dramatics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyer band system outside the home, religion- and the peace of mind that goes with it— will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

562 371 If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the woman's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children— there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even to-day in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[45], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

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583 562 114 The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—in this case in Egypt—is stressed by Granqvist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the *fellâhin* women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

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were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that she is bought. Now people among whom bride price is customary do not understand the Western ideal; their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgement depends on customs, which is no certain or absolute measure of value"[9].

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various areas, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected and valued position; she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the only means whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state.

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West. In place of the clearly-stressed special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At the same time her efforts in the spheres that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly less prized.

As the industrialisation of the country progresses, a large part of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to trade with all its consequences, both good and bad. Her firmly-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by religion, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

In the event of divorce and the adoption of monogamy, the stationary home that has so far existed for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mother and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the community structure, as is about to be the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has now reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not obtain a place in the joint family, and the homes will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. The paramount demand concerning virginity is only logically justified provided a home exists where the girl can dwell, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself—arrange her marriage.

The elder members of the family are deprived of the right and duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent improved security for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and what it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women

198 is being re-modelled to resemble our own, but the structure of the pattern being transformed is no
52 at all like the one that prevailed in the West when women's position was definitely improved.

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114 What has been said will, perhaps, explain why difficulties arise when governments in Islamic countries decree that women are to be "liberated" and the veil abolished. That certain advantages accrue to the men by these changes is obvious, but the difficulties that have arisen suggest that the Islamic woman has to abandon more rights and advantages than has so far been made clear. Perhaps, then, this investigation into the life of the Kurdish woman as it is to-day—or rather, as it was in 1937—on the threshold of transformation, but still representing, if not a typically Islamic cultural pattern, at least certain features that apply to other Islamic areas, may serve to cast light on the question.

NOTES

Introduction, pp. 1-6

1 Cf. H. Sumner, The Dutch Delos Expedition, Syme II, 264 et seq. Bighthal 1937. – Antoine Lemire, The Shoreless Tablets. A Preliminary Report, Ant and Excavation, Middl. Hum. Phil. Publ. 4, No. 2, Lakeshore 1939.

2 Pere Monin, Discord & Goodby, London. – Contemporary: Pere Dumas-Bellet, Paris.

3 Generally spelt Bakhmetyeff. It is preferred here to use the name given it by Kazak themselves. – Cf. C. J. Dawnson, Kazak, Turks and Arabs, London 1937.

4 The area I visited is covered by R.A.F.'s unpublished maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Chapter I, pp. 1-30

1 Hartmut 1930, I ff. 3; 10 quotes V. Minorsky, who maintains Muslim-Byzantine descent. – Hartmann 1930, 12 ff. 45; 13 quotes H. J. Muir who maintains the development "Kazakskie-Kazaxsky Kazak".

2 Cf. Hartmut 1930, 17 ff. 3. – Emmerson 1930, 133.

3 Cf. Emmerson 1930, 141.

4 Cf. Hartmut 1931, 121.

5 Cf. Emmerson 1933, 63.

6 Lazare 1928, 100 – Cf. Bauer 1926, 363, 364, resp.

7 Cf. Bauer-Lazare 1947, 400.

8 Cf. Bauer-Lazare 1940, 42 et seq.

9 Bauer 1931, 365.

10 Concerning Shaikh Mahmud of Sulaimani see: Bauer 1940, 71 – Emmerson 1933, 232 – Emmerson 1937, 2, 48, 300 et seq. – Emmerson 1930, 140 – Emmerson 1940, 42 – Gawain 1928, 190 – Hartmann 1947, 61, 150 – Hartmann 1943, 96 – Lazar 1928, 253 et seq. – Lawrence-Bauer 1933, 412 – Muir 1923, 420 – Mohammed 1933, 112 et seq. – Bauer 1926, 353, 389 – Bauer 1926, 488, 489 – Western 1928, 233.

11 Concerning Major Soane see: Emmerson 1937, 32 et seq., 149 et seq. – Hartmann 1947, 154 et seq. – Lazar 1928, 249 – Bauer 1926 (Wilson's introduction).

12 Hartmann 1940, 169 "Fabliaux ...".

13 Lawrence and Bauer 1933, 289 et seq.

14 Hartmann 1937.

15 Emmerson 1930, 140: "Many young Kazak ... should have begun to look to Russia for their inspiration ...".

16 Hartmann 1933, 92 – 1940, 47: "Muslim Committee (National Independence Committee) which was formed in 1927 to keep alive the national movement."

17 Pearce 1940, I, 270.

18 Pearce 1940, I, 193.

19 Pearce 1940, I, 194.

20 Pearce 1940, I, 193.

21 Hartmann 1940, 64.

22 Hartmann 1937, 17 – Cf. Emmerson 1930, 366: "One does not see very much of the women in the East, though the Kazak do not shut them up like the Turks, and they do not veil ...".

23 Bauer 1926, 462.

24 Bauer 1926, 396 – Cf. Emmerson 1930, 139: "a holy named Hafez Khan ..."

25 Bauer 1926, 237.

26 Hay 1921, 43.

27 Emmerson 1930, 139.

28 Bauer 1926, 396 – This information is repeated by Mrs. Lawrence-Bauer 1933, 410.

29 Bauer 1926, 237.

30 Cf. Bauer 1953, 120: "among the leading families of Southern Kurdistan".

31 Bauer 1926, 61 – Lazar 1928, 237 – Bauer 1953, 120 et seq. – Emmerson 1930, 136.

32 Lazar 1928, 250 – Gawain 1930, 198.

33 Cf. Bauer 1953, 120 et seq. – Emmerson 1930, 136.

34 Emmerson 1930, 138.

35 Cf. descriptions of the Sakhawi by Bauer 1891, II, 9 – Four plough lines from in the National Museum of Denmark (E. 1907); cf. Petersen 1931, 202.

36 Cf. Hay 1921, 37: "The bit is of the usual type common throughout Mesopotamia".

37 Cf. Hay 1921, 60.

38 From the Lory in Iran has been brought back a carved wooden board, with rosette on the inner side for three fingers on the left hand (E. 5271) cf. Petersen 1932, 31, Fig. 40 – From Turkey, Kabadis, brought home three bone slices joined with links, fitted with leather straps on the back (M. 3000-Fig. 9).

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39 Cf. information from the Late, Furniture (1952), 66.

40 Cf. Heaven (1961), II, 130, who there does refer to a "hardwood gypsum floor".

41 Cf. Lucca (1966), 76.

42 Hor (1921, 181 refers from Excellence to the fact that on their threshing floors there can be a pole to which 2-4 "miscellaneous draught animals" are tied and driven round. A pole of this kind, to which animals were tied, was not employed in the pre-1 method.

43 This apparatus is described by Hor (1921, 181, as "single-file" - Cimmerian (1921, 29: "Der im Orient allgemein verbreitete Dreschschlitten" - Perry (1972, 76, Figs.1-2: "Threshing sledges (Kubori in Kurdistan)" - Lucca (1966, 51: "horsedrawn sled", Kurdistan.

44 Lucca (1928, 422: "..... der Dreschwagen ..... welch man Wissen den Mittelmeergebieten nur bis nach Persien." - Cimmerian (1936, 140, Fig. 8 shows the same type used in Iran.

45 Cf. Heaven (1961, II, 130 (Continued): "..... sometimes the heavy wood slats, with transverse wedging [illegible] rollers set with iron bars at different angles ....." - Heaven (1927, 17) refers from Egypt to: "..... a sledge-like machine", whose rollers, however, were not fitted with flanged iron blades, but with "iron wheels".

46 Hor (1921, 181.

47 Lucca (1966, Plate 9.

48 Lucca (1966, Plate 10.

49 Cimmerian (1936, 140.

50 Cf. Heaven (1961, 76 representing Cimmerian document. - Heaven (1927, 17) (Egypt).

51 Lucca (Lucca, Iran, reference is made to "great clay jars in the living rooms of the house", Heaven (1961, II, 130 - I, 136).

52 Some Iron types, "cylinders" and "corrugations" are referred to and illustrated from Anatolia/Assyria by Heaven a.o., 61.

53 Heaven a.o., 59 of only.

54 Cf. Heaven a.o., 61.

55 Lucca (1966, 69 Fig. 36.

56 Hrozný (1931, 9, 10-11 only, Fig. 2.

57 Heaven (1961, 131, 134). Cf. "Erfindung von der senkrechtgeschnittenen Walze".

58 Heaven (1961, 131, 134). Cf. "Senkrechtgeschnittene Walze".

59 Heaven (1972, Tab. 111, a Hurrian p. 136).

60 Lucca (1966, 76.

61 Lucca (1966, 101, Fig. 1.

62 Cimmerian (1921, 29) suggests that the type of sledge was originally used in Iran and Kurdistan.

63 Cf. Heaven (1961, 62 - Cimmerian (1936, 140 - Cimmerian sledge (Cf. 1936).

64 A Turkish designation. Cf. Cimmerian (1921, 29).

65 Cimmerian (1921, 29) - Cf. Lucca, (1966, 51.

66 Cf. Heaven (1961, 76.

67 Lucca (1966, 76.

68 Like Lucca (1966, 51, I am not quite clear as to how this system worked.

69 Concerning this word, delay of. Cimmerian (1921, 29).

70 Cimmerian (1921, 29).

71 Lucca (1966, 51, note).

72 Cf. Heaven (1961, 59, note 1.

73 Cf. Cimmerian (1921, 140 - 1922, 141 - Lucca (1966, 39 et seq.

74 Cf. Ibn Battuta (1929, II, 101 et seq.): "..... den Cyprus, Gerste in solcher Art in gebrauch".

75 Cimmerian (1936, 139.

76 Cf. Heaven (1921, 60 - Cimmerian (1921, 140.

Chapter II, pp. 31-46

1 Cf. Cimmerian (1922, 131.

2 Cimmerian (1936.

3 Cf. Cimmerian (1922, 131 - Cimmerian (1922, Fig. 24 - On the other hand Cimmerian (1922, 36, refers to a form the words with the Lam called "Gilgal".

4 Cf. concerning Iranian Kurds Cimmerian (1936, 139, Fig. 3.

5 Hor (1921, 47.

6 Cf. Heaven (1936, 264: "..... Israelite farmers in Kurdistan, The winter scene ..... One of them, the last, has embraced with gypsum ....").

7 Heaven (1961, I, 130 refers to similar treatment "a few days or more, being worked into the thickness of the wall ....." in Iranian architecture. - From Late Turkestan they are referred to by Le Coq (1926, 29 - Cf. Heaven (1961, 132 - From Uzbekistan they are referred to by Tranquille (1936, 167, Fig. 1.

8 Concerning roof construction cf. reports from Iran, Heaven (1961, I, 130).

9 Cf. Lucca (1966, 47.

10 Heaven (1961, I, 132 refers from Iran to: "lumpy, unpolished wooden doors, studded with wooden nails ....".

11 Cf. Cimmerian (1921, 61, Fig. 1.

12 Cf. Heaven (1936, 264: "..... a great decorated room or reception parlour" - Cimmerian (1921, 131: "a wood-grate upon in the air to keep, and used to warm weather or a general sitting and sleeping room by the family ....." - Cf. Heaven (1936, 264, Fig. 4).

13 Cimmerian (1936, 139, Fig. 3).

14 Cf. Heaven (1936, 264, Fig. 4, after Hilprecht - Cf. Cimmerian (1936, 264, 265, 267, Figs. 5, 6, 7) - village settlement from Kurdistan.

15 Cf. Cimmerian (1936, 47.

[illegible]

[illegible]

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provided, only spoons for those who can eat and with their hands ...".

47 Hamam (1932, 3), reports that the Turks eat with spoons of wood or horn, whilst the Arabs eat with their fingers.

48 Cf. Koran s.v., 37 et seq., Fig. 12.

49 Cf. Lane (1836, 298): "..... "qullah", ... thing of earth ..... [illegible] chopped straw, and formed into round flat cakes ..... which upon the walls ..... to dry in the sun". – Hamam (1932, 37 information concerning the Lane: "d'marchandises d'ustensiles comme emplacables ....".

50 Klein (1921, 48).

51 Koran (1924, 12).

52 Hamam (1934, 38).

53 Cf. Hamam (1961, 1, 132 information concerning Iran: "The fire hole ..... in the middle of the floor is an institution ..... Over this is the "korsi" or platform, a skeleton wooden frame like an inverted table, ... covered with blankets or thickly-wadded cotton quilt ....". – Kinahan (1982, 138, fig. opp. p. 112 notes concerning the Iran: "..... La Tendeli ..... une cheminée ouverte ..... au fond de laquelle se place le foyer ..... le tabouret ..... se dresse ..... une grande cheminée ouverte, très ..... ressemble ....".

54 Cf. Lammens (1912, 239).

55 Cf. concerning the Lane Hamam (1932, 37): "Ce sont aux fourneaux qui ..... font griller le kabab ....".

56 Amicarelli, (1845, 314).

57 Cf. Hamam (1932, 38): "Le chaleur [sole] ....".

58 Koran (1937, 43, Fig. 26): "A method of prepping by smoking round pegs stuck in the ground ..... and only the essential pottery ones but also the porter ones to handle ....".

59 An exposition of quite the same appearance is used by the Lane. Cf. Hamam (1932, 38): "Lavage". – Similar apparatus is depicted by Koran (1924, 12a: Persian "Kalian-ha", Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

60 Cf. Lammens (1912, 241, Fig. 1 – Depicted by Koran (1924, 12b, Fig. 12: Turkish nar Nakamuli (Fig. 12) from G. Bumiller's Kalian in Cyprus und Kairo (1884).

61 Ethnic Commission (1926, 178 call this type "Kalabalukalabi".

62 Koran (1924, 47 – is found in Armenia. Cf. Lammens (1912, 241, Fig. 1.

63 Layard (1849, 45, plate 13-14 – Depicted from the Nagkas, Nimrudian (1970, 142, Fig. 1.

64 Cf. Koran (1937, 43): "..... the long general look over the top of the hose and that above the wearer's head. This would allow the wearer to "stand up" without leaving his seat ....".

65 Cf. Hamam (1937, 124).

66 Cf. Koran (1924, Fig. 2.

67 A similar production of clay jars without a potter's wheel in Lammens from Armenia. Cf. Lammens (1912, 241, Fig. 1.

(Chapter III, (p. 65-98)

1 Jaussen (1924, 484) says regarding women's dress in Syria and Palestine: "C'est dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle que la première forme se modifia sur le chemin complexe, à l'accommodation, la première chemise vers le bas."

2 Cf. Hamam (1934, 82, 116).

3 Lee Lane, cf. Hamam (1932, 119, Fig. 112 (E. 2344, narrow trousers with fringes below, only 0.74 long.

4 Cf. Lammens (1937, 65).

5 Cf. Hamam (1934, 102).

6 The Lane, cf. Hamam (1932, 119, Fig. 111 (E. 2343.

7 Cf. Jaussen (1924, 484): "..... un costume dans la région de Main (Syrie) des habitants ..... [le manteau ..... d'ordinaire en longues pointes que l'on nomme quimer de bas ....". – 383, Hamam de Jérusalem: "..... les jeunes femmes ..... leurs manches sont bien sur le dos (Pl. VIIIe)". – Hamam (1937, Figs. 42, 84, 89 (Palestine).

8 Cf. Jaussen (1927, 84): "adhie le short Européen)". – Hamam (1934, 82): "calle, veste courte".

9 Cf. Hamam (1934, 482): "a long vest ..... not meeting in the front, of some heavier stuff, the sleeves of which are tight but slit on the front side for a few inches from the wrist ....". – Nakayan (1934, 93): "un calfon long ....".

10 Cf. Hamam (1934, 102).

11 Cf. Hamam (1934, 102).

12 Cf. Hamam (1934, 103).

13 The Lane, cf. Hamam (1932, 119 (E. 2343).

14 Cf. Jaussen (1924, 482 – Hamam (1934, 91: "djubbeh", manteau de couleur qui tombe derrière et dont on entoure son dos le soir". – Hamam (1937, 87 gives on the other hand "caftan", pl. a black and white chequered man's hand cloth.

15 The Lane, cf. Hamam (1932, 121, Fig. 114 (E. 2345).

16 Hamam (1961, 2, 324 makes from Central Kurdistan as: "a square cassock hanging down the back, shaped by one of the corners round the neck ....".

17 The Lane, cf. Hamam (1932, 119 (E. 2343).

18 Jaussen (1924, 482 calls it: "gandoh", like a "bas". – Cf. Hamam (1934, 91: "gandoura une longue cotte ajustée dans laquelle sont tissé des ornements d'étoffe noire qui rappelle le velours ou "bas".".

19 Cf. Jaussen (1924, 234): "a big turban with hanging tassels, red colour ....".

20 The Lane, cf. Hamam (1932, 121, Fig. 114 (E. 2345).

21 Lane (1836, 300: "gaul". – Hamam (1961, 2, 324:

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"a silver tassel on the head ...". – Cf. Jaba 1836, 486: "gant", calotte de métal ...".

22 Cf. Bellaigue a. Bourgoanne 1922, Taf. 88–92. – Cf. Eremeeva 1957, 373: "hats with heavily bound silver bands".

23 Cf. Paris 1952, 52: "... members of the Hamavand (Ghiasvand) tribe were suspected of being "Kurds" and thus subject to deportation ...".

24 Bazin 1926, 602: "The dress adopted by the Sulaimanis women is while Kurdish in character yet influenced by Arab style". – Cf. Hansen 1956, 93.

25 Cf. Dieulafoy 1946, 254.

26 Bazin 1926, 126: "Hagar's sociopsychosis, an article which has penetrated to the remotest districts of Kurdistan."

27 Cf. Bellaigue a. Bourgoanne 1922, 27 et seq., Taf. XI, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5.

28 Cf. Bellaigue a. Bourgoanne 1922, 29, Taf. XIII, no. 6.

29 Cf. Bellaigue a. Bourgoanne 1922, 34, 35, Taf. III, IV, V, VI.

30 Hamilton 1888, 154.

31 Cf. Bellaigue a. Bourgoanne 1922, Taf. XI, nos. 3, 13, 14, 27, 28, 30.

32 Cf. particulars from Iran, Bazin 1891, I, 217.

33 Cf. Blanchard 1925, 37.

34 Cf. Blanchard 1925, 37 – Dalman 1932, 340 – Lane 1944, 38.

35 Cf. Bazin 1891, I, 217, 220 – Blanchard 1924, 77, note 1.

36 Cf. Lane 1944, 40.

37 Cf. Bazin 1891, I, 217 – Blanchard 1925, 39: "saltcreamy (Arabic halqi)" – Lane 1944, 37.

38 Cf. from the Lake Peipus 1952, 128 et seq., Figs. 123–26 – Jaschke 1968, 301.

39 Cf. Eremeeva 1957, 69.

40 Cf. Mukri Kurdish male dress depicted by Vinogradova 1958, 109, Fig. 4.

41 Cf. Hansen 1956, 103.

42 Cf. Bellaigue a. Bourgoanne 1924, Pl. I, no. 1.

43 Cf. Bazin 1926, 97, description of male dress with the *Sal* robe 1912 – Hansen 1922, 336 – Kay 1921, 42 writes that the ziraibags "are fastened while praying ...", a thing I did not observe; on the contrary, I always saw men praying with tied ziraibags.

44 Concerning the Lurs in Iran, the following description is found in Polyanov 1912, 113: "Le haut habillement des jambes s'appelle *dirpâ*."

45 Cf. Hansen 1956, 106.

46 In the National Museum of Denmark: A Kurdish priest's costume from ship 1670 (M. 488) shows Turkish cut-shaped trousers; cf. Janissary costume from ab. 1820 (M.A. 68).

47 Eremeeva 1957, 67.

48 Chantre 1895, IV, 140.

49 Cf. Hansen 1922, 336.

50 The law, *Ard'a*, forbids men to wear silk clothes; cf. Jevrenova 1930, 344.

51 Cf. Hansen 1956, 103.

52 Cf. Eremeeva 1957, 383: "quilt buttoned trousers".

53 Cf. Eremeeva 1957, 67.

54 Cf. Chantre 1895, IV, 131: "Semelles de couleurs de chèvres, & de semelles de toile ordinairement cousues à celles de feutre ..., On les appelle pabouch qalen, *c'est-à-dire*, souliers de gazelles ..." – Cf. Pognon 1941, 79 et seq.

55 Cf. Pognon 1941, 80: "calotte" for "calotte".

56 Cf. Eremeeva 1957, 67.

57 Cf. Lerchundi 1948, 69: "The Kurd has a bejewelled hilt/grip ..."

58 Cf. Eremeeva 1957, 67.

59 Eremeeva 1957, 67 – Cf. Hansen 1956, 92.

60 Cf. Bazin 1891, II, 151 et seq.

61 Cf. Lane 1944, 39 et seq.

62 Bazin 1926, 254.

63 Cf. Eremeeva 1957, 37: "white cotton drawers ... not infrequently were without trousers".

64 Jevrenova 1930, 332, note 3 calls attention to the fact that it arouses disapproval if a Muslim imitates an unbeliever in dress and mode of life.

65 Cf. Hay 1921, 42.

66 Cf. Bernier 1894, 288: "... the hazy grace which, in Orientals, characterizes also the movements of men, is completely lost when he has popped into the mazzle of civilization" – Bazin 1891, II, 151 already assumes that the transition to "light trousers" (that is to say European dress) will cause the introduction of the chair.

67 A male dress similar to the Kurdish male dress was worn at the end of the previous century in the Caucasus area according to Chantre 1887, 31: "Le costume des lesgiens (Gregiens, groupe Kartvélien) se compose d'un pantalon en laine brune, très large du haut et serré à la cheville, maintenu autour de la taille par une ceinture de soie rouge; d'une veste courte et d'une sorte de turban dont on gît extrême gracieusement sur le dos ..." – Figs. 30, 31.

68 Cf. what Bazin 1891, 64 remarks about the Kurds in Iran: "Die Tracht der Kurden kommt in manchem mit der türkischen überein ..."

69 Cf. Bellaigue 1924, 104.

70 Jevrenova 1930, 159, note 2.

Chapter IV, (p. 99–140)

1 Cf. Wissmann 1936, 205.

2 "Lane 1944, 300 refers to the fact that with the Egyptian Arabs the umbrella brings a delivery child.

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3 Wiedemann 1936, 314 writes' concerning the training of midwives that even then the Government hospitals at Baghdad, Mosul and Basra held proper courses in midwifery, and a three-months' course for village women who, in virtue of age and experience, acted as midwives. Fully-trained midwives were given a certificate, the shorter-trained women were granted a licence or were registered. However, these courses were often boycotted, as the occupation of midwife was not well thought of and was often regarded as little better than prostitution.

4 Granqvist 1947, 34.

5 Nielsen 1922, 340 – 1956, 107.

6 Nielsen 1956, 108.

7 Donaldson 1938, 30 – Cf. Blackman 1927, 63.

8 Lane 1944, 310.

9 Blackman 1927, 63, 79.

10 About similar cradles with the Crimean Tatars, the same thing was observed by Lehmann 1932, 277.

11 Cf. information from Armenia, Virchow 1924, 209.

12 Zaccagnini 1939, 270, Fig. 24.

13 Lehmann 1932, 275 et seq.

14 Andree 1895, 59, Bild 3.

15 Pogodowski 1889, 536, Fig. 16 – Chantre 1887, Taf. IV, Pl. 1.

16 Pitre 1902, II, Figs. 448, 456, 536, 575.

17 Limtani 1955, 212, Fig. 28. – Virchow 1924, 208 et seq., Abb. 1–3.

18 Pitrè 1956, 160, Fig. – Cf. 225, note 2.

19 Bertram 1923, 351, 361, Abb. 234 – Cf. Amadon 1949, 117, Fig. 9. (Kinghis).

20 Brown 1891, I, 372, Fig.

21 Pitre 1911, I, 247 – A size-shaped tile from the 13th century, "Minet-esse", depicts this type of cradle. Wilson 1957, Fig. 28.

22 Pitrè 1957, 59, Fig. 15.

23 Krauss 1902, fig. facing p. 29: "Beukhara. Dans les bazars: La cradle des marchands de bonnaux."

24 Zaccagnini 1939, 270, Fig. 24.

25 Amadon 1949, 112, 114, 115, Figs. 3, 4, 6, 7.

26 Le Coq 1916, 19, Fig. 9 – 20, Fig. 10.

27 Pogodowski 1889, 538, Figs. 17–18.

28 Virchow 1924, 208.

29 Lehmann 1932, 275.

30 Amadon 1949, 116, Fig. 8.

31 Pitre 1911, I, 248.

32 Amadon 1949, 112, 114, 115, Figs. 3, 4, 6, 7. – Bertram 1923, 351, Abb. 234.

33 Concerning the Lapps: cf. the National Museum (K. 230, K. 761, K. 1123) – Samoyeds: cf. Pogodowski 1889, Fig. 31 – Ostyaks; cf. Pogodowski 1889, Figs. 23, 25 – Yakuts; cf. the National Museum (K. 2. 220) – Chinook Indians; cf. Mason 1887, 176, Fig. 8 – Tsimshian Indians; cf. the National Museum (H. 1706) – Thompson Indians, British Columbia; cf. The National Museum (H. 2083) – At the end of the 18th century attempts were also made in Denmark to introduce a cradle-trough with cover in which the infant could be laid at night in order not to be overlain by the wet-nurse. These "child guards" were proposed and described by Estrupius 1788, 256 et seq., Figs. I–III.

34 Australasians; cf. Mason 1887, 200, Fig. 39 – Pima in South California; cf. The National Museum (H. 2511) – Kaingua 1925, Plates 39–40; 335, Fig. 48 – Apaches; cf. Mason 1887, 212, Fig. 43 – Paiute; cf. the National Museum (H. 1157) – Mohawk; cf. the National Museum (H. 3057, H.c. 366) – Algonkin; cf. the National Museum (H. 2094) – Chipewyan near Churchill River: "cradle-board" with bag, "the moosbag"; cf. the National Museum (H.I. 32) – Ainu; cf. the National Museum (A. 1162).

35 Kaingua 1925, 92, 248, Plate 35: cradle "sitting"-type – Cf. Mason 1887, 182, Fig. 14 – the Kutchin have a seat with a curved back and a rod like a pommel between the child's legs; Richardson 1951, 304, Plate Vb – Sitting cradles are found in Borneo: Nieuwenhuis 1904, I, 71, Figs. a–b. – Hose 1925, 59, Fig. (facing 35) – Sitting cradles are found in Siberia (Mansi) Lehmann and Petrowa 1956, 391.

36 Pogodowski 1889, 549.

37 R. IV. 45 (The National Museum).

38 Pogodowski 1889, 560, 561, Figs. 34–35.

39 Pogodowski 1889, 562, Figs. 36–37.

40 An interesting cradle type with sloping bottom (which forms an outlet for urine etc.), the child's legs resting over a cross bar, reported from Celebes, Adriani en Kruyt, 1950, II, 393 et seq. – Cf. 1951b, Fig. 75 (to, 3) – Gennaldi 1913, 400, Fig. 212.

41 Pitre 1911, I, 247.

42 Pitre 1911, I, 248.

43 Pogodowski 1889, 538, Fig. 19 – Cf. Pitre 1911, I, 249.

44 Bertram 1934, 97, Fig. 41a–b.

45 Idem. 1929, 126.

46 Dirsam 1951, 102, Figs. A–C, 288, 306, 179.

47 Lehm 1947, 106, 107, Fig. 41.

48 Bertram 1934, 98 – Dirsam 1951, 179.

49 Musa. 1928, 126, 125.

50 Pitre 1911, I, 247.

51 D. 4676 (The National Museum).

52 R. 289 – Cf. Pogodowski 1902, 132 – Pogodowski 1908, Fig. 11.

53 Wissmann 1956, 204.

54 Blackman 1927, 59 – Cf. Dirsam 1951, 301.

55 Sure 16, verses 57, 58, 59.

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56 Cf. Woodhouse 1936, 204.
57 Cf. reports of a similar kind concerning tooth lutes by Woodhouse 1936, 277, and concerning Egypt by Blackman 1917, 81.
58 Juynboll 1910, 161 et seq. – Pelliot 1952, 133 says that with the Lurs both boys and girls are circumcised. No reference to the circumcision of girls was made by the Kurds in Iraq.
59 Ouseley 1894, 319.
60 Cf. Niebuhr 1778, II, 309 note.
61 Barth 1953, 62, note 1, – 83, 84, 85, 89, 91, 92.
62 Lurs 1928, 254.
63 Cf. Emerson 1935, 114 – Hay 1921, 38 – Leach 1940, 3.
64 Leach 1940, 3.
65 Blackman 1927, 240 – Burton 1964, 72 – Emerson 1935, 114 – Hamilton 1947, 88.
66 Pelliot 1931, 7 et seq.
67 Cf. Emerson 1957, 83, note 1: "The name of a lady of prominent family is followed by the male title "Khan"; she is referred to as "Khanim", the Lady, when the name is not mentioned." – Emerson 1958, 150 – Soane 1926, 287.
68 Cf. Bousquet 1953, 19 et seq.
69 Cf. Kaberry 1939, 72 concerning conditions with the Australian natives, as opposed to Bastian 1891, I, 218 who has the deepest sympathy with the Persian children at the sight of their lack of childhood.
70 Ouseley 1894, 42.
71 Lurs 1964, 56.
72 Cf. Emerson 1958, 151, who mentions that the first mixed school began as an experiment in Baluchistan in 1953, but that 35 years earlier, even before girls' schools existed, he remembers enlightened persons who sent their daughters to the available boys' schools up to the age of 12–13.
73 Further teaching for young men and women could be obtained at the American university of Beirut. This even in the 30's was the university of the Arab speaking world. Cf. Woodhouse 1936, 141.
74 Lawrence and Bywater 1930, 172 et seq.: Education.
75 Cf. Lawrence and Bywater 1930, 187.
76 For further information cf. Conway 1927, 234 et seq.
77 Bastian 1891, I, 218.
78 Lawrence and Bywater 1930, 193.
79 Cf. Ouseley 1894, 66 concerning conditions with the Turks.
80 Concerning conditions in Iran cf. Bastian 1891, I, 218: "... the devotion of the mother to the boy is amply returned by the grown-up son, who regards her comfort as his charge, and her wishes as law, even like old age ...".
81 Sure 4, verses 22, 23.
82 Juynboll 1910, 218 et seq. – Cf. Granqvist 1939, 65 et seq. – Cf. Lurs 1964, 161 et seq.
83 Cf. Barth 1953, 137.
84 Leach 1940, 20.
85 Barth 1954, 171 – Cross-cousin marriage is further referred to by Dresden 1951, 148, 147, as general among Arab tribes in Iraq, by Lurs 1964, 161 in the case of Egyptian Arabs, and by Blackman 1927, 30 in regard to Egyptian *fellahin*.
86 Leach 1940, 21.
87 Granqvist 1939, 118.
88 Cf. Hance 1907, 193.
89 Cf. Hance 1907, 194, who states concerning the customs of Muslims in Serajevo: "Solange die Braut (Brautwerber) im Hause weilt, darf das Mädchen das Gemach nicht betreten, in welchem sie sich befindet, auch darf sie sich im Hausflur oder Hofraume blicken lassen."
90 Cf. what is reported about the Egyptian Arabs by Lurs 1964, 163 – Cf. Levy 1957, 188 concerning general conditions within Islam.
91 Granqvist 1939, 105, 106.
92 Cf. Granqvist 1939, 83 – Hance 1907, 193 (regarding Bosnian Muslims) – Lurs 1964, 162 – Levy 1957, 188.
93 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 210: If he be the father or grandfather, a waly can on his own authority marry off a minor girl but only to an equal and for a suitable bride-price.
94 With virgins silence is regarded as sufficient sanction. Cf. Juynboll 1910, 210.
95 Concerning the Lurs Pelliot 1952, 133 states that it was previously their custom for young men of 20 to marry girls of 9–12.
96 Kaberry 1939, 93.
97 Levy 1957, 114 et seq.
98 I was stated that in the villages it was the local mulla who alone arranges the drawing up of the marriage settlement some days, or quite shortly, before the wedding itself takes place.
99 Juynboll 1910, 218.
100 Juynboll 1910, 214 et seq. The precise fulfilment of the formalities is most important, as the validity of the marriage depends upon it. Special experts recite the formulas for the bride's waly and for the bridegroom, who repeat them. These experts can also act as agents for the two parties, particularly for the bride's waly, whose position is the most difficult as he must attend to the interests of the absent bride.
101 Lurs 1964, 161 – Cf. Levy 1957, 114: "half or two-thirds payable before consummation ..." – Juynboll 1910, 216: "... die Hälfte oder zwei Drittel der Mahr ...".

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102 Cf. Hahne 1907, 204: "... eine materielle Sicherstellung der Frau für den Fall, als der Mann sie entlassen wollte ..." – Cf. Goos 1955, 33 et seq.: "legislation on divorce ... enhanced the status of women" – Cf. Hay 1921, 44, who points out that the part of the bride-price not paid out is an assurance for the bride – Cf. Anderson 1950, 171.

103 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 223.

104 Juynboll 1910, 184, 229: "... wenn er durch Talâk (d.h. Verstossung) freiwillig all seinen Rechten auf seine Frau entsagte ...".

105 Ostrup 1914, 65 – Cf. Nebbeyer 1783, 392.

106 Blackman 1927, 92.

107 Levy 1957, 100.

108 Juynboll 1910, 63 et seq.

109 Cf. Gautier 1949, 18: "Le Coran n'est pas comme l'Evangile, simplement le livre sacré ... il est le code, ... la constitution."

110 Sure 4, verses 4, 28.

111 Blackman 1927, 92.

112 Granqvist 1939, 59.

113 Evans-Pritchard 1931, 36 suggests as a better term "bride-wealth". Cf. Man 1931, Nos. 84, 85, 234.

114 Niebuhr 1778, II, 420.

115 Bishop 1891, I, 355 et seq.

116 Lane 1944, 166.

117 Cf. Hahne 1907, 157: "... der Kur'an muss nämlich an einer erhöhten ... Stelle gehalten werden. Überdies darf derselbe nicht unterhalb eines menschlichen Knies oder in gleicher Höhe mit demselben gehalten werden ...".

118 Cf. Hahne 1907, 148, who from Bosnia refers to gifts handed to a schoolteacher wrapped in artistically embroidered scarves "... manchmal sogar in ein solches Tuch gewickelt ein Hemd oder ein Unterbeinkleid ...".

119 Hay 1921, 84: "Marriage customs in the towns differ from those in the country. In particular, it is customary for the bride's relations to provide a dowry for her, instead of the young man having to collect a large sum of money in order to purchase her."

120 Lane 1944, 166, note 1.

121 Lane 1944, 166.

122 Cf. Dickson 1951, 204.

123 Dickson 1951, 204.

124 Lane 1944, 42, note 1.

125 Lane 1944, 350, note 1.

126 Granqvist 1939, 130.

127 Cf. Granqvist 1939, 130, information concerning the Arabs in Palestine.

128 Lane 1944, 166.

129 Hahne 1907, 204.

130 Cf. Hahne 1907, 206.

131 That the bride in Muslim circles in Bosnia is accompanied by a female relative, but never by the mother, is mentioned by Hahne 1907, 216, who under the term "Jungja" also refers to another female companion who is to instruct the bride, (208).

132 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 164.

133 Cf. what Granqvist 1939, 108 states about Palestinian Arabs.

134 Wilson 1937, 291.

135 Feilberg 1952, 137.

136 Bishop 1891, I, 356 – Garnett 1891, 132: "similar to Greek 'horn'."

137 Hahne 1907, 29 refers to a similar drum from Bosnia.

138 Cf. Nielsen 1956, 109 – Hay 1921, 62.

139 Ostrup 1914, 79.

140 Hay 1921, 62 – Garnett 1891, 132: "a kind of reed-flute".

141 Cf. Hahne 1907, 206 concerning Muslims in Bosnia.

142 That brides are specially covered is mentioned, in the case of Palestine, by Granqvist 1939, 133, ... in the case of Egypt by Lane 1944, 170, 177.

143 Red brings good luck. Cf. Lane 1944, 170 – Nielsen 1936, 110.

144 Granqvist 1939, 133.

145 Cf. Hahne 1907, 56: "Die Händedruck als Begrüssung ist bei den Moslims nicht üblich." – 231: "Die Moslims küssen sich niemals auf Mund oder Wange. Sie umarmen sich, und der Eine legt dem Anderen den Kopf zuerst auf die rechte, sodann auf die linke Schulter ..."

146 Cf. Nielsen 1922, 342.

147 Granqvist 1939, 150.

148 Granqvist 1939, 149 et seq.

149 Krohn s.a., 303.

150 Cf. Barth 1953, 111.

151 Granqvist 1935, 105, note 2.

152 Nielsen 1922, 344.

153 Ostrup 1894, 326 – Niebuhr 1772, 35 et seq.

154 Hay 1921, 69.

155 Nielsen 1922, 342.

156 Feilberg 1952, 135.

157 Dickson 1951, 205.

158 Nebbeyer 1783, 407.

159 Sure 4, verse 3.

160 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 224.

161 Sure 2, verse 228 – Sure 65, verse 4 (three months).

162 Sure 2, verse 241.

163 Sure 2, verse 229.

164 Sure 2, verse 230.

165 Sure 58, verses 2–3 – Sure 33, verse 4.

166 Cf. Lane 1944, 182.

167 Soane 1926, 396.

168 Lundgreen-Soane 1935, 410.

169 Hay 1921, 43 et seq.

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170 Lane 1946, 188 et seq.

171 Cf. Hasluck 1907, 239 concerning Bosnia: "Es kommt wohl vor, dass eine Frau ihren Mann verlässt, aber ihre geschieht zumeist nur dann, wenn der Mann für die Familie nicht Sorge trägt und Frau und Kinder hungern und entbehren lässt. Dann wird sie zumeist von ihren Verwandten aufgenommen, oder sie verdingt sich als Dienstmagd bei einer muslimischen Familie, wo sie als Familienmitglied behandelt wird. Denn solche arme Frauen aufzunehmen und zu versorgen wird als gottgefällige Handlung hoch angerechnet."

172 Cf. Lane 1940, 189: "... a separate house, ... or a suite of apartments (consisting of a room in which to sleep and pass the day, a kitchen, and a latrine) that are, or may be made, separate and shut out from any other apartments in the same house ..."

173 Cf. Gowan 1938, 202: "... a dispensary at almost every administrative headquarters. At all police stations ... small supply of drugs ...".

174 Cf. Granqvist 1947, 74 concerning Palestine.

175 Cf. Dickson 1951, 618 who concerning conditions among at Kuwait quotes C. B. G. Mylrea.

176 Werbrouck 1950, 62.

177 Cf. Nöldeke 1922, 342.

178 Dickson 1951, 209.

179 Lane 1946, 518.

180 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 170.

181 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 169, note 3.

182 Cf. Dickson 1951, 207 – Cf. Lane 1946, 518, note 1.

183 Cf. Dickson 1951, 211, who states that to wash a corpse the desert Arabs use "a gauntlet of course wool".

184 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 170 – Hasluck 1907, 261 – Dickson 1951, 213 – Lane 1946, 518.

185 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 170.

186 Lane 1946, 519.

187 The washing of the corpse is performed an unequal number of times. Cf. Juynboll 1910, 170.

188 Juynboll 1910, 170.

189 "When a woman is dead, the only men who may touch her are those men who are forbidden to marry her ...: her father, brother, father's brother, mother's brother, her two grandfathers, her son, her brother's son ... and her grandsons. On the other hand her husband, her brother-in-law, her father's brother's son ..., her mother's brother's son ... or strangers ... may not touch her ... A woman shall be guided towards eternity by her brothers." Granqvist 1935, 288.

190 Blackman 1927, 111.

191 Wellhausen 1922, 342.

192 Glaser 1894, 316.

193 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 171, who tells that the meal takes place on the 7th or 40th day after the death.

196 Wellhausen 1922, 343.

Chapter V. (p. 145–162)

1 In reviewing the searches of piety and the ceremonies with them I have relied on Juynboll 1910, 66 et seq.

2 Sure 2, verse 25; Sure 44, verse 54.

3 Sure 4, verse 124; Sure 43, verse 70. – Women's access to Paradise is furthermore referred to in Sure 9, verses 71, 72; Sure 33, verse 35; Sure 36, verse 55; Sure 48, verse 5; Sure 57, verse 12.

4 Cf. Wolfendale 1936, 401 et seq.

5 Cf. Lane 1946, 81.

6 Juynboll 1910, 75 et seq.

7 Otto 1935, 54 et seq.

8 Cf. Frazer 1840, I, 221.

9 Cf. Lane 1946, 81.

10 Leach 1940, 60.

11 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 115, note 1.

12 Barth 1953, 96.

13 Dickson 1951, 342.

14 Juynboll 1910, 163: "Beim *Hadd* ist es den Frauen während des *Ihrām*-Zustandes ... verboten, ihr Gesicht zu verschleiern."

15 Observed on a visit to the grave of a holy man outside Halabja – Cf. Dickson 1951, 241.

16 A pouch of this kind formed part of the bride's equipment at a wedding in Sulaimani.

17 Cf. Dickson 1951, 162.

18 At Topzawa the big ablution of the married couple took place in the basin in the garden of their own house, which whilst this was in progress was shut off to all others, both members of the family and women from the village, who else were allowed to fetch water from the basin – Cf. Juynboll 1910, 74.

19 Cf. Kissling 1954, 23: "... dervish orders belong to the complex of the so-called "men's societies". – 27: "... expressed in terms of religious sociology dervishism was the organized Islamic Vorhofreligion".

20 Gowan 1938, 199 – Edmonds 1938, 142 – Leach 1940, 3.

21 Otto 1935, 125 – Wach 1934, 130 – Krom s.a., 305.

22 Gowan 1938, 199.

23 Edmonds 1937, 206 et seq.

24 Cf. Otto 1935, 61: "... devils are represented as rebellious jinns ... created ... of fire" – Soane 1926, 403.

25 Cf. Buhlmann u. Borchardt 1922, 14: "... Man schützt den Träger ... gegen den bösen Blick ...".

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26 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 14: "... Hand hilft gegen jeden Zauber".
27 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 204.
28 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 13.
29 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 28, Taf. XI, 3.
30 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 13, Taf. XIII, 8-10: "... gegen die gefährliche Fee Al-Karinah schützen".
31 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 14, Taf. XII, 3-4 – Lane 1944, 256: "... charm against evil eye enclosed in a case of triangular form ..." – 575.
32 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 14.
33 A yellowish-red carnelian is a calcedon. Is found – amongst other places – in India. Cf. Dragsted 1933, 32 et seq. – Dragsted 1953, 74 et seq.
34 Like carnelian, agate is a calcedon. It is found in different colours and with various markings. Found in India. Cf. Dragsted 1933, 13 – Dragsted 1953, 74.
35 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 20, 204.
36 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 20: "eye-cracker".
37 Cf. Dragsted 1933, 13 – Dragsted 1953, 74, who among the various forms of agate, refers to the greenish moss agate, to which also onyx belongs. – According to Donaldson 1938, 20, the onyx is called "bábá gauri", father of ovaries ... to send back the evil eye glance ...
38 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 203.
39 Triangular amulet cases are mentioned from Turkestan by Oluffen 1911, 480; and by Le Coq 1916, 4, 6, Taf. 1, 5.
40 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 203: "... the chain of charms ... from the lowest point hangs the "prayer" ... small case of cloth, velvet or leather ..."
41 Cf. Lane 1944, 253, 575.
42 Cf. Bhushan s.a., 11 (India) – Hurgronje 1888, 154 (Arabia) – Oluffen 1911, 475 (Turkestan).
43 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 27 et seq., Taf. XI, 1, 2, 4, 5.
44 Barth 1953, 91 et seq.
45 Lane, 1944, 254: "The muṣ-ḥaf (copy of the Kur'an) and other ḥegábs are still worn by many women, generally enclosed in cases of gold, or of gilt or plain silver ... they are esteemed preservatives against disease, enchantment, the evil eye, and a variety of other evils".
46 Donaldson 1938, 136, 203.
47 Nielsen 1922, 344.
48 Feilberg 1952, 149, Fig. 133.
49 Nielsen 1922, 343.
50 Cf. Pedersen 1928, 245: "Thus (through Sufism's recognition of the holiness of the ascetics) Islam obtained her saints' graves with the vaulted domes."
51 Cf. Edmonds 1938, 62.
52 Cf. Niebuhr 1778, II, 297: "... Klöster von verschiedenen Orden Derwische".
53 Cf. Krohn, s. a., 307, concerning the Bektaschi monastery Fusch Krus: "Sarkophage ... von fünfeckigem Querschnitt, auf den Steinplatten des Fussbodens ruhend und ganz mit Decken aus Seide und Samt belegt ...".
54 Cf. Feilberg 1952, 148: "on laisse la tombe de l'*Imâmzâdè* ..." – Krohn s.a., 307: "Berührung der Särge wirkt Wunder ...".
55 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 205: "The very earth taken from shrines carries with it special blessing ...".
56 Frazer 1840, I, 166.
57 Feilberg 1952, 147, note 1.
58 Bishop 1891, II, 102 – Cf. Edelberg 1952, 126, Fig. 21, refers to long sticks with flags on the graves of holy men on the Nuristan-Kabul road.
59 Maunsell 1894, 83.
60 Feilberg 1952, 149.
61 Donaldson 1938, 142 – Cf. Pedersen 1948, 276.
62 Massé 1938, II, 394.
63 Nielsen 1922, 344.
64 Maunsell 1894, 82: "under the outward forms of Mohammedanism traces of Pagan doctrines ...".
65 Østrup 1914, 92.
66 Feilberg 1952, 150: "croyances primitives bien antérieures au mahométisme".
67 Soane 1926, 403: ".. votive offerings of rags ... a custom surely older than Islám ...".
68 Østrup 1894, 264.

Conclusion, (p. 163–186)

1 Frazer 1840, I, 193, 194 – Blenstrup 1894, 64 – Dickson 1910, 364 – Hay 1921, 43 – Soane 1926, 237, 395 "a manlier treatment", 366, 402 – Rambout 1947, 17 – Edmonds 1938, 150.
2 Frazer 1840, 193 et seq.
3 Soane 1926, 237.
4 Rambout 1947, 17.
5 Lane 1944, 183: "... the yáshmak (or head-veil), of which scarcely any woman is destitute, ...".
6 Nielsen 1936, 109 et seq.: "Le visage de la fiancée est couvert avec un mouchoir rouge ...".
7 Lane 1944, 170, 171, fig.
8 Granqvist, 1939, 133 et seq., 213, Fig.
9 Lane 1944, 170, 171, fig.
10 According to Levy 1937, 119 prostitution is found in all Muslim areas – Concerning the conditions under which prostitutes live, see Dickson 1957, 244 – According to Gautier 1940, 45 there is no prostitution in Muslim areas – Concerning the conditions with the Kurds, Soane 1926, 397 says

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that the name for prostitutes is a Turkish-Arabic one understood only in towns – Beyond being shown a quarter in Baghdad which, by order of the Government, had been cleared of prostitutes, I obtained no further informations on the subject during my stay in Iraq.

11 Cf. among others Pedersen 1928, 168.

12 Woodhead 1936, 419.

13 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 163 et seq.

14 Woodhead 1936, 64 et seq. – Cf. Aiden 1931, 521: "... the veil, besides being a badge of inferiority, has also given the women a certain amount of freedom, ...".

15 Granqvist 1947, 162 (note 37), 278.

16 Cf. Leach 1940, 58 – Barth 1953, 95.

17 Leach 1940, 60.

18 Blackman 1927, 38.

19 Lane 1944, 185.

20 Barnes 1899, 224 et seq.

21 Garnett 1891, 444.

22 Woodhead 1936, 58 – Cf. Edmonds 1922, 349 about the Lur women: "... they just keep themselves in the background ...". – Hay 1921, 43.

23 Gutrup 1894, 54 et seq.

24 Woodhead 1936, 74.

25 Cf. a similar cording bow with mullet brought back from Luristan (E. 331a–b), depicted and referred to by Ferrero 1941, 70 et seq., Fig. 5 – Used in Syria; cf. Dalman 1937, 33 et seq. – Lehman 1955, 207, Fig. 17.

26 Hay 1921, 43.

27 Gautier 1949, 43, 44.

28 Gutrup 1894, 54 et seq.

29 Blackman 1927, 38.

30 Cf. Garnett 1909, 282 et seq.: "With regard to their legal status, Turkish women, ..., already (1909) possess all the legal, personal, and proprietary rights necessary to give them a social position equal, if not superior to that of European women generally."

31 Cf. Christensen 1937, 33.

32 Aiden 1931, 530.

33 Levy 1957, 109.

34 Cf. Gutrup 1914, 162 – 1923, 68 et seq.

35 Rygaard 1935, 16.

36 Rygaard 1935, 16.

37 Rygaard 1935, 17.

38 Haidar 1948, 167.

39 Haidar 1948, 167.

40 Cf. Conway 1927, 338 – Woodhead 1936, 116.

41 Granqvist 1931, 38.

42 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 186.

43 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 163 et seq. – Cf. concerning Iran Aiden 1931, 521.

44 Cf. Anderson 1930, 173 – Calverley 1939, 281, 288 – Gautier 1949, 18 – Ohm 1955, 17: "Islamic law ... went far deeper than Roman law ..."

45 Gautier 1949, 46: "Le célibat est une impiété ..." – Ohm 1955, 105: "True Koranic asceticism condemned celibacy." – Lane 1944, 160: "... improper and even disreputable ...".

46 Granqvist 1931, 132.

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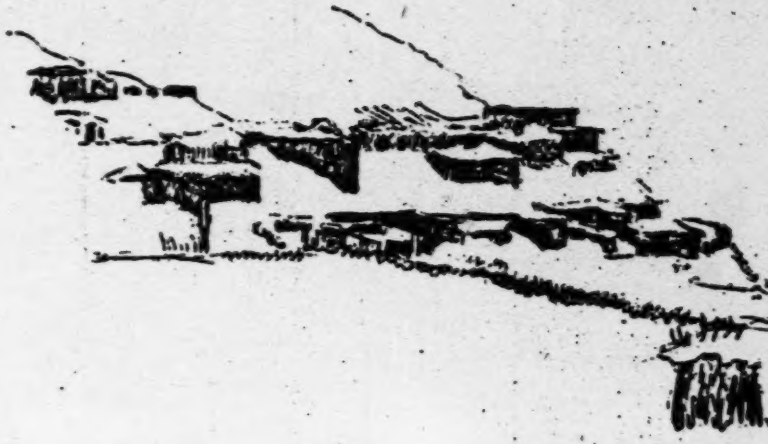

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LIST OF KURDISH TERMS EMPLOYED

Normalized by Professor E. Ber

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Mukri words quoted with page and line from: Oscar Mann, Die Mundarten der Mukri-Kurden I (Oscar Mann, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen IV, III, I) Berlin 1906.

Words from Göränī dialects (Känd(ūlā) etc.) from: Die Mundarten der Gōrān beurbeitet von Kaiī. Hadank = Oscar Mann, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen III, II, Berlin 1930, quoted as: Mann-Had., Gōr.

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Abbreviations:

Ar.	=	Arabic.
Ar.-P.	=	Arabic words in Persian.
BSOAS	=	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
P.	=	Modern Persian.
T.	=	Turkish.
T.-P.	=	Turkish words in Persian.
Zāng.	=	Zāngānā, a Southern Kurdish dialect.
Känd.	=	Kändūlā, a dialect of the Gōrān.

abā (Ar., *'abā'*)	cloak-like garment of wool, worn by men, of black silk, worn by women.
ahrimān (= P. *ahrīmān*)	hērin, "house of decency".
Ajā = T.-P.	squire.
amān = P. *dāmān*	skin.
amāt	father's brother's children.
amāzā	father's brother's wife.
ard = P.	fever.
asp = P. *asp*	horse.
āv	water.
āwālā-kā	woman's trousers (literally 'companion of the shirt').
bādhēn = P.	eggplant, aubergine.
bāfī = T.-P.	white stone.
bāmyā	ladies' fingers, hibiscus esculentus L.
bāpīr	mother's father, father's father.
barak = P. *bārīk*, garment made of camel's hair	woollen rug.
bārān = P. *bārān*	rain.
bāvā	father.
bāw-bāl (Mukri *bāwāl*, 84/10)	fan.
bāzār, cf. *shq*	market.
bāzā	bangle.
bāzī	stone.
bāzmāl = Mukri *bāzmāl* 12/11, 125/21	prayer rug. Cf. *sajjādā*.
bāzmāna (only Soane)	necklace.
bāzār	urine discharge pipe.
bāz-bā-bā	waistcoat with sleeves for a man.
bāzīlā	brother's wife.
bāzāf = P. *bāzāf*	rice.
bāzā	goat.
bā, bāzā	brother.
bāk	bride, son's wife.
bāzīlā (definite form *-ā, -ā* of *bāk* = T. *bāk*)	cradle.
bākar, bākar (Ar. *bākkā'*)	jacket.
bāy = P.	tax.
bāy-zāna = P.	tax house.
bāzā (Mukri *bāzā*, Wolfpacks 256/14)	woollen jacket for men.
bāyā	mother, grandmother.
bāyāk	mother.
bāzā	father's mother, mother's mother.
bāz = P.	sickle.
bāzā = P. *bāzā*	hand.
bāzāf (Mukri *bāzāf*, Kayāwāk 33/8)	woman's dark veil.
bāzāna (Mukri (Rewanduz) *bāzāna*, Wichelhaus)	padded bandages for cradle.
bāzā (Mukri *bāzā* 174/21)	drawers for a man; vulgar name for woman's trousers.
bāzā = P. *bāzā*	clay vase.
bāzā = P.	mistress (for cradle).
bāj = P.	buttermilk mixed with water.

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fgrdgl — felt waistcoat (cf. Mann-Had., Gör. 267).

fǰrš P. — carpet, mat (also used for bed-clothes).

fǰš (?) — yarn of goat's wool.

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gā — ox.

gāzist (< *gāvdāša*, cf. P. *gāv-dāše*) — plough-share.

gāz — P. — "one yard" measuring rod.

gēzī — brush.

gul — P. — rose, flower; temple ornament.

gwrk, dialect form of P. *gundr* — lump of dough.

gwrs (— Mukrī) — rope.

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haǰīzā (— Kānd. *haǰīza*, Schlauch für Buttermilch, Mann-Had., Gör. 235) — leather sack for milk.

hammām, *hammām* (< Ar. *hammām* — bath(house)) — bathroom.

hawǰār (— Bājalānī *hawǰār* plough-arm, MacKenzie RSOAS XVIII, 1956, p. 435) — handle of plough.

hāwīn — summer.

hawr (Mukrī *hawrā* 192/10, Ar.-P. *xāmīr*) — dough.

hazīr (Mukrī *Azīr* 296/3) — mule.

hayrūn (— P. *ayvān*, anteroom, hall, portico. Mukrī *hāyrān*, Halle 247/10, Ar. *Budūr* (*al-ḥayrān*) — three-walled pastoral room.

hilāl (Ar. new moon, half moon) — crescent-shaped pendant.

hēlkē — egg.

ǰāǰim P. — woollen rug.

ǰamāne — turban cloth.

ǰandare — threshing machine.

ǰāmā — women's dress as a whole.

ǰān — Ar. — demon.

ǰār — plough.

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[601] *kākā* — elder brother.

kamāǰ (— Zāzāgānā *kewā*, Kānd. *kāwā* < *kāwāl*, grosser irdener Topf für Speichern des Getreides, Mehls u.s.w. Mann-Had., Gör. 259) — silo of clay.

kamčik — ladle, spoon.

kawā (< *qabā'*, Mukrī *kāwā* 96/10, 212/21, overgarment with long sleeves, not specially a woman's garment.

kāwāl, Mukrī *kāwāl* — cotton for a woman.

kawš — cloth shoe, in Persian calle *gīve*, *sulīmā*.

kāwūt Ar.-P. — roasted meat.

kāyīše Ar.-P. — winding sheet, grave-cloth.

kāyūr (Luri *kāyūr* — P. *kāyūr*, hurdle of wattled twigs, a fence, an enclosure. P. *kāyūr*, a lodge, a hut) — hut for hen.

kēr — donkey.

kēsīkī (P. *kāsa-gī*, coco-nut, the beggar's bowl hanging in a chain around the neck) — amulet necklace with a mini beggars' bowl of silver.

kḥl (— Northern Kurdish *kaḥl* "collyrium". Mukrī *kāl*, make up for the eyes, collyrium (antimony, 241/19, 265/10) — eye make-up.

kḥl-dān (Mukrī *dānā*, sack, P. *dānī*) — bag of brocade for collyrium.

kḥl-ʔīr (Mukrī *kāl-ʔīr* 241/20 Cf. Mann, Mukrī II, p. 378, n. 28) — stick for putting on collyrium.

kʰīlē — hay.

kərāv (Garzoni: *karav* "un fait de laine ou de poil de chèvre", Jaba-Justi, Dict. kurd-français) — woven sack.

kʰrās, Mukrī *kāwīs*, man's shirt — man's shirt, woman's gown or kirtle.

kərmāl Mukrī *kirmāl* 64/20 "Hahnentz" *Bāhā kirmāl*, "Hahnend", v. Le Coq, II p. 103 — cup chain for a woman.

kərr (— P. *kārr*) — butter.

kīč — girl, daughter.

kīsā — P. — small leather sack.

kōlāka (Mukrī *kālāk*, Pfeiler, cf. Mann-Had., Gör. 262) — side-poles to vertical beams.

kʷāsīw (Mukrī *kāsā* 129/16, P. *kāsā*, the ancient felt cap) — skull-cap for men and women

kwā, *kwa* (Cf. Zāzāgānā, *Kʷrmānǰkī*, Kānd. *kwā*, Wasserschlauch, Mann-Had., Gör. 262) — water skin.

kwr — boy.

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kīfe (cf. Mukrī *kīfī*, *kāfā-dasta* 198/17) — quilt.

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Khalil (Mukri 22/29) — felt mat.

Khān — Ar.-P. khān, dwelling, tavern.

khān (— P. khān, pipe) — Arabian drawers for a man.

khandūr (Dir, sem. Cf. sandūka) — cylindrical wooden box of silver, iron spool, urine discharge pipe of bamboo for babies in the cradle.

khaz — nose ornament for women.

khāzī — pillow for baking.

khāzī — wood tray of metal (brass or copper).

khelik — shuttle.

khēr — the most common Kurdish word for house (home).

khezm — father's brother.

khīm — cords.

khīm — cords diluted with water, churning sack of leather.

khisū — husband.

khisūm — husband's brother.

khisūm — husband's sister.

khizān — necklace of dried cloves.

khizān — necklace.

khizān — child.

khizān — turban cloth for man.

khizān — a mallah.

khizān — cone-shaped metal hammer for a shoemaker.

khizān — parish officer.

khizān — bread.

khizān — father's mother, mother's mother.

khizān — slippers.

khizān — curtain around a cradle

khizān — shed stick.

khizān — face veil for women (khizān-i-pīrī, the complete outdoor costume in town).

khizān — low baking table.

khizān — sack for a man.

khizān — chain of coins; worn around the neck by women wearing "Persian dress".

khizān — warp. Cf. Kurdov, Kurdskorusskij slovarj, p. 621.

khizān — father's sister, mother's sister.

khizān — father's sister's children, mother's sister's children.

khizān — man.

khizān — wooden slippers for women.

khizān — harvesting sheep.

khizān — velvet slippers for women.

khizān — khizān-i-gurdān.

khizān — salmon.

khizān — trousers for a man.

khizān — suit consisting of trousers and jacket for a man.

khizān — black tent (syl. khizān).

khizān — clarified butter.

khizān — frying pan.

khizān — jacket for women and children.

khizān — maize.

khizān — boiled wheat.

khizān — basket.

khizān — turban cloth for married women.

khizān — upper warp beam on vertical loom.

khizān — pillow.

khizān — head cloth or head veil for women.

khizān — common Ar.-P. word for prayer rug.

khizān — chest of wood.

khizān — tripod.

khizān — metal meal tray.

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Kgl. Fransks Vid. Selsk. Hist.-filol. Medd. VI, 2. København 1921, p. 126n)

	welcome! for men and women.
aby – Ar. (kāsir P.)	market.
	turban cloth for men.
	comb in horizontal loom.
(Mukrī ākāh-Ju, Rāmandz 128/33)	
	juice from grapes.
	spit.
	husband's brother.
	cushion, jar-shaped bake-oven.
	shovel.
(Mukrī xāl, Handyānāmā 113/3)	
(P. xāw, xāy, Sorā. xawn, girdle for baking bread, Lor. p. 112n)	frying pan.
(Ar.-P. xāhiš)	
	rotary.
	rolling pin.
	hook.
	mother's brother.
	mother's brother's children.
	mother's brother's wife
(Mukrī zāwāgī 170/3)	covered for dervishes.
(Mukrī zāwā 117/31 (Ar. ḥimār', horse)	
	knife, curved dagger.
P.	horse.
(P. zāw)	hospital.
– P.	mother in law.
	father in law.
	bread.
– P.	steel brick.
(?)	sheep's wool.
	sister.
	sub-bag.
(Bābā zwā, zāy)	ash.
(– P. dāmād)	sister's husband, daughter's husband, bridegroom.
	skin chain for cloth-cap women.
	lower warp beam on vertical loom.
	cloth for women.
	wife.
	wife's brother.
	wife's sister.

LIST OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL SPECIMENS

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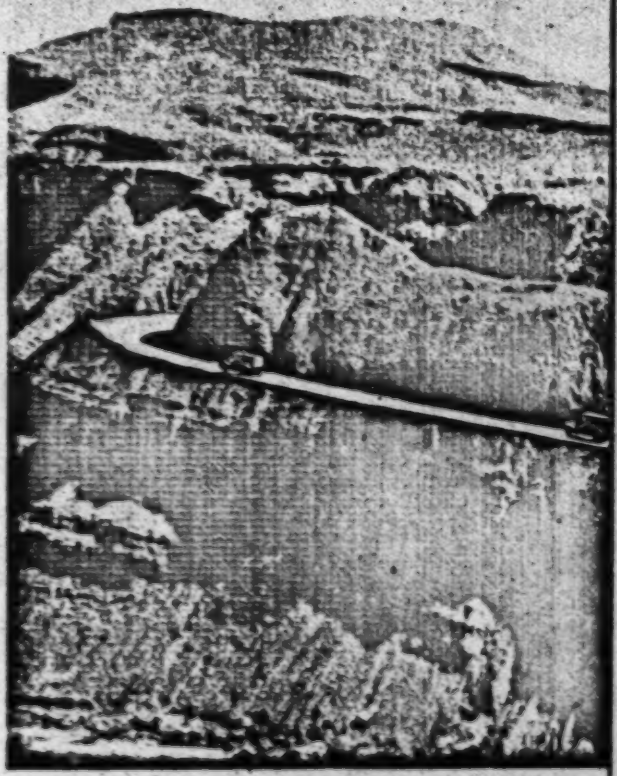

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THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet[1] of Mosul: Mosul (35% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (52%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas*[2] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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1 [Territorial-administrative units, with vilayets sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.--Analyst]

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majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kikruk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

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The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 ($250 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

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timate capacity of 150,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1958 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertized major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Darband-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Babans of Sulaimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, tend to attach tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting then to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1892 Hajji Qadir of Koi (*circa* 1817-1894),

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whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Baban principality was, in the words of another poet, 'neither subject to the Persians, nor slave-driven by the House of Osman.'

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Badr Khan and General Sharif Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1909, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the south of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression not only in Iraq but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which went on to the academy and staff-college at Constantinople, and so reached a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these same officers naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's 'programme of the world's peace' enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be 'assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' Sharif Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the north-eastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

IV.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Köprü. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] It was at Sulaimani in 1918 that Kurdish was first made the official language of the administration; a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts later on were Sulaimani men.

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the idealistic spirit of the time, was at first to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces, to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Even before the armistice contact had been established with a certain Shaykh Mahmud, head of the leading Sayyid family of Southern Kurdistan, who was informed that any Kurdish groups or tribes in the three *liwa*s of Sulaimani, Kirkuk and Arbil which might wish to accept his leadership would be allowed to do so. It soon became evident, however, that the Saykh had overestimated his popularity, and his province was eventually restricted to little more than the *liwa* of Sulaimani. No similar initiative was taken in regard to the Kurdish districts in the *liwa* of Mosul, where there was no articulate Kurdish opinion.

This first experiment in Kurdish autonomy under modern conditions was not a success. Within six months the Shaykh, resenting the limitations placed on his freedom to do exactly as he liked, rebelled. After a short military operation he was captured and deported, and the *liwa* was brought under the direct administration of the Occupation Authority. But quite apart from Shaykh Mahmud's personal ambitions there was always present at Sulaimani, among all classes of the population, an abiding conviction, rooted in their history, that the place contained the germs of a revived and extensive Kurdish state of which it was the predordained capital. The belief had little justification either in its physical appearance and commercial importance or in the academic attainments and political experience of its citizens, but it was always in the air. The proposal that Sulaimani with the adjacent districts should once more become an autonomous territory, therefore, had not come to the people as anything strange.

For the other political leaders the fall of Mahmud was thus no reason for renouncing the glittering prize brought so near by the Treaty of Sèvres. Assurances had been given in the British Parliament that the Kurds would not be forced to come under an Arab government against their will, and when the Provisional National Government of Iraq was formed in November, 1920, Sulaimani remained under the direct control of the British High Commissioner. Kirkuk (which then included Arbil) did accept a *Mutasarrif* (Governor) nominated by the new government, but he, like all the other officials, was a local man, and Turkish, the language of the educated urban classes (but not of the majority of the inhabitants), continued to be used for official purposes. When in June, 1921, the Amir Faysal arrived in Iraq as the candidate sponsored by the British Government for the throne Sulaimani refused to participate in the referendum; Kirkuk did participate but accounted for most of the

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175 negative votes cast. No representative from either *liwa* attended the
668 accession ceremonies.

648 A difficult situation had been further complicated by the promulgation in January, 1920, by the Turkish Cabinet of a manifesto known as the 'National Pact' which, while conceding the right to self-determination of the Arabs south of the armistice line of 1918, refused to contemplate the surrender of the Mosul vilayet. The Treaty of Sèvres, signed by the representatives of the Sultan nine months later, was never ratified. For the next five years the Kurds were subjected to a campaign of intensive propaganda from Turkey: threats of invasion, clandestine correspondence with urban and tribal leaders, open incitements to rebellion, warnings to 'traitors,' and pervading all, the religious appeal for loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph (until the Caliphate was abolished in March 1924). Small bodies of uniformed Turkish troops actually crossed the border at various points in support of the restless tribes. The administrative boundary in Arbil and parts of Mosul was withdrawn to the edge of the plains, and in September, 1922, the whole of Sulaimani was evacuated. Shaykh Mahmud was brought back in return for an undertaking that he would secure the expulsion of the Turks from the *liwa* and that he would refrain from interfering in the neighbouring *liwas* of Kirkuk and Arbil. But in the intoxicating mountain air these promises were soon forgotten:
[669] in November the Shaykh proclaimed himself 'King of Kurdistan,' claimed the whole country down to the Jabal Hamrin as part of his 'Kingdom,' and so far from expelling the Turks sought to use their presence as a lever to press his ambitions. In December the British and Iraqi governments, hoping to rally the more moderate Kurds to resist the aggressor, made a joint communication to certain friendly leaders recognizing 'the right of the Kurds of Iraq to set up a Kurdish government' which should send responsible delegates as soon as possible to discuss boundaries and political and economic relations; but there was nobody capable of taking advantage of the offer, which lapsed.[2]

The prevailing uncertainty and unrest were actually aggravated by the signature at Lausanne in July, 1923, of a Treaty of Peace between the Allies and Turkey, for it specifically excluded the Mosul question from the settlement. In August, 1924, the dispute was referred to the League of Nations. A Commission was sent to examine the problem on the spot, and, in December, 1925, the Council awarded the vilayet to Iraq subject to guarantees that regard would be paid to the 'desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed

[2] The activities of Shaykh Mahmud necessitated a series of air and military operations in the years that followed; Sulaimani town itself was reoccupied by the Iraqi Army in July, 1924; but the Shaykh continued to harry the administration until June, 1927, when he submitted. He took up arms again in 1930 in sympathy with the imprisoned intellectuals (see below) but gave himself up in 1932.

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for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the language of all these services.' The Turkish government at first refused to accept the decision but, by a tripartite treaty between the United Kingdom, Iraq and Turkey signed at Ankara in June, 1926, finally renounced its sovereignty over the Mosul vilayet. The administration of the three *liwas* was then assimilated to that of the rest of Iraq except in the matter of the official language and the race of the officials.

The Turkish menace was hardly out of the way when the approach of the end of the Mandate for Iraq roused misgivings among the leaders of Kurdish opinion as to the value of the guarantees. Petitions to the League were treated as treason, and in 1930 and 1931 many highly respected Kurdish intellectuals were imprisoned. When the application of Iraq for admission to the League came up for consideration in 1932 the Council required and received from the Iraqi government a written Declaration, which was to rank as part of the Constitution, reaffirming its undertakings in regard to the minorities. A special law was enacted defining the areas within which Kurdish and Turkish should be the languages of the local administration, of the law courts, and of primary education.

For the next few years there was little manifestation of political nationalism in Iraq. The hard logic of facts seemed to have persuaded the leaders, some sooner, some later, that their hopes were impossible of realization; most of them settled down quietly, salving their patriotic consciences, perhaps, with the vague idea that one day another world cataclysm might give their sons or grandsons their opportunity and that in the meantime any agitation would do more harm than good.

During the year preceding the outbreak of the Second World War there were indications that the German Legation in Baghdad was spreading propaganda, especially among young men of the official classes, that the Kurds had been grossly betrayed by Britain at the end of the last war but that a victorious Germany was ready to create an independent Kurdistan after the next. But after the actual outbreak of hostilities the elder realists remained convinced that neither side was likely to alienate the Arabs for a small and internationally unimportant people like the Kurds, and preferred to take no initiative. In the spring of 1941, when Rashid 'Ali staged his *coup d'état* against the Regent and the lawful government of Iraq, Shaykh Mahmud escaped from Baghdad, where he had been living in honourable exile, and did indeed obtain some support from the younger generation and among the tribes for the idea of a revolt based on the belief that, 'the unreliability of the Arabs' having now become manifest, the Allies would no longer hesitate to give the Kurds

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their 'rights'; but with the restoration of the Regent, a staunch friend of the Allies, the movement, such as it was, lost all momentum.

V.

'Do as you would be done by' is not a maxim that seems to have appealed very much to the various formerly subject peoples, in Europe or in Asia, who have been liberated since 1918, and it was hardly to be expected that the Arabs of Iraq would prove an exception. Even in Ottoman times the three vilayets had been considered as constituting a single unit, Turkish Arabia in British official parlance, and any scheme of partition on racial lines to meet the aspirations of a minority was as unpalatable as similar ideas have been to majorities elsewhere. Against any suggestion that the central government should make a special effort to conciliate the Kurds by recognizing their existence *qua* Kurds and not merely as individuals enjoying the ordinary civil liberties like anybody else, it was at first argued that since the greater part of Kurdistan lay outside Iraq any concession in this direction could only encourage the separatist tendencies of the Kurds of Iraq and that it would lead to demands for similar privileges from other racial or religious groups.

On the Kurdish side, quite apart from the initial unwillingness to accept subordination to the Arabs who had been a subject race like themselves, it was felt that the guarantees given to the League in 1925 and again in 1932 were being either ignored or at any rate grudgingly implemented. Statistics could be adduced to show that the Kurdish districts were not getting their fair share of the social services or development projects. Particularly bitter were complaints that the schools were inadequate in both quality and number, that failure to prepare and distribute school-books in Kurdish was making a mockery of the promises regarding the language instruction, and that Kurdish students were not being accepted for institutions of higher education or educational missions abroad. The big-spending Department of Irrigation was not represented in the north at all. In the sphere of Public Works there were complaints that all the emphasis was on police posts, and it was indeed the fact that even the construction of roads was for some years held back by the defeatist strategy of a Ministry of Defence which regarded them as facilities for an invader rather than a means of consolidating the administration and benefiting the population. The claim, made at the League of Nations and elsewhere, that the Kurds were always adequately represented in the Cabinet was denounced as disingenuous, since the Ministers in question, even if they could claim remote Kurdish origin, generally belonged to families long expatriated and were Arab rather than Kurdish in sentiment.

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Insofar as these grievances had some foundation in fact enough has already been said to show that the prevailing state of affairs was due, in part at any rate, to political circumstances beyond the control of the government, and in part to the restlessness of the Kurds themselves which for long periods had brought the administration in a large part of Kurdistan to a standstill. Some of the neglect, too, was undoubtedly due not to malice but to a tendency, not unknown elsewhere, for the higher authorities to take more thought for the parts of the country near the center than for the distant outposts.

However that may be, the result was that just when the earlier agitators were developing into elder statesmen who, sobered by experience, no longer regarded separation as feasible or desirable there was growing up a new generation nurtured on a sense of grievance and frustration. Resentment was further embittered by insulting references to the minorities not infrequently made by pan-Arab orators in moments of fanatical exaltation. In all the countries of the Middle East the western Powers are regarded as the supporters of the old reactionary Beys and Pashas who have retained most of the political power in their own hands (the charge is unfair but it would prolong this paper unduly to examine it here). It is only to be expected, then, that disgruntled youth (and especially young Kurds with a racial added to a social grievance) should look to Russia for its inspiration. The Russians have long been the neighbours of the Kurds through the Caucasian provinces, and, as we have seen, a small part of Kurdistan lies within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Even before 1918 Kurdish malcontents in Turkey and Persia were accustomed to seek support from the Russians. For the Russians exploitation of Kurdish unrest would be nothing new, indeed something of the kind has been seen comparatively recently at the time of the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in Persian Kurdistan, and again in 1947 when Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a fugitive rebel from Iraq, was welcomed in Soviet Armenia, given high military rank, and encouraged to broadcast in Kurdish from Erivan.

But with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable. The mercantile classes, realizing as they do that economically the Kurdish north is bound hand and foot to Baghdad, have never shown any enthusiasm for anything but the mildest form of nationalism, and the programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before. The old loyalties to religious Shaykhs and tribal Aghas have been too deeply undermined for any self-appointed leader to command a serious measure of support in any violent adventure. The complexity of modern weapons has given the government an overwhelming advantage

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over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old stormy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

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KURD CULTURAL SUMMARY

by

Amal Vinogradov

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[title page]

THE KURDS

Orientation

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The term Kurds refers to a number of closely related Moslem tribes speaking similar dialects and inhabiting the mountainous crescent that stretches from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia. This area is commonly referred to as Kurdistan. Kurdistan has neither political nor geographical unity being a semi-continuous territory divided among the modern states of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and the U.S.S.R. In 1920, at the treaty of Sèvres, it was initially proposed that Kurdistan be made a political unit. The proposal was dropped, however, and Kurdistan never came into being as a nation. Most of the region is in the high mountains of the Armenian Knot and the Zagros Range, but it also extends into the foothills and the plains of northern Iraq. The Kurdish tribes are historically ancient. They are probably descended from people known variously as Guti, Qurti, and Karduchoi who were living in the area at about 2000 B.C. They are also assumed to be the same Carduks (Karduchoi) who harried the retreat of Xenophon's army in 400 B.C.

Modern Kurdish nationalism places great emphasis on the unity of the language. The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and is very similar to Persian. At the same time it exhibits

105 features which suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. At present there are three major dialects spoken by the various Kurdish tribes. Estimates for the total population of the Kurds have ranged from 1.5 million to 4 million. The Royal Institute of International Affairs gives a figure of 3 million including those living in the U.S.S.R. The largest single concentration is on the Turkish-Iraqi border where they number approximately 2 million. The census of Iraq for the year 1947 listed 1 million Kurds concentrated in the north and northeast of that country. A great many Kurds are urbanized, Arabized or Turkicized and are Kurdish by descent only.

The large majority of the Kurds belong to the Shafi'i school of Sunnite Moslems. In Persia several tribes belong to the radical Shi'ite sect of Ahl-i-Hakk or Ali Ilahi. Though the Kurds were early converts to Islam, independent Kurdish principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasside Caliphate (around 1200). They generally played a minor role except for producing Saladin at the time of the third Crusade. A large part of Kurdish territory was conquered by Sultan Selim I (1500), but even then they managed to retain considerable local autonomy leading to adjustment rather than replacement of traditional Kurdish organization.

Economy

The Kurds today exhibit a considerable diversity in their economic patterns ranging from pure nomads to settled farmers. This diversity of economic patterns is reflected in their social organization. Many urban

105 Kurds have been partially assimilated into the various national cultures where they reside. The overwhelming majority, though, are subsistence farmers, many of whom practice localized transhumance. These farmers live in what is essentially a feudal situation. Subsistence among the settled population is based on cereal agriculture combined with herding. Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; rice, peas, lentils, and garden vegetables are secondary. Tobacco is the major cash crop. Goats and sheep are the important domestic animals, and their goat hair, wool, and dairy products are always in demand in adjacent towns. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven by both nomads and villagers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys generally are used only as a means of transportation. Some horses are kept, but these are definitely luxury animals and only the rich can afford them. In most cases productive techniques in agriculture are underdeveloped with the result that the per capita yield is very low. The nomads move within prescribed territories following their herds of goats and sheep into the mountains in summer and down to the plains in winter.

The daily diet of the majority of the Kurds is built around bread, dairy produce (especially curdled milk called mast), dates, tea, and sugar. The wealthy have a more varied diet and consume more rice, meat, and fruits; pork and alcoholic beverages are tabooed.

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Clothing

The Kurds are notable for their elaborate and colorful national costume, in which they use both imported and locally woven fabrics. Briefly, the man's costume consists of baggy colored trousers and a plain shirt with bags sleeves split at the wrist and tied above the elbow. Over the shirt is worn a very colorfully embroidered vest. The waist is bound with a large fringed sash tied in heavy folds and used to hold tobacco, money, and the traditional dagger. A skullcap is worn on the head and over it two rolled scarves are bound to form a heavy turban. The women's dress is heavily and brightly embroidered. They do not use the veil, although a head scarf is worn. In towns, many Kurds have either modified or completely abandoned the traditional dress in favor of Western-style clothing.

Social Organization

Throughout Kurdistan, two basic and distinctive types of social organization are found: a tribal system based on descent, and a feudal system based on class and land ownership. All nomadic tribes belong to the first type (descent), while the settled population may be dichotomized between those of freeholding, tribally organized farmers (descent) and those of semi-feudal sharecropping tenants (feudal). The feudal type village structure is being progressively assimilated into the modern structure of the state and is difficult to evaluate at this time. The intricacies of the class and near-caste systems and differential contacts and reactions

105 due to many subcultures, reader analysis of the Kurdish towns (which also serve as trade and administrative centers) too complex to permit valid generalizations. The rural areas on the other hand show greater uniformity in patterns; the tribal areas are organized and separable and the villagers in their small endogamous communities have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally owns and works his own field or hires outside labor to assist him. Mutual renting or borrowing of livestock may occur, especially in harvest time when cattle are used for threshing. The grazing areas belong to the village as a whole, and herding the individually owned animals is usually delegated to one or more full-time shepherds, serving the whole community. The village is made up of individual households that are economically independent. Each household typically consists of one nuclear family, although some may include an extended patrilineal family. The division of labor within the house is very clear-cut and follows the traditional rural pattern of men working the fields and women attending to the household chores.

Marriage

Marriage patterns are based on Koranic law. A man is forbidden to marry any of his father's wives, his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or his stepdaughter, or any woman who was nursed by the woman who nursed him (be it his own mother or an unrelated wet nurse).

105 At the same time it is recommended by the Koran that he marry within the kin group. The Kurds, like all Moslems, practice close family endogamy with preferential father's brother's daughter (parallel cousin) marriage. Statistically, this type of marriage is also most prevalent. Bride price is not fixed but varies with the wealth and the status of the families involved. The bride price is usually lower for father's brother's daughter than for less preferred arrangements. Another prevalent marriage pattern is for two men to exchange sisters thus eliminating the bride price completely. Marriages are usually festive occasions accompanied by public feasting and dancing by the men. The women take no part in the public celebration or dancing but hold their own celebration within the house. Although polygamy is allowed by Islam, plural wives are rather uncommon except among a few wealthy individuals. The levirate is frequently practiced, but more as a convenience, especially where there are children, than as an established rule or right. The sororate is not known as a marriage practice. Following the Moslem pattern, the male has the right to divorce his wife at any time and no reasons need be advanced. After divorce, the woman goes back to her father's house leaving the children (unless very young) with the father. (Procedure for divorce and remarriage, settlements, inheritance laws, etc. follows the Moslem religious law, Al-Shari'a. For a detailed description see Levy 1962.)

Postmarital residence is ideally patrilocal. The typical household however usually contains one nuclear family, indicating a trend towards

105 neolocality. The position of the bride in her new home is strengthened by the birth of a son. This enhances her status as a woman also and divorces rarely occur in families with male children.

Childbirth and Childhood

Parturition takes place in a sitting position. The mother is assisted by an experienced older woman from the village who acts as midwife. Birth takes place in one of the rooms in the house and the father may be present if he so wishes. The umbilical cord is cut with a pair of scissors or a knife and the newborn infant is wrapped tightly in a cotton blanket. For the first seven days, it is placed on a circular inverted grain sieve which is covered with a thin mattress. (The use of a sieve for the first bed has been reported from Egypt and Iran and is said to be a measure to protect the baby from the evil eye.) After the first week, the infant is placed in a wooden cradle to which it is tightly strapped most of the day. As a rule, children are nursed until their second birthday. If the mother has no milk, a wet nurse is employed.

Boys are preferred to girls; a man will often marry a second wife should the first one fail to have any sons. The Kurds circumcise their sons when they are five days old, or wait until the child is seven years of age. Naming takes place on the seventh day. A mullah (Moslem religious teacher) takes the infant on his knees and whispers the given name to it, repeating the formula seven times: "I call thee....., son (daughter) of our great mother Eve." Following the Arab custom, Kurds have no

105 surnames; the child is addressed by his given name plus that of his father.

Childhood in Kurdistan is a period of preparation for the adult role. Children rarely play and toys of any kind are practically non-existent. At the various age levels, children have specific duties to perform. Girls assist their mothers around the house while the boys work with their fathers in the fields and look after the goats and sheep. Children are well trained with an assured feeling of their position and what is expected of them. There are no recognized transitional periods and they arrive at adulthood with no visible personal or social upheavals.

Family Relations

The ideal for both adults and children is a calm dignified behavior at all times. Children are taught to be obedient, unobtrusive, polite, and industrious. Disobedience to parents, especially to the father, is regarded by Moslems as a cardinal sin.

Following the Moslem pattern, the father or the senior adult male, in theory at least, has complete and unquestionable control in the household. In practice, however, it has been observed that Kurdish women often have considerable influence within the family circle and few have even attained prominence on a tribal level. The father's absolute authority is often challenged by his grown sons as indicated by the high incidence of neolocal residence. Obedience of the female to the male and of the young to the old, however, is still both the ideal and the general rule.

Kinship

105 A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms employed, totaling twelve in all. In general, especially as far as the male is concerned, affinal relatives are of secondary importance and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult sister and brother suffice. The group of relatives covered by these basic twelve terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents are members during their lives. The suffix -aza, literally "child of," indicates removal by one descending generation from this group; repetition of the term indicates two generations' removal. Ascending generations are categorized by constructing similar bilateral units with ego's father or grandfather in the position of ego.

Kurdish kinship terms are thus purely descriptive, in that they measure only genealogical distance between near kin without showing unilineal emphasis.

Political Organization

Kurdish tribal organization is based on a segmentary lineage system of a simple type. A large tribal confederacy called ashiret is divided into a number of tribes or subtribes called tira. The tira is the primary political and landowning group. Membership in it is patrilineally inherited and the tira itself approximates a maximal lineage.

105 It is the largest kinship unit and members must be able to trace their descent from one common ancestor. Genealogical depth of the tiras varies; for some tribes such as the sedentary Hamawands of Iraq, the common ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation. The nomadic Wurda Shatri nearby hold their common ancestor to be twelve generations removed. Each tira is led by a hereditary rais (leader). The leader's position is hereditary within the clan and a new leader must have the approval of the senior male members of the tira. The tiras have traditional rights to specific pastures. Growth of population and internal tension may lead a branch of a tira to split and in time form a new tira. In case of wars or tribal feuds, the leaders of all the tiras meet in council. This council reaches agreement through discussion and has no formal powers. The whole confederacy or ashiret is led by a paramount leader called beg. This position, too, is inherited within one tira or clan. A levy tax is imposed on the member tiras who are required to contribute a number of armed men and servants who serve in the camp of the beg. The whole tira rarely camps in one unit, but generally divides into several tent camps called khel, roughly corresponding to a lineage segment. It is held together by both economic and kinship ties. The khel is led by an older man informally elected because of his prestige, power, and capabilities. Each khel in turn is made up of a number of households (frequently some twenty to thirty). These approximate in size, composition,

105 and roles those of the sedentary village Kurds previously described. Rather than being farmers, the men here are engaged in full time herding and stockbreeding. Thus, primarily due to the close endogamy practiced by the Kurds, the genealogical and the local groups usually coincide, and those same groups are also the organizational units in the formal political sense. Or, stated in a different way, the localized territorial groups occupying separate villages are in effect lineage segments, whose corporate unity is expressed in communal ownership of land, cooperation in herding and irrigation, and the over-all political unity of the tira and ultimately of the ashiret.

The political organization of the nontribal areas is much simpler. Immediately above the village level, external administration takes over. In the village itself, a mukhtar (mayor, headman) is elected to serve as intermediary between the villagers and the administration. More often he is appointed from above in an attempt to achieve a balance of power in the village or to assure full cooperation with the national governments.

External Relations

The Kurds have always been restless under civil governments. No less than six major armed rebellions (some common to more than one government) have been quelled with difficulty in the past twenty-five years. In spite of the centralising policies of the Ottoman and Persian empires, a number of quasi-independent Kurdish principalities survived until the

105 middle of the nineteenth century. After the suppression of these, periodic revolts occurred against the central authority in which the leaders appealed to racial and ethnic sentiment to rally their followers. The political history of the Kurds after 1906 is interwoven with that of the Ottomans and international politics. A small Kurdish colony of 20,000 in Soviet Armenia has been encouraged recently in developing national consciousness and is acting as an example for the rest of the Kurds. The Kurds of Iraq are today in a state of war with the national government and the outcome is unpredictable. This, however, may be the initial step toward the final realization of Kurdistan both as a geographical and a national entity.

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Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan

BY
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The publishing activity of the *Universitetets Etnografiske Museum*, Oslo, had gradually become chiefly concerned with the editing of old historical sources concerning Same (Lapp) culture. There is no doubt that the museum under the directorship of the late Prof. O. Solberg satisfied an urgent need by publishing this material in its series «Nordnorske Samlinger», and we are greatly indebted to the late Prof. Solberg for his having made these extremely important contributions to the understanding of old Same (Lapp) culture. On the invitation of this museum, however, its Same (Lapp) collections have been transferred to the *Norsk Folkemuseum*, Bygdøy; consequently this museum has also taken over the publication of the series «Nordnorske Samlinger» under the new title «Samiske Samlinger».

Of the two series in quarto, «Skrifter» and «Bulletin», published by the *Universitetets Etnografiske Museum*, the latter from now on will be published in octavo and contain both monographs and shorter papers, in English, French, or German. The range of subjects will be very wide, including both descriptive and theoretical studies from different parts of the world and in most various fields of anthropology. I welcome Fredrik Barth's study which will prove to be an important contribution to the scanty literature on Kurdish social structure.

Universitetets Etnografiske Museum (Oslo) — April 1953.

Gutorm Gjessing.

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My thanks are most of all due to my kind host, Baba Ali Shaikh Mahmud, who offered me assistance of every kind during my field-work and graciously extended the most classical Kurdish hospitality. Khalid Said, a young Kurdish artist, was invaluable as interpreter and assistant; I am also indebted to Mr. Fuad, the School Inspector in Suleimani, for recommending Khalid Said to me, as well as for several illuminating conversations. Sayyid Sabri Shukri, now of the Mosul Museum, kindly endeavored to teach me some of the fundamentals of Kurdish language and culture; Linda and Robert Braidwood, through their experience and knowledge of the area were able to help me and orient me in the problems, and also kindly lent me some necessary equipment. Finally, the spontaneous friendliness and hospitality that I received from everyone I met in Iraq, from the

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000 wandering harvestman to the most prominent *Beg*, will remain one of my fondest memories.

In the analysis of the material and preparation of the manuscript I have benefited greatly from the kind and stimulating advice of Dr. E. R. Leach, Reader in anthropology at the London School of Economics. I am further thankful to Miss Elizabeth Bott of the Tavistock Institute, London, for reading and criticising several drafts. The present manuscript is published through the courtesy of Prof. Gutorm Gjessing, aided by a grant from Norges Almenvitenskapelige Forskningsråd.

Oslo, February 2, 1953. *Fredrik Barth.*

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Map No. 1: The Middle East.
(For detail on the area of study, enclosed in small square, see Map. No. 2.)

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INTRODUCTION

631 [34] Scattered over the South Kurdish countryside are a great number of small, compact villages, essentially similar in their physical aspects, yet highly variegated with respect to their composition and organization, ranging from extended lineage organizations to fully developed feudal organization. Thus, on the village level, there is a great diversity of forms of social organization. Yet the *culture* of the area seems essentially uniform, and these alternative principles of organization are universally known. In the recent history of some villages, there has been a rapid, fundamental change from one type of social organization to another. In the following, an attempt will be made to discuss these various types of organization as they express themselves in the actual power hierarchy of individuals in the village. The discussion will thus be directed towards discovering what types of social categories exist, what actual powers each category entails, and which of these categories are found in harmonious conjunction — since some of the categories that belong in different basic frameworks of social organization are, as might be expected, mutually exclusive in any local community.

177 It seems probable that a fluid and complex situation of this type is characteristic of societies which lie in the shatter zone between larger culture areas — in this case, between the Arab, Persian, and Turkish. Such a location produces familiarity with various competing normative systems, principles of organization, and power hierarchies. This familiarity on the part of the villager leads to attempts at

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manipulating these various systems and principles. Thus competing factions, manipulating the familiar (but in part mutually exclusive) systems, will establish different power hierarchies in different villages, resulting in the present variety of forms of social organization found in the area.

However, one type of basic organization may be said to be autonomously Kurdish. This is usually called *tribal*, and is based on the *lineage principle*. Any movement away from this basic framework of organization will be the result of the above type of manipulations, and may be seen as a step in a «de-tribalization process». A special attempt will be made to explore the structure of the tribal group, and its reactions to the pressures that tend to lead to its breakdown.

Certain characteristics of the lineage system in its Kurdish application might profitably be stated immediately, to avoid confusion. The Kurds practice close family endogamy with preferential FaBrDa marriage, and a Kurdish descent group shows many consequent characteristics, among which is a tendency towards constant branching and the establishment of new, independent endogamous subsections. The concept of a lineage, as developed for other areas, normally applies to an *exogamous* grouping. However, the main importance of the lineage concept is in the field of political organization, and it will be seen that the political functions of the Kurdish descent groups and the African lineage groups are essentially similar. This might be expected, if only from the following consideration: Women in Kurdish society are normally of minimal political importance, and matrilineal descent has no political significance. The strictly *patri*lineal descent group will be unmodified by any patterns of preferential marriage. Since this, in Kurdish society, is the politically significant group, the fact of endogamy has no direct political importance. I have therefore chosen to call this patrilineal descent group a *lineage* when politically recognized.

After an orientation on some factors which are uniform over the whole South Kurdish area, notably in the field of subsistence and kinship, the formal lineage organization will be discussed, as well as the basic pattern of non-tribal formal organization; and the fundamental composition of the resulting local groups will be treated.

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However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village, and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting type of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the *ovicaprid*, Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mountainous crescent stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this crescent is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 50 to 300 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1911), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exhibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1913), assuming them to be the Carduks who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Sultan Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

[text continues on p. 2]

Map No. 1. Southern Kurdistan — The territory of the old Baban Principality. Dotted Line: Iraq—Persian border.

Villages studied.

1—5. Tenure villages of the Sulaimani valley.
6. Shaikh Mahmud's village of residence.
7. Village of residence of Darwish Lendo.
8—9. Dimensional villages.
9. Tenure village of the Germian lowlands.

groups 6.

Kurdish territory was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I, 1515
but retained considerable local autonomy, leading to adjustment
rather than replacement of traditional Kurdish organization.

The area generally called Southern Kurdistan, where the present 150
material was collected, may be delimited on ethnic and geographical
grounds (cf. Map. No. 2). It is bounded on the north by the Lower
Zab, on the south by the Diyala river. To the east it stretches up
into the Zagros mountains to the Persian frontier. A western border
can only be drawn on ethnic, and rather arbitrary criteria, since
Kurdish territory extends in part beyond the foothill area, into a
zone where Kurd and Arab villagers and villages mingle.

Physiographically, the area is characterized by a series of ridges 1933
running NW—SE, building up towards the Persian mountains. The
drainage pattern is rather complex, partly leading to the Lower Zab,
partly to the Diyala, and some smaller rivers disappearing in the dry
area south and west of the city of Kirkuk.

In the lowlands, the *Garmian* (lowlands) of the Kurds, condi-
tions approach semi-desert, and agriculture becomes increasingly
has been called the rainfall zone (Warriner, 1948, p. 100), but
generally falls somewhat short of this, leaving the remaining area
to Arab agriculturalists with an identical economy.

Though predominantly Kurdish, the area shows some ethnic diver- 162
sity. There is contact with permanent Arab settlements in a rather
broad zone of mixture. Bedouin herdsmen in the summer graze their
camels as far as the Chemchemal valley, and have at times remained
in the area continuously for several years. The city of Kirkuk has a
considerable Turkish-speaking population, and Turkish-speaking
villages may still be found in a wide stretch of the lower districts.
Some 100 years ago, Turkomans nomads occupied some of these areas
(Rich, 1836). The town of Sulaimani had till 1911 a considerable
Jewish population, as well as the still persisting small Chaldaean
Christian minority.

The Kurds themselves exhibit considerable diversity, ranging from
tribally organized nomadic herdsmen to feudal peasants. The Gar-
mian lowlands are mainly peopled by detribalized sedentary farmers.

[2] The southern section around Qizil Robat are formed by settled members of the Jaf tribe, working as tenants on their old tribal land. Here are also the winter camps of the nomadic Jaf. The Shahr-i-zor plains around the town of Halabja are the autumn camp grounds of the same group, and support a large population of tenant Jaf. The summer grazing grounds of the nomads lie in the high mountains around Penjwin.

The Chemchemal valley is the territory of the Hawrewaz tribe of freeholding farmers, partly co-habiting the area with an impoverished assimilated serf group. In the broad valley around Sulaimani are non-tribal tenant farmers, in the high area of Pushdir, further north, are tribally organized farmers. The Hawramiyan in the Zagros range by Halabja are dialectically and ethnically rather distinct, tribally organized, usually freeholding garden farmers or cultivators.

[15] Some historical orientation is necessary. The city of Sulaimani was for centuries the capital of a rather independent Pushdir segment of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by Pashas of the Baban family. This Pushdir included most if not all the territory described above. A [illegible] was moderately effective, leading to a breakdown of most tribal political organizations and the development of a large group of serfs and tenant farmers. Conditions during Baban rule are well described by Claudius James Rich (op.cit.), a very observant traveller in the early 19th century. Due to complex intrigue in Baghdad and Istanbul, Baban rule was suddenly brought to an end in 1851, and considerable instability resulted. The *Jaf* tribe, on the one hand, became powerful and assimilated numerous groups of other tribes in their organization; the *Jaf* leaders consolidated their positions as landowners and took on the appearance more of feudal lords than tribal chiefs. On the other hand, the *Hawrewaz* tribe entered on a course of systematic brigandage and war, and, though a very small tribe, became quite powerful. Sulaimani became the scene of a tug of war between these various interests and the efforts of a saintly family of the Barzinja to reestablish some form of Pushdir. After the end of the First World War, conditions slowly became more

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stable, and official administrations, directed from Baghdad, grew in scope and progressively enlarged its area of effective control.

Such then is the background of the villages where the following material was collected. They are primarily tenant villages in the Sulaimani valley, or villages dominated by freeholding Hamawand farmers. However, certain aspects of local social structure become clear only by comparison with other situations — particularly those found in the *Jaf* areas — or by historical comparisons and deductions. The data on *Jaf* organization was obtained from a limited number of informants on short visits to various villages. For historical material, C. J. Rich's accounts (*op.cit*) have been found most useful.

I have tried to avoid bringing conditions and factors in the towns of Sulaimani, Chamchamal, Halabja, etc. into the picture. The enormous «Western» influences in these centres are extremely complicated and difficult to evaluate. In the intricacies of the class and caste system, differential contacts and reactions due to sub-cultures are indeed complex. The rural areas, on the other hand, show greater uniformity in patterns: the tribal areas are organized and separable, and the tenant villages, in their small, endogamous communities, have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism. [illegible] for every illustrating this localism: A donkey belonging to one of the tenant farmers in a village ran away; as the farmer followed it, to catch it. The donkey climbed up the hillside, far away from the village, but the farmer did not want to lose it. So he followed it high up into the mountains, never turning, and finally close to the mountain top he caught it. On turning around he saw below him the whole beautiful Shahr-i-zur plain, in which his own village lay. The peasant gasped and exclaimed: «I never knew the world was so vast!»

What goes on in the towns belongs, as far as most villagers are concerned, to a quite separate world, and it seemed both in the field and in working up the notes valid to separate off the Kurdish *countryside* as the area of study. But due to diversity even in this area, any attempt at giving a conventional anthropological description of «the culture of the society» must fail. Each of the compact, widely separated little villages shows characteristics of its own, local

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permutations of pan-Kurdish institutions, or traits derived from the specific setting and history of the particular village.

No one of these villages, however, is self-contained. Though each shows a high degree of self-sufficiency and endogamy, it is tied to others in a web of social relations, embracing the whole of Southern Kurdistan. Many institutions affecting large districts have their main focus in one or another of these local villages, not visibly different from the rest: the home village of the leader of the dervish brotherhood, that of a tribal leader, a rich landowner, a locally important mullah. Ordinary trade ties village to village and village to city; illegal tobacco trade follows back roads and high mountain passes in a web of its own. Thus no village is self-contained or separable in structural terms. Clearly, a larger unit of study than any one village is needed.

But as soon as one proceeds beyond the village level, complications arise. Social relations within the village are virtually continuous, and a constant set of relations and hierarchy of organization persists, or changes only slowly. Relations outside the village, on the other hand, are discontinuous. In such relations, there is a stronger tendency to press any immediate advantage to the limit. To this end, the individual attempts to manipulate a variety of competing institutions and norms, derived from tribal Kurdish, purely local, Arabic, Islamic, Persian, modern etc. cultural contexts. On the other hand, to give these relations the degree of permanence that they do have, some generally accepted principle must exist, or the social relations would break down (as they in fact do in the case of feud). — An attempt will be made to unravel the institutionalized forms that these inter-village relations take.

The internal organization of the village presents problems of a different kind. The great differences between villages make it meaningless to construct an average, typical or standard type of village organization. They may be classified according to type, the basic dichotomy being between those of freeholding, tribally organized farmers, and those of non-tribal, sharecropping tenants. But rather than construct an arbitrary number of types, it seems more fruitful to explain the existing diversity to discover co-variance of

institutional forms. Thereby the structural connections between various institutions and principles of organization should become clearer. It will be found that the principles that serve to organize the village are to large extent the same as those which are applied in the more inclusive systems of organization.

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Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

§1 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

§§2 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding
§§3 (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm.,
§§4 concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

§5 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

§6 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

TABLE I

LIVESTOCK AND FIELDS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN DICOW

Hadji Mashal	2	3	3	4	40	2	1	25	27	4	1.5	4
Mahmud	2	7	4	3	30	4	1	11	13	3	.5	3
Darwish Hasan	3	1	4	3	24	1	—	28	28	2	.5	4
Hadji Aziz	3	4	4	4	28	1	—	25	25	3	.5	3
Karim	3	3	2	3	—	3	—	10	10	2	.5	4
Darwish Mohamad	3	—	2	4	1	—	—		10	2	.5	3
Hasan	2	2	—	2	30	—	—	1	7	2	—	—
Ali	2	4	—	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
Rahman	2	3	—	—	—	—	—		2	—	—	—
single women	1	—	—	—	3	—	—		3	—	—	—
10 households, pop. 51				47	159	10	2		221	18	4	21

(areal measure 1 Dunum = 10 x 10 m. = ¼ hectare)

cereal crop. Much reliance is based on the general fitness of this crop to the area. Consequently, the yield is low, and a large area pr. capita must be brought under the plow.

To preserve, in some measure, the fertility of the soil, the fields are left fallow alternate years. These fallow fields should however be plowed at regular intervals, obviously at considerable labor cost. (cf. Appendix I). The plow itself is made of wood, with a conical iron cover over the point. It has a very low level of efficiency, and it is generally necessary to cross-plow all fields. In the hilly area, the slow moving oxen are the only draft animals, which further extends the period of labor. The outcome of this is that the Kurdish farmer spends a very great amount of time plowing, but which rather meagre results. Average return in wheat and barley seems to be c. 8/1 in an openly seeded field.

Reaping takes place, according to altitude, between May and July. The grain is cut with a short, curved sickle, and heaped on areas of hard rambaked clay by or in the field. Threshing is done by the oxen trampling the heaped grain, winnowing with a simple wooden fork.

249 As contrasted to grain, where most of the work comes either in
312 winter plowing or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation take constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation system of tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The flow of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

233 Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided for the animals, so these very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

423 The characteristics of subsistence and available techniques should
471 to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the households. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the additional factor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land codes, tribal political organization, or de-facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the farmer is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional usufruct rights, and b/ land on which

he himself is considered a tenant farmer — the land belonging to an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding farmers to have retained what is generally called *tribal organization* (see below), whereas the tenant farmer has no clear political affiliation, but is largely subject to the control of the landowner. This dichotomy between the tribal, freeholding farmer and the tenant, more or less dependent on a capitalist for land and other privileges, is basic to much of the following discussion. The dichotomy is clearly made by Kurds themselves, and is associated with the co-existence of other institutional forms.

The characteristic tendency on the land which does not directly belong to the farmer who is using it, is a progressive delegation of rights. This influences the division of labor and the form of work-groups in the fields, and reinforces class differences.

In the tribal villages, each farmer generally works his own fields with own equipment, or may hire some outside labor to assist him at certain times of year (harvest, harrowing, or sowing, of livestock may be resorted to). The farming area belongs to the village as a whole, and herding the animals generally delegated to one or more full-time shepherds of low status, who may serve the whole village.

The land of the typical tenant village belongs to an absentee landowner, who claims 1/10—1/5 of the cereal crop by right. The old residents of the village have inherited inherited right of use of certain fields. These are not inalienable. Any person needing more land may apply to the landowner, and if he can demonstrate that he is able to use more, he will be shown fallow land that formerly belonged to other households [illegible] and the need is great, e. g. due to increase in the size of a given family, any type of land may be transferred. Theoretically, the landowner has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts and disrupts village unity.

Not infrequently, the many well-to-do tenant farmer will in fact do no farming himself, but will hire labor in his fields for a share of the crop, or other payments. Such payments are traditionally

stipulated, e. g. for reaping 1/6 of the wheat crop, 1/3 of barley
for plowing, food plus 100 fils/day (= 2 shillings)
or 150 fils/day and no food.

The large landowner may rent out the rights to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

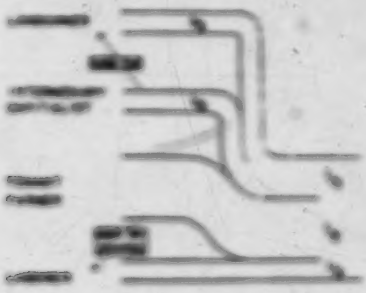

Diagram No. 1. Shares in division of a cereal crop.

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/3 of the crop on an irrigated land.

At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a tenant village will consequently consist of [illegible] made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it up the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

According to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either send it each in turn, or one man among them may [illegible] major irrigation[illegible].

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the peasant village, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from labourer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1949) which could greatly reduce the customary expenditure of oxen-hours. The value of this thresher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 males working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a male with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in oxen hours with [illegible] energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The labourer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The peasant farmer pays the labourer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such investments for the intermediary or the landowner. Consid-

549 ably, the laborer might save or borrow enough money to procure a
281 chember, and then be in a position to take on more work and thus increase his income. What the laborer with access to such capital in fact does, however, is to become a tenant farmer by obtaining the minimal equipment necessary for farming. He then rises one notch in the class hierarchy, and may employ laborers in the peak season of the harvest!

A class distinction is thus constantly reinforced within each village by these dispositions of capital and labor, dividing it into the distinct groups of tenant farmers and laborers — *sefwa* (harvestmen) in Kurdish terms. Prerequisite to being a tenant farmer is a minimum capital (1951) of ca. £ 90: 2 oxen at £ 10-15, plowing equipment £ 10, seed pr. dunum of land ca. £ 1. In addition comes the normal stock of productive animals for household use, of which the harvestmen also generally have a certain number.

The frequency of tenant farmers doing all or a major part of the agricultural work themselves was not ascertained, but it is certainly quite high. Thus the daily routine of field labor, and similarly the organization of household units, is essentially similar for the two classes, the tenant farmers and the laborers.

This two-class distinction is sufficient as far as the tenant village is concerned. The landowner and his family, occupying a third class position, are usually residents of a nearby larger town. In the tribal village, a similar two-class distinction tends to grow up between freeholding tribal farmers and conquered non-tribal tenants, though often the situation becomes more complex (see below).

HOUSEHOLDS.

499 (Nel) The division of labor in the village is thus to a certain extent regulated by a two-class system. But the main division of economic roles and responsibilities is found within each household unit. The household is economically independent, and consists typically of one elementary family: husband, wife, and their children. Among these, the economic roles are distributed along the same lines that will be familiar from rural Europe. It should be unnecessary to enumerate these in detail. The male finds most of his work in the fields; his

The male finds most of his work in the fields, his SK2
is also the privilege of looking after the horse. The other animals are tended by the women, who do the milking and preparing of food, and other household duties, including usual plastering of the house interior every fall. The roof on the other hand is kept in repair by the men. In the busy season the women also assist in the fields, especially during the grain harvest and in tobacco picking. The smaller children share in these latter tasks, and, among less well-to-do people at least, serve as shepherds for the smaller flocks. There is also a series of smaller jobs, such as collecting dung for fuel alone the paths and cow-tracks.

Table II.

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR KURDISH VILLAGES

[592 A2]

	non-tribal		tribal			
	Kurd Barzi	Hawkare	Kurd Barzi	Turgesh		
widow and children	3	10	3	3	19	16
elementary family (and plural wives)	28	24	5	8	57	
+ husband's mother	3	1	1	1	6	93 = 77 %
+ husband's mother and unmarried siblings	1	1	—	—	6	
+ husband's unmarried siblings	—	3	2	2	7	
+ husband's father and unmarried siblings	3	—	—	—	3	13 = 10 %
patrilineal extended family	3	4	1	3	10	
other (incomplete families)	—	9	2	3	14	
Total number of families					120	

574

The general form of the Kurdish village households may be seen in Table II. Only 10 % of the households could be called patrilineal extended families, vs. 77 % consisting of an elementary family or a group of dependents maintained by an elementary family. Each household is an independent economic unit, except for a certain insurance in the form of the obligations to support survivors in

97. case of bereavement and need. This obligation supposedly passes to nearest agnatic male relative, but practice is in fact very elastic, and follows reasonable arguments of evidence and means.

Since each household is generally based on one elementary family, the marriage tie is the pivot on which household organization rests.

98. The verbalized theory on choice of spouse is quite simple. A man decides he wants to marry a certain girl — any girl. He chooses a reliable representative — preferably an older male relative — and the representative visits the father of the girl and makes the proposition. Considerable subtle diplomacy is performed by both sides in fixing a tentative brideprice. If the young man accepts the price, preparations proceed. The importance of the representative is evidently considerable. In one case, a laborer who was a transient in the area chose to send two representatives he did not know very well to a potential father-in-law whom he in fact knew better. The answer seems to lie in the better bargaining position of an outsider — he is freer to eulogize the virtues of the groom.

99. Theoretically, you may propose to marry any girl. In practice, there is a strong preference for FaBrDa marriage. Certainly a FaBrDa is considered to have first right of refusal. The case of the above mentioned transient laborer brings out the point: He was refused because, said the girl's father of sacrificial ox, brother's sons will kill me if I give her to you.[1])

The rationalizations and manifest reasons for this preferential marriage pattern are of several types. The father's interest in his daughter is used as an explanation for his preference of a BrSo as a son-in-law: he knows the nephew's possible shortcomings, which reduces the risk of mis-matching. Furthermore, he would be able to exert some influence over the groom after marriage, through the [illegible] his daughter's interests. It is further usually said that she is content [illegible] for the nephew to pay only a

[1]) The same transient laborer had on a previous occasion in another area been refused a girl on similar grounds, although in this case he threatened to murder her if she was not given to him. The girl was indeed killed shortly afterwards, and the laborer spent a period of time in jail till he was released due to lack of evidence.

reduced brideprice, or none at all; so from the point of view of the potential groom, the incentive to cousin marriage is considerable. No rationalization of the pattern in terms of the Koranic approval of close kin marriage was ever advanced in conversations on the subject — in fact, the contrary was occasionally claimed. — We shall return later to some more basic factors relating to this marriage pattern.

Any special preference for FaBeDa as against the other three types of cousins was denied, and the higher incidence of FaBeDa marriage was explained by the fact that there were more of them. This is in fact true, as far as the local village is concerned. A certain amount of inter-village marriage does take place. Marriage being ambrel in the man's village or occasionally patrilocal, all Fabi's children will be living in your own village, whereas a certain number of those related to you through a female will reside in other villages.

The frequency of marriage with actual, non-classificatory cousins is very high, ranging around 40 % in many of the villages studied (see Table 1). Considering that any irregularity in sex or age distribution of cousins must affect the opportunities for cousin marriage adversely, 40 % is probably close to the practical maximal frequency which such a marriage form can ever attain.

A second type of marriage is the *skin-for-skin* (= sister exchange). In such cases of course the bride price is eliminated by the reciprocity of the two men exchanging their sisters with one another, and only the expenses immediately connected with the marriage celebration and ceremonies remain. From the purely financial point of view, the sister exchange is thus advantageous, and may in a sense be regarded as an extension of the FaBeDa marriage pattern within the village community. In the non-tribal villages, such marriages are fairly frequent. On other counts, however, they are not considered too satisfactory. Where no close kin ties exist between the two men performing the exchange, the chances of disruption of the unions are [illegible] loyalty between spouses, as domestic difficulties in the one household are said to produce similar conflicts in the other household, in a vicious circle.

58 [57] In the case of a marriage between non-relatives, where no direct exchange of women is arranged, the brideprice is quite high, running from £ 50 to 100 — and these prices are in fact paid. This is considered to correspond to the actual economic value of a woman, as an obligation — e. g. a return marriage in the next generation — remains. Because of the size of the sum involved, it is often vital for the young man to avoid full payment, and the high incidence of cousin marriage, as well as of sister exchange, may be seen partly as a result of this.

It is on the other hand more difficult to explain how the father can be willing to forego his right to a brideprice in the case of a nephew. His household is quite separate from that of his brother and nephew, and non-payment of brideprice constitutes a direct cost to him. The origin of the rule might conceivably be sought in a now passed patrilineal extended family organization, where transfer of property between brothers would be meaningless. Today, the pattern is an established privilege of certain categories of relatives, enforced by those who profit from it. And the right is indeed enforced, as indicated by the resistance of the father, cited above, and by the not infrequent murder of girls refusing their cousins (e. g. Hay, 1921 p. 71). Stories of such conflicts are very popular among Kurds, and the occasional horrific reminders serve to ensure the privilege.

Probably the most fundamental consideration inducing a man to give his daughter to a brother's son has the character of a positive sanction, and is connected with the feud, and political power in general. In essence, it may be summarized as follows: A man's power is proportional to the number of followers he can mobilize to support his cause. Especially in the feud situation, these alignments of younger men around an older leader are in lineage terms. If a man has alienated his nephews by denying them their traditional rights, he will have great difficulties rallying them in time of need. A marriage between his daughter and a brother's son contributes positively to prevent such alienation of collateral branches. No other son-in-law — on this function, since a man is not expected to be responsible for his affinals' [illegible] attitude. The only persons who can be expected to give such political support are co-lineage males. — After a descrip-

tion of the Kurdish lineage organization we shall return to a more complete discussion of these interrelations (pp. 49 ff).

Plural wives are rather uncommon in the villages, though they are thought to be a quite desirable investment for the men who can afford it. The average incidence for 94 men in 4 villages runs c. 4 %. The levirate is not infrequently practised, but more as a convenience than as an established rule or right. Unless the widow has a well established father or brother, she tends to remain in the house of her late husband under the protection of her brother-in-law, in which case he might as well have some return for his expenses. Strict observance of the Islamic rule of unlawful conjunction however prevents him from doing this if his first wife is a close relative of the widow (and where cousin marriage is common, this will be a fairly frequent limitation). The sororate is not known as a marriage practice.

587

[591]

KINSHIP.

593

A positional system of rights and privileges organizes the household group. Following Moslem ideals, the adult male has complete control, and can make any decisions he sees fit. This Islamic rule seems slightly to exceed Kurdish popular feeling on the matter. It is very difficult to obtain any impression of the internal workings of a Moslem family, but one has the feeling that Kurdish women have considerable influence in the close family circle. Occasionally this even carries outside the kinship group, so a woman may come to occupy a high political position. Similarly, the father's absolute authority is strongly questioned by the sons, as indicated by the frequency of unilocal residence. There are almost irresistible tensions connected with the setting up of an independent household for a married son — the father tends to resist the reduction of his power, and for the son it takes on the color of breaking free and becoming fully adult. However, with normal emotions and de-facto power supporting sons, the latter gradually complete the normal position — authority and organizer of the group.

In the case of a widow with one or several sons, the household is named after the major son, and the actual position of authority

603 passed on in the male line. But the mother does generally retain some recognized and actual authority by virtue of her parental position. There is a general feeling that the tie between mother and son should be close and intimate. In the case of divorced or discarded plural wives, the woman will normally, if she has an established son, become an honored member of her son's household. But the nominal succession should certainly pass in the male line, and only where there is no male member above puberty will the household carry a woman's name. If only for economic reasons, this is a quite rare situation.

The daughter is entirely subject to her father's authority. He functions as her marriage guardian, and even has the right to impose marriage on her — according to Islamic law only before puberty, but in practice also later. The position as marriage guardian — giving the right to receive the bridegrice — passes on the death of the father to the girl's nearest male agnatic relative. In Shafi law, that is first to her grandfather, second to her brother. Only father and grandfather, however, have the legal right to impose marriage.

Between brothers, relations of supra- and sub-ordination are determined by relative power. In the early years, this means physical power, and is closely connected with relative age. There is, however, no rule of succession, either primo- or ultimogeniture, and the relative positions of brothers are at any time decided by de-facto power and force of personality.

604 This positional system has further kinship ramifications, best seen in connection with the actual system of kinship terminology. Diagram 2. a) The child's relations with the grandparents are usually mediated through one of the parents, e. g. the son accompanies his mother on her frequent visits to her paternal household. In this situation authority and control over the child remains with the mother, and the relationship grandmother-grandchild is generally indulgent. The term *mamik* or *nanne* then also has an extended usage as a term of endearment to all older women of the village. Relations with the grandfather, especially the paternal grandfather, will be
605 ——— tempered with respect. b) The other special relationship is with *mam*, father's brother. This term again is used in an extended meaning towards older men to indicate a relationship of closeness

[606 continues on p. 32]

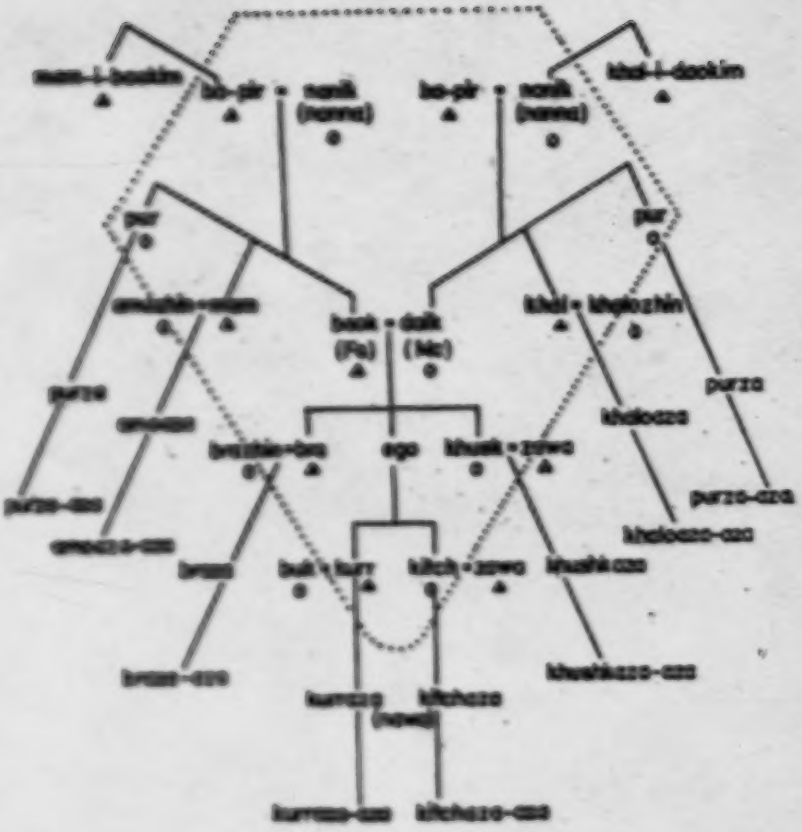

Diagram No. 2.
South Kurdish kinship terms,
Sulaimani dialect.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 9011 Kurd 9011

604 best respect. This and the above use of *mamo* is however in no real sense of the term a classificatory usage, any more than is 'Ma' in colloquial American or *farbror* in Swedish, the latter having connotations very parallel to *mamo*. As a potential father-in-law, one's *mamo* is an important relative, and a friendly relationship will secure one's right to his daughter and release from brideprice obligations.

171 604 An interesting contrast to Kurdish intimacy with Fallr and his descendants is evident from Afghan usage, where the word for Mollr.'s children is synonymous with friends and Fallr.'s children with enemies, this in spite of a probably otherwise similar social structure.[1]) The general explanation for such strained relations with Fallr.'s relatives lies in the potential conflict connected with inheritance, where Mollr.'s children are less important as competitors. The prevalence of FallrDe marriage in Kurdish villages undoubtedly serves to gloss over these tensions.

606 Affinal relations are, as far as the male is concerned, of secondary importance, and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult brother and adult sister suffice. The woman, except for these terms, adopts the kinship designations of her husband, usually with the given name of the person appended. Children are called by their given names. — The general nature of in-law relationships is indicated by the proverb: *Khuda bida mavjim, tawa neka berjim* = God let me die, rather than be dependent on son-in-law (or brother-in-law).

Certain affinal relations are designated by suffixing *-xiw* (woman) to the term for their agnatically related husband. The resulting terms, *mamxiw* (= wife-of-Fallr) etc., seem to be used as actual kinship terms. The parallel usage of 'husband-of-so-and-so' is purely descriptive and does not constitute a term in itself. Son's wife is called «bride» and husband of sister and daughter is called «groom».

601 A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms, totalling only twelve. The group of relatives covered by these terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents

[1]) I am indebted to Prof. Morgenstierne for drawing my attention to this contrast.

are members during their lives. The suffix *-ana*, literally *-child of*, *-born of*, indicates removal by one descending generation from this group; repetition of the term indicates two generations' removal. Thus son's son is *kayrana*, while *Fulfi-Dulfa*, a frequent substitute with whom a closer relative is unavailable, is *ancestor-ana*. Ascending generations are categorized by constructing similar bilateral units with ego's father or grandfather in the position of ego. They may thus be described in several ways, according to the type of relation one wishes to stress. E. g. *Fulfulfa* may be *bra-i-kayrana*, brother-of-my-grandfather, or more commonly *mam-i-kayrana*, uncle-of-my-father. 60

So much for the structure of the family and household. The village community, in which these activities take place and relations exist, will be described more fully at a later point, (p. 111 ff). Suffice it here to say that in physical layout it is a very compact, small unit, located close to or within the village agricultural lands. Usually placed on a hill, one will tend to find the un-irrigated fields of loess and basalt above the village, higher up in the valleyside. Irrigated tobacco and vegetable plots, where such are found, generally depend on the same source of water as the village itself, and are thus found close around and below it; while the dryland grainfields usually cover the flats in the valley bottom. The village grazing grounds may be quite large, stretching from the fallow fields in the valley bottom to the top of the ridge which divides this valley from the next. And the limits of the village lands are the limits within which most life activities take place. 241

Chapter II.

Formal political organization

[69] The preceding chapter has dealt with some basic factors in the culture and social organization of the settled population of Southern Kurdistan, essentially uniform over the whole area. Political organization, on the other hand, shows great regional variation, the tribal types being built on the lineage principle (cf. p. 18), others disregarding descent in a non-tribal, *feudal* organization, which is based on residential groups only.

The Kurdish application of the principle of patrilineal descent in organizing the largely endogamous descent groups, or lineages, in a larger political structure, will be discussed first with respect to the nomadic *Jaf* group. The organization of the settled *Hawramani* agriculturists is essentially similar, and demonstrates the tendency toward segmentation, especially visible where such a lineage organization is found among settled villagers. These tribal systems are contrasted with the formal organization of the non-tribal villages of the Sulaimani area. Some uniform principles are found in all types of Kurdish political organization; these will be discussed, and an attempt will be made to show how they operate in a more extensive and segmentary feudal type of organization.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE JAF.[1])

The *Jaf* is a powerful federation of tribes, until recently almost wholly nomadic, and still counting among its members a majority of

[1]) For data on *Jaf* organization, I am indebted to the *Jaf Beg* of Halabja and to the Emir of the Warda Shaw tribe.

the nomads in the South Kurdish area. Their traditions place their origins in the Djezero area of Persian Kurdistan, where in fact some 10—12 Jaf tribes still live. About 250 years ago, the tensions between the Shi'i Persian government and the Sunni Jaf precipitated conflict, and the tribes which refused subjection were unable to defend themselves, and fled across the border to the Sunni Ottoman Empire. This group of migrants is said to have counted some 700 families. They were given pastures close to the Persian frontier, which they in turn served to prepare. As a result of natural growth, and by assimilation of small and broken tribes into their organization, the group grew to the present total of some 40,000 persons. Up till 35—40 years ago, they had remained nomadic. At the present time the nomadic section make up only a small fraction of the total, numbering some 2—3000 individuals.

The annual migration of the nomadic Jaf carries them ca. 250 km. from their winter camps on the plains to the summer pastures in the high mountains. Unlike the otherwise similar Central Asiatic nomads, the Jaf have no permanent houses for winter use, but live in their black tents all year. Agricultural pursuits are rare, and generally only involve hiring a man to raise a crop of grain, or renting out land to the farmers. More typically, the economy is purely pastoral.

AGHIRET. There is some vagueness as to the Kurdish classification of the Jaf unit. If one asks a solitary Jaf to what tribe, tira, he belongs, he will tend to answer Jaf. On the other hand, Jaf informants outlining the political structure were unwilling to use the term *tira* for the whole group, and preferred to reserve it for the next smaller unit: the various sections making up the Jaf group. Usually the Arabic term *Ashiret* was preferred, having reference both to a people and to an area (cf. Leach, op.cit., p. 11). Obviously, this is a slight misapplication, considering that the nomadic Jaf share their area with a number of other groups. Due to the above mentioned historical process of growth by assimilation, the Jaf today constitute a federation of groups of diverse origin. They themselves make the distinction between *asraw* Jaf and later assimilated groups, but have no special term or organization for the *asraw* Jaf.

For lack of a better term, the Jaf confederacy as a whole should

[illegible] then probably be called an *askeret*. The *askeret* is ruled by a recognized leader, the *Beg* or *Pasha*. He is the head of the *ceylak* family, the *Begzade*. The size of the *askeret* unit was considerable, even before section of it became sedentary. In 1838, while still entirely nomadic, the *Jaf* could muster 1000 infantry and 100 horse, and were said to number several thousand families (Rich op. cit., p. 180, conflicting with his statement on p. 112).

[illegible] 7738.6. The *Jaf askeret* is divided into a number of tribes, five. The various lists of these component five conflict slightly in names and total numbers, but a characteristic enumeration of *Jaf* five is:

(1) [illegible] group
- [illegible] (Sorde) Shaw
- Shiwan
- Shaw-i-Bedan
- Jaaf-Ajam
- Baba-Ajam
- Kaleki

(2) Shaw
(3) Sabak
(4) Babaka
(5) Gelak
(6) Tarikhan
(7) Baghlank
(8) Shaywak
(9) Amaka
(10) Shaw-i-Jaaf
(11) Shaikh Yusuf
- Shaikh Yusuf
- Bandian

The *tire* is the primary political group and landowning unit. Membership in a *tire* is patrilineally inherited, and the *tire* itself approximates a maximal lineage. But though all members of the *tire* should be able to trace patrilineal descent from one common ancestor, it may frequently become difficult to determine the connection between some of the major kinship segments in any one *tire*. And, on the other hand, every maximal lineage is not automatically regarded a *tire*; the concept is fundamentally based on political [illegible] and territory. A functioning [illegible]

unit and assume a functioning organization. A single descent group or lineage is in Kurdish called *ber*; *Mam-i-Kaka-Hawreu* is simply the family, all the descendants in male line from Kaka Hawreu, and not a *tire* in any sense of the word. However, since the concept of the genealogically defined lineage group is important in the definition of the *tire*, and, in fact, ideally the whole basis of it, a certain continuing interchange of the terms might be expected. In the above list, *Mam-i-Jarwais*, the family or descendants of Jarwais, serves as the name of a *tire*; but this group is a *tire* by virtue of its organization as a political unit, not merely because relationship in a large *ber*, founded by Jarwais, has been recognized.

Further confusion may result from the use of Arabic synonyms for the Kurdish terms. Leach (op. cit., p. 13 ff) unsuccessfully attempts to make a distinction, based on size of the unit, between *tire* and *taifa*, the latter being in fact an Arabic term for *ber*, family.

The term *tire* is regularly used for tribes and tribal sections of highly variable size, and seems to refer to the political unit of the size which is significant in the context of immediate discussion. Thus the salaried *ğaf* will tell strangers that he is of the *ğaf tire*, while among a group of *ğaf* the term *tire* will have reference to subtribe or branch.

Each *tire* in the above list is led by a hereditary *Rais* (leader), and has traditional rights to specific pastures and cropping sites. These grazing rights are usually exclusive, or they may be shared with local villagers, who raise a crop in the spring and let the *ğaf* flocks graze there in the fall. Formerly, this relation between nomad and sedentary might be established by force by the *ğaf* on any land, but some rent is generally paid to the local farmers in return for right to pasturage. The migrations of the whole *ğaf* subtribe are coordinated, and the movements of each *tire* is regulated by its *Rais*, who serves as intermediary between his group and the *Beyrada* leaders of the whole subtribe.

BRANCHES. With the internal growth of population in one *tire*, or due to tensions and conflicts within it, a branch may split off and become an independent unit. This group then traces descent from the parent group, but is formally independent. In the above

4/9 lar, the Bamidjo are such a branch, which has split off from the parent, Sheikh Ismail Ibn. The Shemi group of Ibn, on the other hand, are all sons of one father, and no one of the Ibn takes precedence. Such groups have more than mere legendary unity. Firstly, as shareholders, they have the right of inheritance to each others' persons and campsites, in the case of one of the Ibn dying
4/3 out. There is also a minimum of political coordination: in the case of war or other far-reaching decisions, the leaders of all Shemi Ibn meet in a council. In that no one of them should have an advantage, the council meets in the men of a rich follower, not in the men of any one Ibn. The council reaches agreement by discussion, and has, as a body, no formal powers.

4/2 KHEL. Through the two kabila grazing rights in common, it will rarely camp in one unit, but generally divides into several separate encampments, each called a khel. The khel may vary in size and composition, but may roughly be regarded as a lineage segment. It is, however, held together by economic as well as lineage ties. Hired shepherds etc. may thus belong to a specific khel without being members of the Jid subset, or economic partnership between persons of different lineage segments may temporarily influence khel membership. The khel is led by an older man, more or less informally elected or granted authority because he is the person with the greatest power and prestige. The khel is thus primarily a residence unit, and is less permanent in its composition than the larger units which are based on descent only.

HOUSEHOLDS. Each khel in turn is made up of a number of households, frequently some 20—30, each inhabiting a separate tent.
7/2 The households seem to have roughly the same size and composition as those of the ordinary village Kurds, described above. If a father can afford the necessary expenses in tent and utensils, he will set up an independent household for his married son. Poor people, on the other hand, may find this impossible. — Marriage is preferably with FaBrDa or other close relatives, very rarely outside the Ibn. Bridegroom varies from 1 200 to occasionally nothing in the case of close relatives. Payment may take any form, either in kind or cash, but is computed in terms of money.

This whole framework of formal organization may be diagrammatically illustrated as below, Diagram 3.

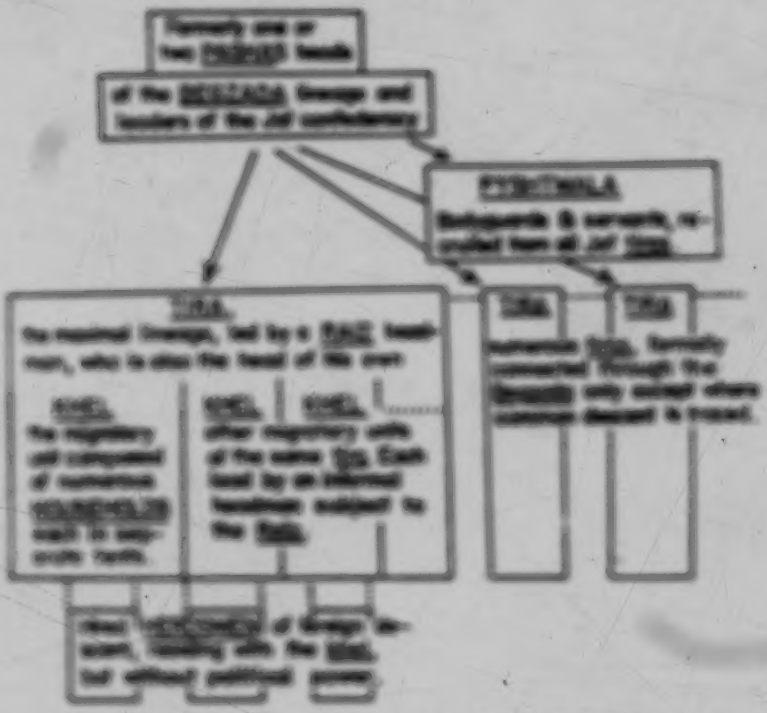

Diagram No. 3: Formal organization of the ensemble [of]

Within the tribal, wealth, primarily in the form of herds, is the main source of power. Any member of the tira has unlimited grazing rights for his flocks, as there is no legal limit to the accumulation of wealth. The camels are herded in flocks of 100 or so, with one herdsman for each flock. Herdsmen are preferably hired among the poor people of the tira, or they may be clansmen associated with the tribal purely because of their economic functions. The typical pattern is to exploit poor relatives for this purpose, a practice familiar from Classical Islamic sources (e. g. Hinchen, 1918, p. 17). Self-

Self-

549 reporting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main
451 role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks
454 from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own
cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up
the normal herding unit of 100, composite herds are created along
kinship lines, with father, brother, mare, etc. Differences in wealth
are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons
owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 10, some quite
destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

451 With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group
449 tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over
long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created
within the tire tsalit, usually identified with separate khel. But
since the khel is a residential unit, the main unity of which [illegible]
from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for
longer or shorter periods with any khel to which their economic
activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous
lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a khel, to which a
more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not,
are connected by economic ties.

452 These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of
449 the Rais. The position as Rais is inherited, and the family of the
451 Rais therefore takes on the appearance of a noble clan or caste. The
process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would
be through intermarriage with the wealthy lineage segments of other
tribes. There seem to fact to be few such kinship ties established
between Rais families of different groups. A certain number of
marriages will be exogamous as far as the Rais family is concerned,
if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited
family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the Rais and wealthy lineage segments among the
commoners within the tire tsalit. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the Rais within the
tire tsalit, rather than to separate him off as a member of a dominant and noble caste. To unify a distinction between noblemen and
commoners within the tire would thus be an error, since the separ-

cause of the Ruti lineage follows from common marriage usage, and is no different in nature from the appearance of the wealthier as compared to the poorer lineage sections of the group.

The hereditary position as Ruti is simply vested in the leading lineage segment of the tra. An interesting problem arises as to what adjustments are made in the event of decline in wealth or the appearance of other impediments to leadership in this lineage. It is customary for persons in a position of leadership to appoint their successor, usually a son, while they are still in a position of control. In the case of disagreement between the existing Ruti and the general population as to who should succeed him, the pattern of succession is probably decided by the bias in the balance between the positive power (primarily economic) of the Ruti, and the degree of general resistance to his decision. Where the power and prestige of the Ruti has declined, leadership might thus fairly easily be shifted to a younger and wealthier collateral line. (Compare p. 126 for a more nearly democratic mechanism of appointing successor to the Ruti.)

I had no opportunity to ascertain the actual extent of the power vested in the Ruti. It would seem to be rather dependent on his means and personality, but, these permitting, to afford him considerable possibilities to enforce his decisions. He is on the other hand regarded as being subject to the Beje in all matters, and directly responsible to them.

The Beje leaders of the Jal are sometimes represented as belonging to a tra of their own, the Bejanda; more correctly the Bejanda is regarded as a family or lua, divided into the three branches Wellad Beji, Kikhawa Beji, and Bahwan Beji. The political head may be drawn from any of them. The Kikhawa Beji and Bahwan Beji of today are descended by 7 generations from the common ancestor Lebo Beji. The Wellad Beji are somewhat further removed. All the Bejanda are now settled and live as absentee landowners at numerous Jal and other villages. It is thus extremely difficult to form any picture of the true position of the leaders in the political organization of the nomadic Jal. Some 40 years ago, authority was divided between the two Bejanda brothers Osman and Mohamad Fadu, the latter being the leader of the nomadic section. Mohamad Fadu was

(47) the law of the leaders to follow the nomads on their annual migrations. Today the 2—3000 who have remained nomads receive only slight attention. A description of the Jal Beg at the time of Rich, (op. cit.) in 1820, pictures him with considerable sympathy as a powerful and despotic patriarchal ruler. A similar exhalted position is indicated for 1908 by Bonn's description of the Pathe receiving the first recruitment of the season, rushed to him on a foaming horse over some 10 dusty kilometres. (Bonn, 1913, p. 207).

(48) An important institution reinforcing the powers of the Begraab is the Pyahtwala (= around-the-horse), a group of men recruited from all over, who possess and perform service in the home of the Beg, and used to serve as bodyguard. As well as constituting a type of bread tax, the group paralleled the Viking *hird* in form and function, being constantly at hand to maintain the Beg's position, effectively and immediately executing his orders. The composite origin of the group, and the fact that it included members of all tribes, made the Pyahtwala more readily subject to discipline than a group recruited on any other principles, and prevented the Beg from the need to create dangerous factionalism and intrigue feud by using one traditional tribe organization to control an other.

(49) The functions of the Jal confederacy, and the reasons for its permanence where similar organizations among settled people have been at best very ephemeral, pose interesting problems. Presumably, the direct advantages to all the nomads of a large confederacy have always been evident enough to encourage a decision to the annual assembly of the Beg. These advantages were considerably greater for the nomads than they would be for the settled tribes. Firstly, since all the property of the nomad is movable, he may lose everything if he is raided, where the farmer at worst loses one year's crop. Secondly, a high degree of concentration of population is possible at temporary rest-stops, whereas the agriculturalists commonly live in smaller, more widely scattered communities. Given the social mechanisms, there were thus no physical obstacles to large groups of nomads driving their flocks together and waiting for defence in case of raids while the villagers, to protect their property, were forced to remain scattered over the countryside. Thirdly, a large

organized unit gave a direct economic advantage to the pastoralists in their relations with the settled population. The Jel, by concentrating men and animals, were able to dominate an whole villages, tyrannizing the local villagers by their larger numbers, and freely graze their flocks on pastures and fields belonging to the settled people. 492

This subsidiary was admittedly not based on any lineage principle of common descent, since it counts among its members women as well; yet all Jel insist that the ruling position of the Rejaale lineage has never been questioned. The fact that a council even of such Jel's as were common descent rarely contributes to stability. Furthermore, the Rejaale group may have been large enough so there would constantly be a number of pretenders to the position as leader of the subtribe. Thus, if the pressure of exploitation became too great, the commoners could give their support to a competing pretender within the royal lineage, who would then be in a position to gain ascendancy.

The formal position of the Jel Rejaale is thus conceptually different from that of the Rulers of the segmentary lines. The leaders of these and their segments are ordained, and should ideally have their power as informal sanctions. This conceptionable type of authority seems to be inherent in the principles on which a segmentary lineage organization is based. E. g. Evans (1951) discusses the organization of the Cyrenaica Bedouin in terms of the opposition of lineage segments of a like order of segmentation, and emphasizes the absence of a real hierarchy of political offices. Any Bedouin sheikh of a primary section must necessarily also belong to a specific secondary and tertiary section within it, and he can function as informal leader of the other sub-sections in his primary section only when it is in opposition to another primary section; in other situations, the unity of the primary section breaks down. The only way leadership can be established and a hierarchy of authority established is by divorcing the super-ordained leader and his group from the segmentary structure of the tribe as a whole. This is achieved in the case of the Jel Rejaale by elevating that whole lineage group to a semi-royal status. In relation to the Cyrenaica Bedouin, the Sanusi may for a time have occupied a structurally somewhat similar position (cf. Evans-Pri- 493 494

§43 chard, (1947). The presence of the Jat Regards as political head-
§44 ornamentally affects the internal organization of the various Jat tribes, and the segmentary nature of the lineage organization is therefore not expressed fully. Each Rais becomes de-facto vested with some authority as the representative of the permanently established Jat Regards, and the political structure is thus actually a compromise between a truly segmentary lineage organization and a hierarchical organization.

§45 As far as its formal structure goes, the Jat confederacy seems extremely similar to the political system of the early Mongols, as described e. g. by Haudos. The prominence of Chengiz Khan's lineage is phrased by him in terms of the resemblance of other descent groups, to emphasize that all the subjects of the Khan were considered as the vassals not of the ruler but of his family and his close kinsmen as represented by him (op. cit., p. 91). Essentially the same might well be said of the relation between the tribe of the Jat confederacy and their Regards lineage. It is interesting to speculate whether, since the political mechanism seems to be present, it was merely the difficulties of topography that prevented the Jat and similar Kurdish confederacies from forming the large units that one finds in the Central Asian steppe area.

§46 The immediate modification in Jat formal structure made necessary by the adoption of sedentary life and agriculture are slight, though the meanings and importance attaching to the various aspects of the organization change radically. Generally, each *khel* splits in a part of the old tie pattern, and the internal limit of the *khel* becomes the formally elected *Sikka* (mayor or headman) of the resulting village. Any one tie then tends to split up completely, some *khels* settling in the winter camp sites around Qasi Kalan, others 60 km. N.E. on the extreme mountain of Shahr-i-sur. Whereas tribal unity thus loses its significance, each village is registered as the property of one or another of the Regards, and *[of]* administration, as well as the management of Regards leadership, a general

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HAWAWAND.

According to their own traditions, the Hawawands entered Southern Kurdistan from Persia as nomadic herdsmen. Seeing the opportunities offered by the ineffectual nature of Ottoman governmental control, they entered on a career of brigandage, leaving the territory that passed between Persia and Iraq. The enemy relations between the Persian and Ottoman empires made this all the more feasible, since any activity detrimental to one power had the covert support of the other. Though the Hawawands have settled in villages, they did not immediately take up agriculture, except for small garden patches of melons etc. As they proudly assert: after more than a generation we reaped our daily bread with our gunbarrels. All accounts by early travellers describe how this small group terrorized the district by striking quickly and effectively in widely separated areas. Only after the First World War did their economy become truly based on farming. Through this turbulent history, tribal political organization remained in importance, and some features of the system may be seen very clearly.

The Hawawand group as a whole is regarded as one tire of the same magnitude as the various components fail thus. Even in its greatest period of glory, the Hawawand tire could muster no more than 200-300 horsemen, implying a total population of 1,000-1,500 individuals. The process of branching has however been retained, in fact, as compared to the Jaf, the Hawawand political structure seems to be based on a clearer political recognition of the segmentation into lineage sections which follows from the marriage pattern. The hierarchy of progressively more inclusive lineage segments, from the single village level (population 50—100) and up to the maximal lineage group, is given political significance.

There is no single leader of the whole Hawawand tire[1]; questions concerning the group as a whole are discussed and decided in a council made up of the Aghas (=headmen) of the 4 primary branches. Each of these branches are again divided into sub-branches,

[1] Ismail, Mohammad Amin Agha of the Rayash clans paramount section

[p2] and so on ending on the village level. The leader of any category of group is called *Agba*, any branch or named section thereof will in certain contexts be called a *tiva*.

The genealogy of these branches is traced, but varies somewhat from village to village. Such variations derive partly from the lack of interest in collateral units, partly from an attempt to stress certain relationships or to construct a more flattering genealogy.

[p3] [p4] [p5] [p6] [p7] Descent is traced in male line from the common ancestor Hamma, the founder of the tiv, nine generations removed from the present

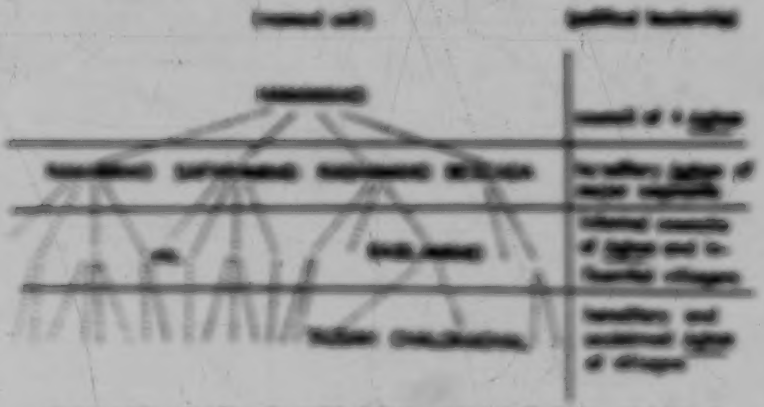

Diagram No. 1 A Tsaguh model of their position in the Makurdi Area organization

adult group. The origins of Hamma, having no political significance to the group, are of little interest to the villagers, though Arabic origin is occasionally claimed for its prestige value.

One version was collected in the village of Kwei Sark: Hamma had 4 sons, Sellen, Yadjer, Kudidi, and Ramovom; from these are descended the 4 major branches of the group. The villagers themselves claim to be Yadjer. They could indicate the area where the descendants of the three other sons live, but were unable or unconcerned in tracing relations in any greater detail.

In the village of Tsaguh, a somewhat different version was given. The major branches were named as Ramovwud, Sehavwud, Kudu-

ward, and Begunde. As will be noticed, the branch of Yadjer, to [illegible] which the Kuni lords belong, is not in this list. The Kuni lords [illegible] in fact belong to the Begunde branch, as either Yadjer is the ancestor [illegible] of all the Begunde, or a smaller agnatic category has been elevated to the level of a major branch, for the greater glory of the Kuni lord group. The villagers in Tangsh seem to belong to the Bakkawand division, again made up of the villagers from Tangsh and Chakkachal, the latter now having been abandoned and the villagers scattered. The Bakkawand were derived from the Rashawand, in unspecified fashion. A Tangsh model of their position in the two would then read as shown in Diagram No. 4.

The *Agbe* of a village is appointed or granted power by the male [illegible] inhabitants of that village. In practice, the position is hereditary, but not according to any rule of seniority, and village gossipmen undoubtedly influence the powers of succession. The village *Agbe* has only the authority which follows from his own power and prestige, and the goodwill of his followers.

The position as *Agbe* of one of the four major branches is either similarly hereditary, or, if there is no suitable son of the old *Agbe*, a new *Agbe* is elected by the villagers. These *Agbe* will generally have the position and means to support a group of retainers, paralleling the *Pyabirnada* of the *Jul Begi*. They also have a vaguely institutionalized mechanism to enforce their authority. Thus, though the formal position of the *Agbe* of the four major Bakkawand segments is similar that of the *Jul Begunde*, the actual differences more reflect the difference in scale than in formal position.

Because the *Jul* use the Bakkawand lineage organization function [illegible] as the ideals powers closely exemplified by the Cyrenaic Bedouin, discussed above. A position of authority and super-ordination does in fact become vested in the individual *Agbe* and *Bata*, who tends to apply coercive means to support such a hierarchy of authority. Though the ideal structure of the political structure is that of a segmentary lineage organization, the system does in fact function as a somewhat different person, as will be shown more fully later.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF TENANT VILLAGES

6.50 The political organization of the non-tribal area is generally much simpler, unifying a much smaller group. Immediately above the village level, external administration takes over control. In the village unit, a kkle or muktar (mayor, headman) is elected to serve as an intermediary between the people of the village and the authorities. Frequently he is appointed from above rather than freely elected, in an attempt to achieve a balance of power within the village. In the official governmental system, the kkle of the village is the official of the smallest unit. A hierarchy of officers, appointed from above in the bureaucratic system, administers progressively more inclusive units, culminating on the bureaucratic level, the Wainawa(?) of the Lowe (governor of the province), directly responsible to the government ministries, and with considerable autonomy in practice, however, the headwoman of the village intervenes at the base of this hierarchy, and the kkle serves as an intermediary between the villagers and the headwoman, and has few dealings directly with official administration.

6.51 When left to their own devices, the villagers generally elect to
6.52 office the elder male leader of the largest kinship group. As a consequence of the marriage pattern, such kinship groups tend to operate all as endogamous blocks. But due to the lower frequency of Fulbe marriage among the non-tribal villagers (see p. 40), these blocks show less organization and unity than the endogamous subdivisions in the tribal system, and could not properly be called lineages. Furthermore, they tend to be bilateral, in the sense that relationships traced through female links retain some importance. The relative size of these bilateral kinship blocks change fairly slowly, as village headmanship, as well as leadership in the kinship groups, tends to follow an apparently hereditary pattern from father to son.

6.53 The powers of the kkle derive in part from his powers as the head of such a group, in part from his close relations with the headwoman, and the implicit threat of reporting illegalities (or in fact making false accusations) to him, as the leader of the village.

be the exercise certain rights in his relations with the landowner — 423
he can e. g. exclude any newcomer from village membership.

Among the various villages in an area, or those belonging to one 441
landowner, there is no attempt at coordination. My host over-
seeing others, the three neighbouring villages Upper Ward, Dwon-
and Dirbare in the Sabinsani valley. These villages share, for histor-
cal reasons, the cultivate rights to the surrounding area. Rather than
making any attempt at concerted action in matters concerning them
all, e. g. by meetings of the village headmen, there exists considerable
enmity between the three villages. A marriage between the son of 731
the Akkin of Dwon and the daughter of the leading family of Upper
Ward does not seem to have had any political results, and was
probably manipulated to enhance the prestige of the Akkin and his
son in their own village.

GENERAL FEATURES OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS 937

The application of these formal political organizations, both of
the lineage and feudal types, is modified by one basic principle,
namely, the universal application of some difference, and the result-
ing lack of conceptualization of the villein, as apart from the
land parcel occupying it or any one occupier. An example might
illustrate the point. Upon my arrival in the village of Dwon, a small
group of workmen were engaged in laying a brick floor in the land
house of my host, the landowner. In their social classification of me,
the only criterion available to them was the fact of my being his
guest, so I enjoyed a reflection of his high status position, and conse-
quently found myself in a relation of superordination with respect
to the workmen. They found it necessary to encourage their work
zealand to perform personal services for me, e. g. serving me my
tea, etc. The workmen, brought to the village for the sole purpose of
laying the brick floor, had no feeling that there was only a part-role
in the situation, where they were expected to perform a specific
service and no more. The status of bricklayer is clearly inferior to
that of friend-of-the-landowner; the fact that their current job by
virtue of their villein as bricklayers did not release them from cer-
tain subordination to the occupier of higher status. Whereas a

570 clear-cut difference is recognized, such as all-inclusive relations of super- and sub-ordination seem to result, and demands even of personal service by the persons of higher status are thought reasonable.

572 In the formal organization, groups are clearly defined, as criteria 573 of descent and residence, and each group is furnished with a named leader. But the source of the leader's office remains rather vague; he is, in Max Weber's terms (Parsons 1947, p. 131), granted a liberal sphere of arbitrary free grace. For a large part, the political leaders are not followed by virtue of their holding an office, but are granted the right to make political, as well as other, demands on their followers by virtue of their higher status position — which waxes and wanes with the vicissitudes of fortune. Though the formal political categories are named and hierarchically ordered, the actual distribution and foci of power and control in the village and lineage remain quite fluid.

It is profitable in our analysis to make a distinction between authority, the more or less illegitimate powers attached to a specific office or part-status, and the blanket term *power*, which depends upon the *total* status position of a particular individual, and his personal charisma (Weber, 1947), and is taken to cover the individual's total ability to lead or otherwise control the actions of other people.

This distinction is generally not made by the Kurdish villager, since, indeed, the abstract concept of an office is hardly developed; but it is useful in an analysis to distinguish the legitimate powers that belong with the office or part-status. The lack of a conceptual distinction in Kurdish thinking between authority in this sense and total power is evident in the almost complete absence of lateral relations between a specialized unit of functionals, in favor of a complete dominance of line relations of super- and sub-ordination.

Returning to the applicability of the term authority in such a system: The total status position of the individual, from which his power stems, is a product of all his part-statuses, not only in the political field, but also in other hierarchies (e. g. hierarchies of religious power, wealth and clan status, etc., cf. p. 78 ff.). Any for-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 WAll Kurd WAll

and, named political positions, however, is connected with an approximate total status position as a sort of stereotype. The relative grading of formal political positions is vaguely defined, and the individuals of a village, through competing for the positions, will align in superior and subordination according to this grading. Thus certain ill defined demands and powers are *expected* (and therefore more readily submitted to) from persons occupying such positions. This amount of expected and generally unquestioned power is the authority that belongs with the particular position. The authority is thus not derived from the part-status, as it would if it were an office; it is brought to it. Persons occupying the position may at times not be able to exert it; nonetheless, in the formal political organization, this authority and degree of ability to apply sanctions of some kind is assumed.

These considerations are applicable in both the tribal and the non-tribal political systems, and modify the expansion that these systems take. The evident differences between Kurdish tribal and non-tribal structure are thus reduced, and the Kurdish segmentary lineage organization becomes in its actual application more similar to the Kurdish non-tribal organization than to the classical segmentary organizations, exemplified above by the Cyrenaica Bedouin. When combined with this principle of universal application of status differences, the segmentary structure of the lineage offers the framework for a hierarchical organization of leaders of segments. And these segments are residential and territorial units, as are the units in the non-tribal system. In the following, then, Kurdish lineage organization will be seen as a hierarchy of leaders of groups of increasing genealogical spread, rather than in the classical manner as whole segments in opposition.

The general characteristics of Kurdish political systems correspond in many ways to those of the *traditional* system of Max Weber (*op. cit.*). The rules governing the various positions in the hierarchy are not enacted, they are traditionally defined. «The order underlying a system of traditional authority always defines a system of statuses of persons who can legitimately exercise authority». The concept of the *office* is undeveloped: «Such a status is different from an office». It does not involve specifically defined powers with

642 559 the presumption that everything not legitimized in terms of the order is outside its scope». «So long as the encumbent of such a status does not act counter to the traditional order, ... loyalty is due, not to 'the order', but to him personally.» (Parsons, op. cit., p. 121).

The main contrast between the Kurdish systems and this «traditional» type lies in the implication in the definition of the latter that concrete traditional prescriptions are indeed accepted and agreed upon by all. The cultural heterogeneity of the South Kurdish area has been emphasized above; this heterogeneity makes for a situation where a truly traditional system can not operate. Any single concrete traditional prescription tends to be questioned by all but a minority, and conflicting interpretations of what is in fact the traditional order are constantly advanced. As a result, the theme of *power* attains an overriding importance, following the line of reasoning that if you can get away with something, it can't be *very* wrong. The effective check on excesses in the use of power is the threat of murder. Though there is obviously much more excited talk than 481 action, Kurds are rightly famous for being «trigger-happy», and a person who strongly feels that his rights have been infringed upon may go to great lengths to retaliate. Since no institutional means exist, violence has become institutionalized as the only mechanism at hand.

178 642 It is tempting to see the present situation as the result of breakdown of a formerly functioning traditional system. There is considerable evidence indicating that Southern Kurdistan some 100 years ago was better integrated than today, in the form of a strongly 179 692 feudal Pashalik centering around Suleimani. The Baban Pashas of Suleimani had frequent opportunities during conflicts with both the Persian and the Ottoman rulers to show that they had the unquestioning support of an overriding majority of the population, and through several centuries of rule they built up a traditional hierarchy of hereditary status positions, entitling persons to political offices (Rich op. cit., p. 113). The traditional nature of the rule is strikingly brought out in the following citation, where the Pasha of Suleimani explains the solidarity that his subjects feel towards him by contrast-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

ing his form of rule to that of the feudal usurper in Sinan, Persia: «You are not the lord of a tribe, nor are your men your tribesmen. You may clothe them, feed them, and make them rich, but they are not your cousins, they are but your servants» (ibid, p. 86).

When Baban rule was broken in 1851, Ottoman legal practice as well as personnel achieved a footing in the area. This contributed further to the breakdown of traditional principles, since it offered individuals the opportunity to manipulate the two different systems, traditional usage and Ottoman legal code, to their own advantage. This most profoundly affected land tenure. All land, unless otherwise registered, was decreed to belong to the Ottoman Sultan. Though the rule existed that no whole village should be registered as the property of any single person, this and other rules were generally overlooked. Thus leaders of *tirat*, *Begs*, or in fact any other person who could bribe a few witnesses, registered large tracts of land as their personal property. Although actual power was of course necessary to make these formal transactions effective as far as the collecting of tax was concerned, the result was that a category of landowner emerged for which there were no clear traditional precedents, and their claims, when supported by power and supposed Ottoman land code, could not truly be disputed. As a result, the field was left open to individual exploitation on a much larger scale than in Baban times, and the only effective checks were the above mentioned threats to the personal safety of the exploiter.

COMPOSITE COMMUNITIES

In the Hamawand area, some local groups are found today where tribally organized Hamawand exploit a non-tribal tenant population *(Mezkjin)* as a serf group. Such situations have come about by recent military conquest, and show incipient developments of a caste system. Certain aspects of organization have been developed by the Hamawand as an adjustment to this situation.

The Hamawand formal political structure already outlined was also a military hierarchy of command. Each village was expected to muster a group of horsemen, usually 10—15, led by the village *Agha*, as a fighting unit in the Hamawand army. Each of these soldiers,

721 usually called «riflemen», owned at least one horse and one rifle, and kept a constant large supply of ammunition. During their periods of insurgence, it was difficult for the Hamawands to obtain such supplies. An informal symbiosis was therefore established with merchants in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who, in return for furnishing the items that the Hamawands needed, were permitted to pass through the area with their other goods. The Hamawands used Egyptian Mauser rifles, and made their bullets of soft lead. As late as 1961, swords and lances were still employed.

722 When a Hamawand boy reached the age of 7, military instruction began — «just like soldiers are trained». The father supervised the training, and according to legend, any boy who did not show sufficient fearlessness was chased out of the area. After the youth had killed his first man in battle, or otherwise showed himself worthy, he was given the full status of rifleman, and generally a present from the *Aghe* — a horse, a good rifle, or a quantity of stolen animals for sale.

723 The village *Aghas* were expected to mobilize the riflemen of the village at short notice for service in the larger unit, led by the *Aghas* of the major branches of the Hamawand. But the village *Agha* was also free to initiate raids or conquest himself. A small group of *Aghas* from closely related villages might get together and contribute forces to the venture, or a single village might undertake the enterprise. Then a warparty was formed, under the leadership of one *Agha* or one senior *Agha*. If the purpose were not looting of caravans, but conquest, some as-yet unconquered village was chosen as the object of attack, and the normal procedure would be for the group of riflemen to ride in a body to the village and offer the
727 inhabitants an ultimatum. If the village surrendered, one of the Hamawand party was settled in it to collect taxes. If the village chose to resist, it would be attacked, and if the Hamawand gained entry they would rob the village of all movable property, as well as domestic animals, and carry it all away. The defeated villagers, unable to continue their agricultural work without implements and animals, would then normally send a delegation to the victorious Hamawand village, promising submission for return of the property.

7: Barth G-S (1961) 320.5 B28.1 Burg 98.11

427 A Hamawand *Agba*, normally a close relative of the leader of the
422 warparty, would be appointed to the conquered village. He would
reside permanently in the village with a small group of Hamawand
supporters. When remained of the local town after their immediate
needs were satisfied would be passed on to the *Agba* leader of the
original party.

448 Conflicts easily arose between the Hamawand usurper and his
original leader. As soon as the balance of power changed in favor
of the former, and he further felt that he would be able to control
the conquered village with his own forces, he would declare himself
independent and thereby found a new lineage branch.

It may seem surprising that the smaller group in such a village
should be successful in forcibly dominating the larger group for any
length of time. As far as the conquest itself is concerned, the point
was clearly made to me by the leader of one group of subjected vil-
lages these days, people were so busy with their farms and things,
they had no time to be ready with guns and horses. Those who had
enough money to feed the men that rode around on horses could
conquer such poor villagers. And later, although the local Hama-
wands may have declared themselves independent of their old village,
they could still count on support from their fellow tribesmen in case
of revolt. The peasants, on the other hand, had no organization inte-
grating a larger group. Furthermore, it is the peasant group who has
the vested interest in peace, so that the crop can ripen and the cows
survive. In case of conflict, the Hamawands risked only the loss of
an asset, whereas the peasants, no matter what the outcome might
be, were practically assured the loss of their whole year's crop.

431 The local group that emerged from these conquests has a very
433 characteristic structure and organization. Except where external
administration intervenes effectively, all political power is in the
hands of a well organized Hamawand minority, led by an hereditary
Agba. This ruling group has vested interests in remaining separate
from the remainder of the village, and the close tribal organization
limited by descent provides the necessary mechanism.

432 This political dominance serves primarily to enforce certain privi-
435 leges in the economic field. The Hamawands regard themselves as

the owners of the land, and collect as rent the traditionally stipulated fraction of the peasants' crop: 1/5—1/10 of the cereal crop, 1/3 of the irrigated crop, where such is grown. Usually the Hanawand section of the village is too large to live entirely on these rents, and since raiding activities are no longer possible (at least not on any scale, though they are still accused especially of cattle-theft by their neighbours), they find it necessary to contribute to subsistence by farming. The Hanawand farmers hold land as private, inheritable property. They recognize the rights of some of non-tribal peasants to inherit the cultivation rights to specific fields from their fathers, and where the situation permits, such rights may easily be infringed upon.

A third group in the usually present in the village, consisting of labourers, generally of *shenigo* origin. This group is in a similar economic position to that of labourers in the ordinary sedentary village, with the exception that upward mobility is virtually impossible. Neither of the two conflicting groups, the Hanawand or the sub-jected Mesdjin, are willing to weaken their position by transferring the rights on land to any outside group, and the labourer can therefore never possess the necessary land to rise to secure farmer status, even when given the economic means.

The economic conflict between the Hanawand and the Mesdjin is more bitter now than before external administration pacified the area. Formerly, the relation was more nearly one of symbiosis. The peasants, by being attached to a militarily powerful tribe, were in fact protected from the raids of other war-parties in return for the tax they paid. Furthermore, they benefited from the raids of their Hanawand lords by serving as intermediaries in realizing the value of the loot. The Hanawands themselves could not enter the Bazaars of the towns, for fear of being recognized. The peasants, on the other hand, were free to enter the markets and sell the goods — for a consideration. If their war-lords were at all successful, the income from such transactions might well more than balance the rental tax paid on the farmland.

As a result of the persistent tensions between the two groups, and the clear difference in status position, very little, if any, inter-

marriage takes place. The marriage arrangements with respect to the close kinship group — *how* in any case — will among the Hanarwandi be with Hanarwandi of other villages. Thus a caste separation

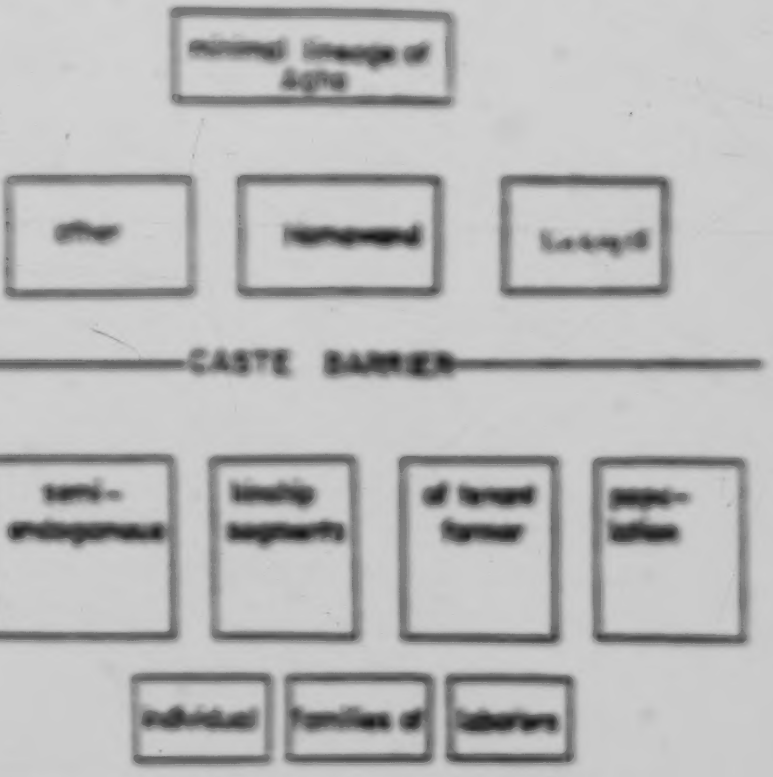

Diagram No. 1. Composition of composite village

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tends to grow up, separating the Hanarwandi effectively from the Mankjis group, and the composition of the local group might be schematically represented as in diagram No. 1.

One of the composite Hanarwandi-Mankjis villages was studied briefly. However, due to increased tensions connected with the opp-

Under a certain sum of money a year, all young male citizens of the two villages are liable to two years of military training and service. This is much resented by most villagers, and they manage to avoid being called up. According to the Hinduja, the Hamawands have an arrangement with the police whereby they give the names of all Hindjia men in the two villages who are liable for such service, in return for being left in peace themselves. Thus, it is said, the fighting strength of the Hindjia is constantly kept down.

The Hindjia, on the other hand, are accused of manipulating the religious brotherhood of Darwishes for political purposes, so as to organize all the Hindjia of the neighbouring villages in a movement of resistance. To counteract this influence, the Hamawand Agha is at pains to oppose the darwishes at troublous, and attempts to enhance the position of the local mullah, the recognized leader of the local mosque. — The final verdict, however, rests with the Land Settlement Commission, an institution the integrity of which few persons choose to question.

The rigidity of the Kurdish tribal system is here clearly discerned, and might profitably be contrasted to that of the Nuer, as described by Evans-Pritchard (1940). The Nuer have, in spite of extensive conquests and various vicissitudes, retained a system of patrilineal conquering lineages as the basis of their political organization. These lineages however are not corporate localized groups, but are exceptionally identified with certain areas, where they tend to form the dominating core of the local villages. Through a system of adoption of conquered Dinka tribesmen to specific lineages, and by widening descent through females, a larger community is built around the core, based on sociologically kinship. Among the Kurds, on the other hand, the general practice of FaDiDa marriage and other close family endogamy makes any tribal superstructure impossible between conqueror and conquered, and encourages caste separation. Furthermore, kinship through female links is given no political recognition. The principle of sociologicale kinship is unfamiliar and would be in conflict with Islamic doctrine — the kinship terminology describes actual, genealogical distances, and practices of adoption into lineages would be unacceptable. The only way two groups could fuse in the

[illegible] could be by demonstrating (or inventing) genealogical connection. This can hardly be done on any grand scale where common residence is virtually impossible, except on based on a relationship of conquerer and conquered.

As a result, the Kurdish tribal village retains a high degree of lineage unity, evidenced strictly patrilineally, as compared to Nuer villages. The Kurd who leaves his tribal territory, or even village, can obtain no political power in his new environment, therefore has minimal prestige, and thus tends to remain with his lineage group. But because of this, the Kurdish lineage system has not the adaptability of the Nuer system, and breaks down in a situation of conquest or external administration.

(4) ORGANIZATION OF THE BABAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE

In the light of these extensive examples from Hamawand territory today, some of the characteristics of the old Baban rule become much clearer. The Baban themselves were not a tribe, but a complex lineage of the same type as the *Jaf Begzade*, ultimately derived from the *Soldier tribe* of the Pashdir area. Their power, however was based on the tribally organized groups, and a majority of the villages seem to have been controlled in the fashion of the above Hamawand villages, with a basic split between a ruling, tribally organized soldier caste and a non-tribal peasant population. This separation was clearly recognized by Rich in 1820, and in his list of the populations of the Pashalik, only the Pashdir area is described as wholly tribal, the other districts are mixed. Some inhabitants are of the peasant, some of the *shegirdi* race (= tribally organized), i. e., no village has inhabitants of one exclusive kind.» (Rich op. cit., p. 200). The tribally organized minority was employed by the Pasha to control the larger population: « . . . it would never do for him (Omer Agha, one of the feudal lords under the Pasha) to keep the citizen or peasant caste in his service. They never grow much attached, nor will they stand by you in any difficulties. The clansmen (= tribal Kurd), on the contrary, though not of your own clan (= tive), grow warmly attached to you, and then neither hunger, thirst,

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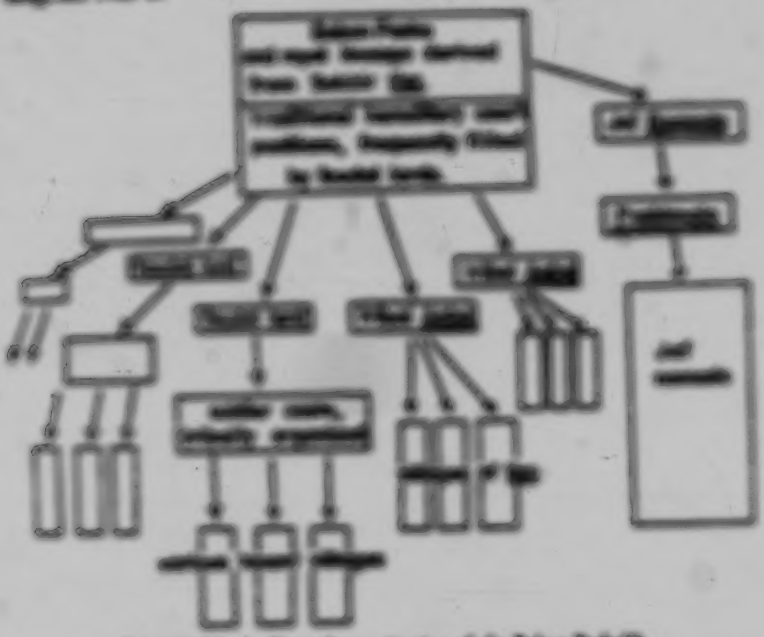

(Diagram No. 4. Formal organization of the Bahon Pokoklik)

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THE CHARISMA OF THE LEADER

and can not be understood as divorced from the total process of the leader.

The interplay of structural and personal factors in defining the position and power of the leader, and thus the specific form of the political organization, may best be illustrated by the history of Shaikh Mahmud[1], a leader of considerable importance. His emergence as Wali or King of Kurdistan after the First World War, frequently misrepresented or given a biased account in English sources, is the most outstanding feature of political development in Southern Kurdistan in the present century. He constitutes the charismatic leader scheduled by Max Weber (op. cit.) and others to appear upon the breakdown of an established order. The variety of the sources of political power, as well as the importance of the person and the vagueness in the definition of the office in the Kurdish system, are here clearly exemplified.

The family of Shaikh Mahmud traces its origin from two learned brothers, theologians, who arrived in Kurdistan from Persia some 170 years ago. Due to descent from Muhammad and a tradition of ascetics, the family retained a spiritually leading position. The immediate founder of the present lineage is Koka Hamma, revered as a saint in Sulaimani. During the ascension of Baban rule, the Shaikhs remained divorced from politics; their wealth grew slowly from occasional gifts of land and villages, especially from the Baban themselves.

With the political instability and disorganization following the end of Baban rule, Shaikh Said, the father of Shaikh Mahmud, entered actively into the conflicts, and asserted his secular powers in the area through a successful combination of violence and diplomacy. Competing factions attempted to have him deposed by arranging for him to be called to Istanbul by Sultan Abdul Hamid. The Sultan, being extremely wary of court intrigue, frequently preferred to seek his support among outsiders, and the ruming was a great success from Shaikh Said's point of view, effectually reinforcing his position. Shaikh Said was murdered in Mosul in 1909, and succeeded by his son Shaikh Mahmud.

[1] It should be noted that the term Shaikh in Kurdish is not a political title, but mainly indicates descent from the Prophet.

Upon his succession to leadership in the Shaikh family, Shaikh Mahmud continued his father's policy with great force. Southern Kurdistan was at the time in a state of anarchy, large areas had been depopulated, the old trade and pilgrim routes were largely closed to brigands, especially by the Hamawands, who successfully challenged Ottoman supremacy in the face of large punitive expeditions.

Obviously in such a situation, conflicting stories are told about the part played by each faction in the struggle, and the various versions of Shaikh Mahmud's career form no exception. Any evaluation of the practical and moral virtues of his activities is outside the present scope, and must be based on much fuller evidence than is available at present. What is of interest in this context is merely the foundations of his power and the form of his control in the area.

Economic basis. From the modest beginnings in Bakan times, the family's economic power was progressively enhanced. The possibilities inherent in the Ottoman practices of land registration seem to have been utilized. After close relations had been established with the Sultan, the Shaikhs were able to gain control over numerous villages by buying the land at very low rates from the government. A major source of revenue that made this type of transaction possible was the ownership of the Bazaar (market district) of Sulaimani (even today, 1/4 of the Bazaar belongs to the Shaikh family vs. 1/4 municipally owned). In addition to its economic importance, this also enabled the family in effect to control the city of Sulaimani. The Shaikh family thus became one of the three major landowning groups in the area. It should however be pointed out that in spite of nearly continuous expansion of property, the whole Shaikh family today owns less land than *one* member of the *Jaf Brigade* alone (Hassan Beg of Halabja). Thus Shaikh Mahmud's political supremacy *did not derive directly from ownership*; landed property merely offered the necessary economic foundation for his political activity.

Semi-sacred position. As descendants of the Prophet, the Shaikh family is considered to be vested with certain supernatural powers, derived ancestrally from the sainted ancestor Baba Hassan. This gives Shaikh Mahmud the specific power to make amulets that

[illegible] powers the bearer from bullets and knives. The amulet consists of a number of Koranic sentences, is [illegible] up in a triangle of cloth of specified color, and carried pinned to the shoulder, to the hair, or suspended by a string around the neck or under one arm. It occasionally the bearer of such an amulet is killed by knife or bullet, this can easily be explained, since the protective power is not operative while the person is thinking bad thoughts or if he loses his temper or hatred. Stories proving the efficacy of the amulets are rife: a fez been hung around the neck of a runner, and no matter how hard they tried, competent marksmen were unable to shoot the bird.

Charisma. The personal charisma attached to Shaikh Mahmud is rather difficult to separate from his semi-sacred powers, and to perhaps directly from them. He is endowed with the ability to read a person's thoughts and character; he knows before a word is spoken for what purpose a person has come to him. A certain delight in other people's weaknesses and a taste for witty and practical jokes further contributes to his ex-ordinary, semi-sacred reputation. Last but not least, he also wields a Weberian master by his extraordinary personality and force of character.

The failure of his charismatic mission to succeed must be ascribed primarily to external rather than local factors. Towards the end of the First World War, contact was established between Shaikh Mahmud and the Indian Army in Mesopotamia, and, after being given [illegible] promises of Kurdish independence, Shaikh Mahmud chose to shift his loyalties from the Turks to the British. He proclaimed himself King, rose in a revolt re-establishing the form of the Baban dynasty, and perhaps hoping to emerge as the leader of all of Kurdistan. By the treaty of Lausanne, Allied plans were reversed, and protracted conflict over the question of Kurdish independence continued in the area till 1932. Some of these conflicts derived from international developments, others were rather accidentary. It is indeed surprising that the British administration should chose E. B. Soane as their agent in the area, and the person to cooperate with Shaikh Mahmud — Soane who, due to personal experiences with [illegible] before the war makes the most highly emotional attacks on Shaikh

widened in his book (Owens, op. cit.), published well before his appointment. Such personal antipathy between the two leading figures could only make the struggle more bitter and a compromise more difficult to reach.

The formal organization accomplished by Shaikh Mahmud for his large domain never had time to take shape, and by now it is almost as have been in accordance with many Western principles. The rudimentary powers of the early 1920s was along traditional feudal lines — he is said to have travelled around with a large army, living off the lands as he passed through the various districts to demonstrate. A suggestion of some of the powers and institutions may be observed today.

At present, Shaikh Mahmud lives in the small village Dar-Shaikh south and west of Sulaimani[1]. He is surrounded by a group of viziers paralleling the *Jal Beg/ Pyshmale* system and function, but organized along more irregular lines. A typical escape for a young man who has become irretrievably involved in feud or law gives young women to leave his village is to join a feudal lord of Shaikh Mahmud's type, buying security by being the follower of an important leader, and in return serving as the leader's private police force. The Shaikh thus has a group of men who depend on him for protection and livelihood, and may use them to enforce his control over the villages he owns. His opponents like to make veiled accusations that the group also is used to threaten minor leaders of others area. However untrue, such stories do not serve to reduce the value of his friendship or the weight of his wrath.

Friendly relations with leaders and groups outside the Shaikh's immediate control are maintained through contacts on the major festival days of the Islamic year, when Dar-Shaikh is a bustling beehive full of embroidered robes and flying turbans, and the Shaikh himself is constantly active in those separate reception rooms. Furthermore,

[1] It should be noted that Shaikh Mahmud denies taking any part in government, and the following is on his own admission his statement. The activities described were simply to perpetuate his prestige, and are of course in the present connection only by virtue of the parallelism in the mechanisms used in securing revenge and in maintaining a power position.

2 — Folklore Archive

obligations on community enough by liberal gifts (»He made from the poor and gives to the rich» in the words of one critic).

Such institutionalized or regularized means of exercise and establishing relations of dependence are very parallel to those used by the leaders in the traditional tribal political organization, and illustrate how the charismatic leader manages to utilize traditional symbols and institutions. It is also striking how the importance of the charismatic leader extends to the limits of the previous, disorganized unit — here the Rahan Dahalik — and no further. It is very doubtful that Shaikh Mahmud ever had any appreciable following outside the districts of Southern Ererkiran.

Personal charisma being important even in the traditional system, it plays a tremendous role in a situation of disorganization, and may survive a series of defeats. Characteristic is the comment by common Ererkiran, when reason is lost once sanctioned to the Shaikh's defeat: »We will respect the Shaikh, and if he comes to right, we will serve him again.»

Chapter III.

A. Kinship composition and organization of local groups.
B. The ideal field.

KINSHIP COMPOSITION AND ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GROUPS

The important dichotomy between tribal and non-tribal villages has been touched upon previously, and the actual differences in the formal political organization have been outlined. The following table (No. 1) attempts to illustrate co-variation between the type of formal political organization and the frequency of certain marriage patterns, resulting in a contrast in the kinship composition of local groups. In the limited period of fieldwork, and due to local difficulties in connection with land tenure and military training, it was not feasible to collect synoptic census materials, and the table should serve as an illustration of a point, the validity of which was checked more extensively by less exact means, and does not pretend in itself to be statistically conclusive.

A further comment should be made to justify the separation of tribal vs. non-tribal frequencies in the exhibit village of Kami Sark. The non-tribal category is made up of recent immigrant families, largely born or even married in other villages, and does not truly belong in the table as representative of Kami Sark.

The generalization that seems to hold for all the villages which were investigated would be: A contrast exists between the frequency

of cousin marriage in tribal as compared to non-tribal villages, high frequencies of cousin marriage being associated with a tribal political system, that is, with the lineage type organization. General village endogamy, on the other hand, remains high in the non-tribal villages, marriages exogamous with respect to the village having similar low frequencies in both groups.

Table III.
Showing of the correlation between political organization and frequency of marriage with relatives

Name of village	Non-tribal					Tribal	
	cousin	brothers'	sisters	other relatives	non-relatives		
Kuda Thikri, Zamboor	0	0	0	0	10	10	10
	village endogamy: 100 % family endogamy: 0 % cousin marriage: 0 %						
Thikri,							
Tungah (Hanimaadhoo)	5	1	—	2	2	5	15
Kuru Isdu	6	—	2	1	1	5	
	village endogamy: 80 % family endogamy: 70 % cousin marriage: 17 %						
Kuru Isdu (non-tribal)	—	—	1	—	—	0	1

As a result of these contrasting frequencies of marriage types, the kinship composition of the two types of villages show important differences. The tribal village constitutes one close-knit kinship group, or is made up of distinct endogamous lineage segments of a larger lineage group. The non-tribal village, on the other hand, presents a less organized picture in terms of biological relationships though predominantly endogamous, it is internally essentially unstructured above the household level. The non-tribal village might

[illegible] a [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Yale Univ. Lib. (1954) 1953 1954 Gen. Lib.

factional disputes at first, and his social economic advantage gained from the daughter's marriage is thus dissipated. Polygyny thus reinforces the political implications of the lineage system. These relations might be summarized as follows:

TRIBAL:

power relations relatively = political units defined = political emphasis on
unimportant by agnatic kinship marriage — high fre-
quency of polygynous marriage

In the non-tribal village, on the other hand, the power relations are given to greater means, in the ways that they are outside the control of most villagers. Furthermore, they are based on economic considerations more than on kinship. The political units are similarly not lineage segments, but defined purely on regional and residential terms. As a result, marriages are manipulated more for economic ends, wealth being the main criterion of village standing. In marrying off a daughter, a man therefore attempts either to take a high bridegroom, or to create a link of kinship with an other family in the residential unit. Thus, in a circular way, polygyny decreases and the importance of affinals in the endogamous community increases. This can be seen in the bilateral character of the kinship tracks that form the factions in a mixed village, as contrasted to the patrilineal lineage segments of the tribal village. For comparison with the tribal system, these relations might be summarized as follows:

NON-TRIBAL:

power relations more given, = political units geographi- = economic emphasis on
economic in origin cally defined marriage — lower fre-
quency of polygynous marriage

63 The unity of the local group in the tribal system springs from an unquestioned solidarity; the leader of such a group has few if any coercive means at his disposal. His powers are of the patriarchal, informal, kinship-enabled type, and generally derive from the fact of kinship. This in conjunction with the marriage pattern tends to produce a rather small local group in the settled tribal area. Lineage

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

segments which have become widely separated in terms of descent 62-1
will continue as separate, endogamous segments, and in such a situation it is difficult for one segment to accept the informally enforced authority of the leader of another segment. Especially where the two segments interpret their relative status positions differently, conflict will result, and the group will split in two. Such ruptures, though they may to a certain extent harm the group, function at the same time to keep it of such a size that the «unquestioned» leader with no coercive mechanisms can indeed lead it. Furthermore, the wider tribal organization coordinates the small local groups, and thus enables a larger number of them to act as a body when such concerted action is necessary, e. g. in defence or feud. As suggested in the discussion of Hamawand formal organization, this process of segmentation and splitting has been clearly recognized in the political organization.

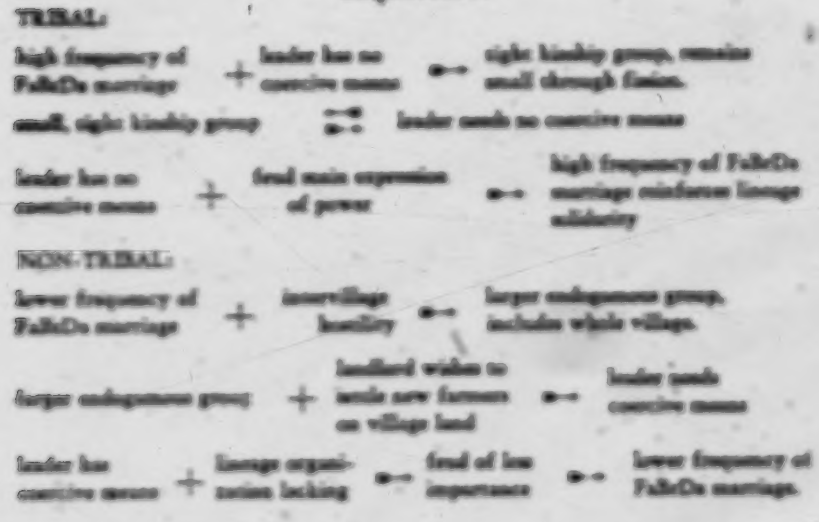
In the non-tribal, tenant, village, on the other hand, solidarity springs from the common subjection to a landowner. The status differences within the group become less elaborate, since the landowner is in a position to make or break any person's career, and inherited status thus becomes less significant. Hostilities tend to be channelized towards *other* villages (see below, p. 129), and village endogamy becomes more important than lineage unity. Even so, FaBrDa and other close kin marriage continues in a moderately high frequency, maybe primarily due to the traditional privilege of reduced brideprice.

At the same time, the difference in the political powers of the leader in the tribal as compared to the non-tribal village can be related to this. In the latter, unstructured kin groups (with agnatic bias) of varying size and relationship exist side by side, and the landowner will tend to perpetuate this condition, at times as a conscious policy, by alloting land to any competent farmer who desires it, no matter what his village of origin might be. The «unquestioned» type of leader found in the tribal local group, whose judgement carries authority in itself, could not even attempt to control such a group. Coercive means — here the implied powers as the agent

(2) and adviser of the landowner, with the right to evict from land etc. — are necessary.

These interrelations might be represented diagrammatically as follows: (Diagram No. 7).

Diagram No. 7.



THE BLOOD FEUD

In the tribal political system, the localized, territorial groups occupying the separate villages are thus in effect lineage segments. Their corporate unity is expressed in communal ownership of land, cooperation and coordination in herding and irrigation, and political unity for purposes of defence and raiding. The present section will attempt to explore the extent to which these lineage segments operate as corporate entities in the field relating to homicide and law: whether the principle of collective responsibility is applied and a pattern of blood feud results. A discussion of these problems should contribute further to our understanding of the nature of Kurdish lineage organization.

The association of a lineage organization, small endogamous communities, and a weak development of governmental institutions in

the Kurdish tribal system poses some unusual problems in this field. 621
In the travel literature, Kurdish tribes have a deserved reputation as [181]
warriors and bandits with little respect for human life, and without
further analysis of the situation it has been assumed that much of
their activities in this field is governed by a pattern of blood feuding.
There is however good reason to analyse the situation more carefully,
to discover just what patterns relating to homicide do in fact exist.

The material on which the following is based is, for obvious 628
reasons, very incomplete. Today homicide is the matter with which
the external administration is most concerned, and immediate inter-
vention on its part tends to prevent other action from being taken,
or fear of such intervention prevents actual case histories from
being discussed. All the data that I do have, however, indicates the
absence or very weak development of blood feuding patterns in
Southern Kurdistan. This absence may seem surprising, and it is
necessary to make clear just what is meant by the statement.

It seems useful in the analysis of this phenomenon to adhere to a
fairly specific definition of what is meant by institutionalized blood
feud. In its most characteristic form, it has been described in numer-
ous African societies, e. g. the Nuba (Nadel 1947): «In Hulban
[homicide] entails blood feud, which is carried on until exact revenge
has been achieved; a man must be killed for a man, a woman for a
woman; even in their age the two must be as closely matched as
possible. The duty to avenge devolves, not on an individual, but on
the whole clan . . . . . Again, the revenge is not directed against an
individual — the murderer himself — but against any member of
the enemy clan who satisfies the conditions of this law of rev-
enge . . .», p. 151). The pattern is thus a special form of institution-
alized revenge, whereby a whole group of persons is held collectively
responsible for the behavior of one of its members, and where the
wronged party is similarly not conceived as the individual or his
close family, but as the whole larger group to which he belonged.
The reaction is one of retaliation, governed by considerations of
equality, and subsidiarily one of compensation by traditionally stipu-
lated blood money (e. g. ibid. p. 251).

In this form, the blood feud is not found in Southern Kurdistan.

628 In fact, the basic principle underlying the institution, namely the
721 collective responsibility of the members of the descent group, seems to be lacking. Where the descent group is in fact the local community, one is faced with the problem of deciding whether the group at any one time acts *qua* descent group or *qua* local, that is territorial, unit. To analyse the data relating to this, it is necessary to make a distinction between (1) such collective responsibility relating to homicide, where a whole group is held responsible for the initial act of one member, and (2) the collective nature of other types of *feud and warfare*, where the whole group as a political unit is involved in the *initial* action — such as would be the case where a death resulted from any kind of organized and premeditated raid that one group might make upon another, with a primary interest in booty. If, in this latter case — though it might lead to retaliation — the retaliation were not governed by considerations of equality, it could not properly be called blood feud.

Incidents of type (2) have certainly been frequent in Southern Kurdistan. Incidents of type (1), on the other hand, did not come to my knowledge, either in historical material or on the contemporary scene. It would rather seem that a pattern of individual and particular *revenge* prevails, which extends only to very near kinsmen and accomplices. Certainly, the only case history which I can document fairly completely (see Appendix II) is appropriately described in such terms. In this pattern of revenge, the harm and retribution is definitely directed towards the person who committed the initial murder, only secondarily towards his nearest kinsmen, and that only if they have taken a clear stand in the conflict. There can be no feeling of collective responsibility within the whole descent group, since random retaliation within the lineage or even village of the offender is never considered. Conversely, only the very close kin of the deceased are motivated by the desire for revenge. The orphan would experience great difficulties in calling on lineage mates to assist him by virtue of their righteous indignation — he would do much better if he emphasized an economic motive, constituting himself as the leader of a small group of «bandits» in an attempt to rob his opponent. Thus, both in the case of homicide between

tives and between s[ections] of a single *tive*, the procedure seems to 623
be one of personal r[evenge], and not retaliation within the whole 721
group to which the [offender] belongs. It therefore seems useful to
emphasize this diff[erence] by limiting the term blood feud to its
typical form, as fo[und] e. g. among the Nuba, and to explore the
possible reasons wh[y] the jural concepts of collective responsibility,
on which the blood [feud] pattern is based, are *not* applied to a Kurdish
lineage group or se[gment] of such.

It is necessary to [emphasize the unique situation, as compared to 613
most societies desc[ribed] in the anthropological literature, in which 619
these jural princip[les] are to be applied. Kurdish lineages are not 623
organized factions [within] a community, as is often the case in other
societies; nor do th[ey] have the usual ramifying kinship connections
with other groups. [With] a high frequency of close kin marriage, as
described above, a [Kurdish lineage, and even the lineage segments
down to the villa[ge] level, are endogamous, socially isolated units.
They are, further[more], geographically isolated. The *tive* as a whole
occupies a large, c[ontiguous territory; the members of the *tive* are
essentially the sole [residents of that territory. The local group, the
village, is also the [lineage segment. There is no indigenous political
authority above th[e level of the maximal lineage; and such a maximal
lineage has no vi[tal relations with other groups (except a certain
minimum of trad[e]. The maximal lineage can therefore, in the
autonomous Kurdi[sh system, be regarded as «the society».

The concept of [collective responsibility thus hardly applies in the
usual sense in the [relations between segments of *different* lineages
—between groups [separate «societies». Jural principles of this type
can only be appl[ied within moderately homogeneous societies, where
any individual a[t sociological person is an approximate equivalent
of his co-lineage [men. (Fortes 1953). With the geographical separa-
tion of Kurdish [lineages, furthermore, feud between them would in
fact necessitate [expansion into «foreign» territory. The maximal 619
lineage is a politi[cally unified corporate group for purpose of defence, 623
and thus conflict [on any scale between segments would lead directly
to all-out war b[etween the lineages to which they belonged. In such
a situation, eco[nomic and other considerations favoring continued

peaceful relations would take precedence over the desire for personal revenge on the part of anyone but the most powerful leader. Personal conflicts between such leaders might well be patterned by the desire for revenge, and none the less involve whole groups in the conflict; but considerations of equality in retaliation would not be relevant on this ‹inter-societal› level, and blood feud is thus an inappropriate name for inter-tribal feuds, no matter what the immediate cause that ostensibly produced the feud were.

In a system with endogamous lineages, conflicts between subsections of a maximal lineage, of the type discussed in Appendix II, would seem to lend themselves more readily to solution by blood-feud. Whereas the individuals has few personal dealings with persons outside his *tira*, there is much room for disputes and conflicting claims within the endogamous, landholding *tira*. Such disputes would not immediately become ‹international› problems, subject to all the attendant tactical and practical considerations, but would create factions *within* the group, where concepts of justice and settlement be equality are more applicable. The only further prerequisite for a development of a blood feuding pattern is then a certain minimum strength of the kinship bonds, to ensure clear kinship alignment in the factions and near-universal identification with the kinship group and the action of kinsmen. This degree of development of the kinship bond seems to be lacking in Southern Kurdistan at the present time.

It should also be remembered that with the Kurdish type of lineage organization, the individual's loyalties are not to the descent group *in abstracto*, but are felt and expressed in terms of local groups, which very nearly correspond to the lineage segments. Because of this, any armed conflict between lineage segments will necessarily be in territorial terms; it will be a feud between villages. Thus complicating factors enter, involving territorial interests in areas where there is no surplus of arable land (e. g. much Hamawand territory today), conquest and vassalization of villages, etc. The larger territorial organization of the whole lineage is directly endangered by such internal inter-*village* wars, and characteristically enough it is the function as arbitrator in intra-lineage conflicts that

the tribal leader retains longest in the face of breakdown of tribal organization (cf. Mannı, p. 126). The ability to avoid or resolve such conflicts between villages is a prerequisite for the maintenance of lineage unity, and it is therefore essential that the principle of collective responsibility is *not* applied to the co-residents of the village community.

Leach (op. cit., pp. 16-7) discusses a feud between two competing lineages in the Rowanduz area. Though in effect a struggle for political supremacy between rival lineages, it appears to be governed by ideas of retaliation and equality. Hay (op. cit.) further lists the traditionally stipulated blood money to be paid for various classes of people. The Rowanduz area, as contrasted to Southern Kurdistan, is one where a number of well-organized lineages are in close contact. This is due in part to a difference in local history. Suleimani is an old center, and the whole territory was long subject to the feudal Baban administration, based on non-lineage principles. The Rowanduz mountain area, on the other hand, retained a presumably characteristic tribal organization, with numerous territorially separate, independent lineages till quite late, when it was united by conquest in a larger state system under the Mir og Rowanduz around 1830. It is interesting to speculate whether the fusion of numerous lineages into a larger state may not have changed some of the factors outlined above in such a way as to permit the institutionalized extension of the South Kurdish pattern of personal revenge to a pattern of blood feud.

In Southern Kurdistan, it is difficult to see what sanctions would be brought to bear against homicide within the maximal lineage, other than this pattern of personal revenge. Other mechanisms, once existing, may however have been disguised by now through the activities of the external administration.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter IV.

Non-political hierarchical organizations.

181 The theme of power is extremely important in Kurdish thinking,
591 in the sense I have used the expression *de-facto* power: the actual, total extent to which a person is able to lead people or otherwise induce them to act according to his wishes. There does not seem to be any single word in Kurdish to cover this concept, but, though a blanket term, it is found very useful in an analysis of Kurdish social organization. The Kurdish villager seems in effect to feel that the total status position of a person, and the de-facto power that he controls, stand in a direct proportional relation to one another. At any rate, this is the manner in which status and prestige is described. The type of delegated power vested in the clerk of some large, bureaucratic department is not found in any local, autonomous hierarchy or organization.

Formal political organization constitutes the main hierarchy of institutionalized power relationships; but there are also other hierarchies of status positions, regulating other fields of activity. A high status position in these hierarchies affords the holder the right to apply certain sanctions, positive or negative, to persons inferior to him in the hierarchy. He is thus able to influence the actions of his fellow villagers in much the same way as a political office-holder; he has *power*. Thus his part-status in a hierarchy not formally political contributes to his total status, and to the power he controls, and thereby becomes a factor in deciding his position in the total power

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

hierarchy of his village and society. The formal political organization, discussed so far, is thus only one factor in the hierarchy of supra- and sub-ordination in the village, and it must be related to the other formal organizations or hierarchies that exist.

However, this phrasing of the relationship makes use of distinctions foreign to Kurdish thinking. As stressed in the discussion of general features of formal political organizations, the concept of an *office* is undeveloped, and relations of super- and sub-ordination spring from differences in the *total* status of individuals. The Kurdish villager is not concerned with abstract features of village organization — he sees the organization of his own village, and other organizations affecting him, in terms of hierarchies of *individuals*, of named and familiar people, each with a familiar total status. But to analyse the relationships and clarify some of the principles operative in this type of organization, it is necessary to break down these total statuses into component elements. Previously, the formal political hierarchies have been discussed. In the present section, some other status positions and hierarchies will be divorced from their contexts in observed total statuses, and described. It is not implied that the total status of individuals is merely a sum-total of these part-statuses; the integration of such part-statuses into a total status will be discussed later, after the village scene, where such integration takes place, has been described. Our present concern is with the principles governing these various, analytically separable, hierarchies, and the part-statuses defined by these hierarchies.

There is a distinction to be made between these *hierarchies* of institutionalized positions of super- and sub-ordination in an organization — hierarchies of part-statuses — and a more general *scale* of prestige. A person's prestige depends on the degree to which he approaches certain ideals; and one may distinguish between various such scales, relating to degree of piety, age, wealth, etc. The prestige that accrues to the individual from high rating on such scales is convertible into influence and power; part-statuses in a hierarchy, on the other hand, give power directly. To complicate the situation further, high rating on a scale of power might also be said to contribute to a person's prestige. Several scales have been implied in the

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1951 MAII Kurd MAII

previous discussion, and are indeedimplicit in the systems of status hierarchies. An attempt will be made to relate the various status positions to ideals expressed on such scales, and in the final paragraphs of the section to outline themain scales on which individuals may be rated.

ECONOMIC CLASSES

The village hierarchy of class differences, based on division of labor and attendant differences inwealth, has been discussed above, pp. 20 ff. This hierarchy is, as we saw, produced primarily by the feudal principle of delegation of work on the land, and is conceptualized in terms of distinct social classes, each with traditionally defined rights and privileges in their relations to each other. Each class is thus a status category, and they are arranged in a hierarchy leading from *laborer* through *tenant farmer*, occasionally an *intermediary capitalist*, and culminating in the *landowner*. This is in itself a power hierarchy, since each superior status directly gives opportunity for control over persons of inferior status positions, within the traditional limits. The *freeholding farmer* class, on the other hand, occupies a status partly divorced from this immediate power hierarchy. Characteristically, where such freeholding farmers are found in a village partly controlled by a large landowner, every effort seems to be made on the part of the landowner to secure property rights also to the remaining fraction of land,and thus place all members of the community in the unambiguous hierarchy of control and power. Consequently freeholding farmerswith property of any significance are generally found in tribally organized communities, and a dichotomy between only freeholding vs. only tenant communities generally holds true. *Freeholding farmers* as a class tend to be on a par with the *tenant farmer* class in thelarger class system, and frequently control a small group of *laborers*, and in certain areas also the serf class, the *Merkjin*. The main features of the reciprocal relations between these classes have been sketched previously.

The special position of the *shepherd* remains to be discussed. He is essentially a laborer, working for a stipulated annual payment in kind (grain), but also receives a sheet of unleavened bread daily

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from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small tenant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
tenant farmers (incl. one mullah)	25	123
laborers	5	22
shepherd	1	5
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Derwish, *Sheikh*, *Sayyid*, Mullah, and *Hadji*.

Derwishes. The derwish religious fraternities illustrate, in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

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The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem ideals of scholarly sanctity, of meekness towards God, and the importance of good acts — ideals to which indeed all Kurds pay lipservice, and which certainly also have some influence upon Kurdish thinking and action. Where a world religion of foreign ethnic origin has been adopted, such discrepancies between the «ethos» of the religion and of the local culture would seem to be unavoidable, especially in the case of a religion as specifically concerned with social conditions and legislation as Islam. Certainly, the Kurdish villager attempts to the best of his ability to follow Islam, and these discrepancies are largely unexpressed and unrealized. Only among the more sophisticated tradesmen of the towns can one hear in part quite explicit statements such as: «Islam is a desert religion, belonging to the Arabs, and does not suit us Kurds of the mountains.»

It is in the local trend of interpretation of a world religion, in the aspects of the religion that are over-stressed, that local sentiments exert their pressure. The main expression of un-orthodox religiosity among Kurdish villagers is found in the development of the derwish sects or religious brotherhoods, widely spread in the rural districts, and generally characteristic of the less privileged sections of the population.

Such derwish brotherhoods are probably found in all Moslem countries, but seem to vary greatly in content between different ethnic groups. Everywhere, however, their basic dogmatic position in relation to the orthodox church of Islam is the same, and apparently reflects a need among the less educated classes. Islam, as propounded in the Mosque, is a formal, coldly intellectualized doctrine of the complete separation of God and Man, of God's supreme wisdom and power and Man's knowledge of it only through the Koran, accompanied by a scholarly legal and ritualistic interpretation of this basic text. Fundamental is the complete separate nature of God and Man, and man's inability to bridge this gap. The whole heterodox gamut from Sufi mystics to essentially shamanistic spirit-medium cults represent attempts at direct communication with God — at bridging this very un-bridgeable gap. The Kurdish derwish sects occupy a position towards the shamanistic pole of this continuum. Awareness of, or communication with God, is obtained by

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rhythmic incantations, drumming and rhythmic movements of the body, and self mortification; weeping and seizures are frequent.

In the following short description of some aspects of these Kurdish derwish brotherhoods, I shall attempt to illustrate the great value attached to *power*, and how this invades even the religious field in the face of the basicly fatalistic doctrines of Islam. The derwish brotherhoods constitute hierarchies in which the attainment of power, though of a very special kind, is regarded as one of the ultimate goals. At present, however, recruitment to the brotherhoods seems to be essentially from the most underprivileged class, people with minimal power and prestige in the social system. The derwish brotherhoods would thus seem to be a type of «religion of the disinherited», in which a substitute for social power is offered. Rather than being of direct relevance to the power distribution in the Kurdish village and countryside, the following should show the relevance of a concept of *power* in all fields of Kurdish culture, and constitute a justification for regarding power distribution as an essential and subjectively highly valued aspect of all Kurdish institutions.

The derwish brotherhoods are basically associations of lay persons with religious inclinations, led by a holy man, a *Sheikh* (descendant of the Prophet). Most of the members are ordinary farmers who by a simple statement of purpose become members of the group, and thereby benefit from the holy powers vested in the *Sheikh*. Obviously, the greater the holy powers of the *Sheikh*, the more his derwish followers will benefit; and Leaders of Derwish of great repute are sought out by potential derwishes from a large neighboring area, and s. times by people from very distant places.

A naive and direct statement of the fundamental idea and practice follows, being essentially a word-by-word translation of an explanation given by an ordinary village derwish, of no great standing or mystic reputation:

«There is a great man, a *Sheikh*, descendant of the Prophet. All descendants of Mohammed have some extra, religious power; this *Sheikh* has very much. Being close to that *Sheikh*, and doing as he wishes, makes a man near to God, makes his soul clearer.

[Haman] decided to become a derwish, so as to be nearer to God.

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In the next life, Mohammed will pray for all derwishes, ask God to give them pardon. To become a derwish you must renounce all the faults and evil thoughts and acts of men, and always be good. Anyone can become a derwish — young, old, man, woman. So he went to the great Shaikh Kader. And the *Shaikh* advised him to be good, always; he told him to protect Islam, follow all the ethical rules, etc. He stayed only five minutes the first time — the *Shaikh* only takes your hand in his, tells you all the rules of derwish, and blesses you. Then afterwards, you pay him regular visits, as often as you wish — once a month, or every two months, or even once a year. Sometimes you give gifts to the *Shaikh*, though you don't ever have to.»

There thus seem to be no elaborate, much less mystic, rites of initiation to membership, as reported from e. g. the Persian area. The only visible sign of derwish-hood among men (who in fact form the great majority of followers) is letting your hair grow long — though there are, incidentally, no special taboos or precautions connected with cutting it.

The explicit logic and ethical position of the group, and the motivation for persons to join it, thus seem quite simple. Between the various derwish groups there is little room for conflict, since their differences are not dogmatic, but merely a question of the efficacy and greatness of the holy powers of one holy man as compared to an other. Similarly, except for the fundamental approach, which would rarely be questioned by the uneducated villager, there is no dogmatic conflict with the official church — the same ethical and ritual rules are propounded by the Derwish Leader and the mullah, and any further admonishments and elaborations introduced by the one merely serve to support this fundamental body of ritual. The more heterodox interpretations attached to this common body of ritual are generally overlooked by the mullah as lying largely outside his domain.

But it would be overlooking a very important aspect of the derwish organization if these statements were taken at their face values, and it were seen merely as a more emotional and personal interpretation of Islamic doctrine; as being a religion of the disinherited

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in the same way as are numerous of the smaller sects of the Christian church. On the contrary, the theme of *power* is stressed and elaborated, corresponding to its importance in the Kurdish value system and the more conventional religious possibilities largely played down. Great religious fervor is generally lacking among the villagers, even among dervishes. Fraser (no date), an early traveller in the area, notes with disappointment the lack of superstitions, fear of ghosts etc. among his Kurdish friends. In accord with this, the point that is stressed is not contemplative or mystic, but might be said to be the aspects of potential power resulting from closeness to God, with great interest in the *overt* signs of this potential, covert power. It seems to satisfy the subjective needs of the underprivileged group not by being an escapist religion of the next life, but by offering its adherents a present substitute for the highly valued political and economic powers they can not attain. To demonstrate the efficacy of the great powers they control, the dervishes rely on certain signs, the most important being their ability to do wierd and amazing things, generally feats of the type one associates with Indian fuqirs.

The pattern of the delegation of this power illustrates somethin of its nature. It all centers in the *Shaikh*, in the present example Shaikh Abdul Karim. He belongs to the same family as Shaikh Mahmud, and traces descent as well as the origins of his powers through the revered Kaka Hamma, from whom also Shaikh Mahmud has received his sacred powers. The immediate predecessor of Shaikh Abdul Karim was his father, Shaikh Kader — a man of considerable influence and intellect (he accompanied Shaikh Said on their successful visit to the Sultan, cf. p. 42). Succession to the position as Leader of Derwish is by appointment by the *Shaikh* himself. No rule of primogeniture is observed (Shaikh Abdul Karim is the second of three brothers), the person showing the greatest ability is chosen. This need not be a son, though it usually is — naturally, it must be within the family, since descent from the Prophet is essential.

There seems to be an unresolved problem here, in that the sacred powers are part of the «biological» inheritance of the descendants of the Prophet, yet vary in strength between different lineages of them. And these lineages may increase or decline in power over a

792 period of time. The *Shaikh* may delegate power in his lifetime, but can not transfer it *ex dōc* to his appointed successor. The relative powers of derwish leaders are evaluated, in part by the past exploits of their lineage, in part by their actual ability to demonstrate their sacred powers by «miracles» of standardized types.

The sacred powers, or «powers from Good forces», may be delegated to individuals for longer or shorter periods of time, so these can bless and initiate novices. Such intermediaries are often members of minor *shaikh* lineages and have some reputation and powers of their own. More important from the individual derwish's point of view however is the power of the *Shaikh* to bless his followers with the ability to perform certain feats, readily demonstrated to me, such as eating burning charcoal, extinguishing burning torches in their mouth, swallowing poisonous snakes, perforating the cheeks with pins, the abdomen with knives and spears, all without harm to the performer. According to rumor, these are only the more conservative of their activities, seances with flying heads and strange incarnations being well within the ability of some derwishes. Characteristic of nearly all these special abilities is that they are non-instrumental, they are not directed towards any practical ends.

According to explanatory statements, the mechanics of this delegation of power is extremely simple. The faithful derwish who has shown his moral virtue and seriousness of purpose for some time by faithfully observing all the rules of derwish, may if he so wishes go to his *Shaikh* and ask to be given a specific skill or power, such as would enable him to eat burning charcoal, or perforate his abdomen without pain or harm. If the *Shaikh* deems this wise, he simply lays his hands on the derwish's head and blesses him, telling him that from now on he has that specific power. No period of training is necessary — the power has been delegated to him, and he may use this overt sign as a sign of the power vested in the *Shaikh* and his followers. — I was not able to ascertain whether specific powers actually follow family lines among derwishes, or in fact tend to be delegated after a period of residence with the Shaikh. Obviously, the above statement can be regarded only as the «party line» on the subject.

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The situations in which most demonstrations of these special powers take place are quite significant. There is rarely any attempt on the part of the dervish to show his control over mystic forces with his own fellow villagers as an audience (though one such case was observed, following derogatory remarks to the dervish in question). Usually, the feats are performed for a group of fellow dervishes, preferably during the celebration of Moslem festivals in the village of the Sheikh, when several hundred visitors, some non-dervish as well as dervish, may assemble there. Only a quite small group was observed in action, but in this case at least there was a lack of staging and dramatic build up, a naive directness in the performance, a considerable un-coloured critical evaluation of each performer by his colleagues, all of which incidentally contrasted sharply with the verbal tone of the performance of a western stage hypnotist or «fakir». Any gross type of hoax would be out of the question, and in fact quite pointless, since the audience generally consists of fellow dervishes. The performance seems largely given for the satisfaction of the performer himself. The personal triumph was repeatedly expressed in the question: «Does your religion give you powers like these?».

The nature of controls within the dervish brotherhood is quite informal. There is vagueness as to what would happen if a person misuses these delegated powers. Dervishes, being good, simple people simply would not misuse them — in case this did happen, the Sheikh would revoke the powers, and other dervishes might give the culprit a thorough beating. What types of pressures and counterpressures might be brought to bear on individuals higher in the hierarchy — minor Sheikhs with a somewhat independent reputation — is difficult to say.

The Sheikh himself is today in a difficult position, and the extent of his actual powers difficult to evaluate. His followers being found almost wholly among the uneducated rural people, he is regarded by most persons in the landowning and educated class as a cynical opportunist, who traffics in poor peoples' ignorance. His mode of life being moderately austere, and his wealth considerably less than that of many of his critics, this does not sound altogether probable.

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The father of the present *Shaikh* is said to have used his influence with considerable effect — certainly, a very exhalted status is associated with the position as Leader of Darwish, as far as the village population is concerned.

The individual darwish, on the other hand, has no recognized or defined status. The relative position of the darwish in the village community will be discussed more fully below, when it can be related to the other hierarchies of organization. Being largely recruited from the most underprivileged sections of the population, membership in the darwish group is often regarded as a badge of the lowest class. In face-to-face relations they are, on the other hand, afforded a certain respect, springing from an undeniable awe or fear of their strange powers.[1])

Where the service of a mullah is undesirable, the local darwish tends to function in his place, by virtue of his assumed greater knowledge of religious ritual. Thus a darwish who is generally accepted as being knowledgable, may attain some status, but that primarily by virtue of his knowledge, and not qua darwish. Thus, the power obtainable through membership in the darwish brotherhood is mostly of a subjective and substitute kind. Their special powers are of a symbolic and expressive, not of an instrumental type. Strikingly, these special powers and strange feats are exhibited mostly in rarely exclusive darwish meetings, and are rarely directed outward, toward village spectators — though secrecy, on the other hand, is made no point of, and any one who wishes to be present may attend most

[1]) Something of the position of the darwish may more clearly be illustrated by a summary characterization of the darwishes with whom I came most into contact (not including those residing in the home village of the Leader of Darwish):

a) Highly eccentric, with considerable temper. Officiated at occasional funerals etc. Reputed to be able to perform cheeks and skewers with ease.

b) Rather inconsequential. Sacrificed a sheep when his watch (unique in the village) started showing discrepancy with the sun — was ridiculed for this by fellow villagers.

c) and d) Quiet, ordinary serfs in appearance. Accused of scheming against Homewood landlords.

e) Unintelligent brother of village headman. No special accomplishments.

f) Ordinary farmer. No special accomplishments.

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meetings. We are left with a religious brotherhood, vested with mystic powers, but where membership is regarded as a badge of low social status. The various overt signs of these mystic powers are not systematically manipulated in front of an uninitiated audience, to enhance the position of the performer; nor is the brotherhood developed into a secret society, the secrecy and exclusiveness of which might give status. The interpretation followed here, that membership in the brotherhood offers subjective satisfaction, giving the underprivileged person a field in which he feels that he too can manipulate and control power, seems the only constructive alternative.

Shaikhs and Sayyids. The category of persons called *Shaikhs* and *Sayyids* are, as the dervishes, in a somewhat ambiguous position; but they may, as we have seen in the case of Shaikh Mahmud, make use of their position to great advantage in the political field. Essentially, a *Shaikh* is in Kurdish a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, reckoned patrilineally from Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, and corresponding to the Arabic *Sayyid*. The general position of esteem in which such persons are held is indicated by the term itself, *Shaikh* in Kurdish being borrowed from the Arabic, where it is a political title for tribal chief or elder; *Sayyid* in the Arabic of pre-Islamic times having the similar meaning of elder. Actually, both the terms *Shaikh* and *Sayyid* are used today in Kurdish to indicate descent from the Prophet — a distinction between the two will be made later; the present discussion will concern the *Shaikhs*, who in Southern Kurdistan are by far the larger and more important of the two groups.

By virtue of their descent from the Prophet, *Shaikhs* rate high on a religious scale of sanctity, and it is believed that they embody a variable degree of unseen good power. This vague sanctity is however divorced from implications of greater piety; no significantly greater morality seems to be expected of the *Shaikhs*, and membership in the descent group does not automatically affect the social position of an individual.

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To clarify the position of the *Shaikh* group, its distribution and internal structure should be examined. Logically enough, *Shaikhs* are not found among members of tribes (*ilwa*), since tribal groups constitute patrilineal maximal lineages, and no member of the *ilwa*

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can trace patrilineal descent from Ali unless the *whole tira* claims such descent. None of the South Kurdish *tiras* attempt this, however. *Shaikhs* are consequently characteristic of the non-tribal areas, where they occupy the whole gamut of social positions from landless laborer to feudal lord.

In characteristic Kurdish fashion, *Shaikh* families tend to split up into small endogamous lineage segments, and, though the census materials gathered from a few villages is not statistically reliable in the matter, there is strong suggestion that FaBrDa or other close kin marriage reaches considerably higher frequency than usual in tenant villages, and approaches that found in the politically organized lineages, the *tiras*. However, any embracive organization uniting the whole *Shaikh* descent group, or major segments of it, such as would in fact convert it into a type of widely dispersed *tira*, is lacking. It would on the other hand be equally misleading to think of the *Shaikh* group as an endogamous caste, since extra-group marriages do in fact take place, and the emphasis is not on *Shaikh* endogamy but, in usual Kurdish fashion, on *local lineage* endogamy. It is convenient to think more in terms of these local endogamous *Shaikh* lineages, where they are found in the village community, and relate their comparatively higher endogamy to an effort to retain a special status in the *local* community by not dispersing kinship obligations too widely in that community. Where *Shaikh* families occupy higher social positions, this stress on lineage endogamy tends to disappear, or seems to reflect efforts to prevent the dispersal of family property through the multiple Koranic inheritance rights.

An example of a *Shaikh* lineage group of tenant farmers, residing in a small village community, might be given. Of 33 households in the village, 7 are of the *Shaikh* lineage, the remaining 26 belonging to various larger and smaller kin groups. Of the heads of these 7 *Shaikh* households, 4 have married a FaBrDa, 2 another close relative, and only 1 a non-relative from outside the community (the sister of a neighboring headman). At least in this generation, there is thus no intermarriage with other families in the local community.

The head of the *Shaikh* lineage is regarded as the most important man in the village, but he is not elected *kikha* (village headman).

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The present *Aikhe*, whose father and grandfather held the post before him, belongs to another, slightly larger kin block, counting at least 9 households. Furthermore, the frequency of family endogamy in this family of which the *Aikhe* is the head is less than 50 %, which may account for his «wider appeal» in the community. Thus the emphasis on the special status of the *Sheikh* lineage also tends to isolate this lineage, in part to their disadvantage.

The majority of the *Sheikhs* in the village are tenant farmers, and tend to be among the better situated. One occupies the position as mullah, to which his son will clearly succeed him. However, one of the *Sheikh* household heads is a landless laborer, giving a class distribution in the *Sheikh* lineage of 5 farmers / 1 laborer, as compared to 18 farmers / 4 laborers in the remainder of the community. The class position of the *Sheikh* lineage as a whole is thus not significantly high.

The status of this small *Sheikh* lineage might be contrasted to that of the above mentioned Leaders of Derwish, or to that of Sheikh Mahmud, both of whom have achieved their high position in part by virtue of their descent from the Prophet. The most reasonable generalization seems to be that membership in the *Sheikh* descent group defines a type of position in the religious field which contributes to the general esteem in which a person is held, and which may, in certain situations, contribute to justify a high position of actual power, but which in no way automatically ascribes such power to the individual.

A category of travelling holy men, similarly claiming descent from Mohammed, are given the Arabic name *Seyyid* by Kurdish villagers. Whereas the Kurdish *Sheikhs* claim descent specifically from Hussein, one of Mohammed's two grandsons, through a medieval Persian theologian, the claims of the wandering *Seyyids* are more variable. On the other hand, this reference to religious sanctity forms the basis of their livelihood. The spellation *Sheikh* need only imply high rating on a purely religious scale of sanctity — *Seyyids* convert this into a definite status position, fundamental to their occupation. Preferably conspicuously clothed, and wearing green head-dress as a symbol of their status, they ride from village to village carrying old

792 holy books from which they can tell of the past and the future.
557 They also sell good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc. Being residents of the larger towns, however, they only appear on the village scene as transients of rather low status.

Diagram No. 8. The scales and statuses of the religious field.

793 *The Mullah.* Whereas the position of a *Sheikh* depends upon his
559 rating on the scales of sanctity and sacred powers, the position of the mullah is related to the scale of sanctity, and to a scale of learning and piety. High rating on the scale of sanctity springs directly from the office, while the degree of learning and piety depends upon the individual's behavior, and is consequently variable.

793 The position as mullah is a true status position, since it defines a
795 place in an institutional hierarchy — that of the larger church
559 organization — but since it is related also to the scale of piety, the actual relative status ascribed to specific mullahs in their villages may vary considerably. Thus again, the lack of development of the concept of an *office* has its effect; any separation of the individual's official and private capacity is impossible, and no clear definition of the status of the mullah, as divorced from the individual achievements of a specific mullah, is possible. The very weak regional organization of the church is in part responsible for this — indeed, it is

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misleading to speak of an inclusive church organization in the sense one knows it in the West. The actual qualifications of individual mullahs vary tremendously, and financial arrangements for the support of the Mosque are, as far as village mosques are concerned, entirely in the hands of the local community. Yet traditionalism and informal controls give a certain unity and enforce certain limits on deviations from a vague norm.

The position as mullah is an achieved status with completely open recruitment. Successful application to the study of the Koran leads eventually to initiation. There is a tendency for *Sheikhs* and *Seyyids* to be over-represented, but this seems primarily due to a higher frequency of religious inclinations, resulting from their automatic bias in orientation. Frequently a dervish will be willing to support his son through some or all of the necessary years of reading and study, and thus achieve for the son what was beyond the reach of the father. At times, through an early interest in the teachings of the village mullah, a boy in a secularly oriented family will find his way into the religious field. A striking number of the students are blind, and depend in their studies on the help of their friends.

The traditional pattern is for the student to spend an unspecified number of years roaming from mosque to mosque, seeking out the teachers of high repute and remaining with each for whatever length of time he wishes (see Appendix III). In this period, as well as studying the Koran and the legal interpretation of the text, the student should become familiar with other religious writing, in Persian as well as in Arabic. Finally, when the student and whatever teacher he happens to be with at the time feels he is prepared, he is made to give a sermon, and after a ritual is given the white headdress of the mullah, as well as a diploma confirming his status.

During his studies, the future mullah is dependent on his family or on individual charity for his subsistence. Later, as a full-fledged mullah, he must make whatever arrangements he can. The positions in the mosques of the towns are now government supported, but in the village the office is supported by local resources only. The community expresses its wish to have a mullah and the extent of its ability to pay — generally by revenue on dedicated land and a

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minimal tax pr. head in the village, payable at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. This frequently must be augmented by agricultural work on the part of the mullah. It seems that the villagers are free to appoint any initiated mullah of their choice to office; once he is appointed, however, it is, at least in practice, impossible to dismiss him.

The actual role of the village mullah is evidently today in a state of rapid change, and considerably reduced as compared to Ottoman times. He has been relieved of a great number of his civil functions — e. g. marriages are not valid unless a license has been procured from the civil administration, and though the mullah still performs the ceremony, his importance is naturally reduced. The very dominant position as judge has also been greatly reduced by the secularization of the state and effective administration of Iraq's civil code.

A second role is that of the educator — the mullah will give rather ineffectual lessons in the Koran to the sons of important villagers — the only schooling they will ever have — and he may also have advanced students visiting him for a period. Except for spreading a certain knowledge of the religion, however, this school of the mullah's does not seem to be of any great consequence, and the mullah himself remains the only literate person in the village.

His main role at present parallels that of the priest in Western society, in that it is concerned predominantly with religious questions in a largely secular world. The mullah calls to morning and evening prayer, gives a sermon on Friday, is especially active in the holy month of Ramadan. In all his activities, he should set an example to his villagers. The weight given to his opinions thus depends on his learning and personal piety, but at the same time, if they are developed to any appreciable degree, these same traits will tend to separate him physically and emotionally from the community and place him in the position of a spectator.

Consequently, he does not achieve the power position in the village that one might have expected. The mullah with low rating on the scale of learning and piety will be disregarded by the villagers — they may not even attend his services, as in the case of one village studied, where the sermons had been largely discontinued and the

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responsibility for religious education taken over by the leader of the local *Sheikh* family. On the other hand, an intelligent mullah, though often formalistic and introvert in his orientation, may play a considerable part in improving the intellectual and sanitary standard of the village (the subject of clean and unclean having importance in a religious context), but does not seem to attempt to extend his influence any wider. His high intellectual standard and foreign values tend to alienate him from the «petty squabbles» of the village; and an ambitious attitude has no real place in the piously fatalistic Islamic world view. To the extent he does not convert his status and prestige into a de-facto power position, the mullah might be said not to be fully integrated into the social structure of the village. He is similarly in no sense an indispensable resident in the village community — very frequently, he is called in only for funerals, naming ceremonies etc., or these functions may even be performed by a local derwish or *Sheikh*. The pattern of training blind boys, necessarily marginal to village society, as mullahs, may in part be related to an appreciation of this marginal position which the mullah occupies.

Hadji. The *Hadji*, on the other hand, is an ordinary member of the village community. His position is related to the scale of piety, and derives simply from having completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. The title, however, is one of considerable respect — in part because it also implicitly indicates high rating on the scale of wealth.

The whole institution of the pilgrimage is the result of the command by the Prophet Mohammed, that any man who has the necessary means to make the pilgrimage *and* support his family at home, or whose family is able to support itself without him, should once in his lifetime journey to the holy city of Mecca. Thus the title of *Hadji* indicates (a) a pious eagerness to follow the command of Mohammed, and (b) moderately prosperous circumstances. One rarely finds more than 3—4 *Hadjis* in any one village; these will tend to be at least among the leading members of their community.

Formerly, the initiative was individual and the journey hazardous, often achieved by relatively greater physical exertion and less expense, and the title of *Hadji* was thus less of a symbol of wealth than at present.

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than at present. The route from the Suleimani area went by caravan to Basra in the Persian Gulf, by ship to Jiddah (or even by caravan across the Arabian peninsula) and on foot from Jiddah to Mecca — involving often more than a full year of travel. Today, the time expended is in the neighborhood of two months, travel being by bus to Baghdad and across to Beirut, ship through the Suez to Jiddah, and bus up to the walls of Mecca. Total expenses average some £ 200. The pattern is generally one of group travel — in 1948, a group of approximately 60 persons from the Suleimani area journeyed together.

The moral-religious status connected with the title of *Hadji* is of negligible importance. There is some feeling that in situations of petty conflict, a *Hadji* should attempt to mediate, and that higher moral standards are to be expected from him. More important is its connections with wealth as a type of conspicuous consumption, and in this it parallels the widely distributed type of honorific title dependent on having gone through a «pot-latch» series of feasts[1]). However, in the competitive and informal Kurdish village organization, the honorific title of *Hadji* is not by itself of any appreciable consequence in the de-facto power hierarchy, and must be supported by a continued position of relative wealth.

KINSHIP

In addition to the formal hierarchies governing the political, the economic, and the religious fields, there remains the field of kinship. It might be pointed out that the household organization, and attendant kinship obligations, described above pp. 29 ff, represents a hierarchical organization of basicly the same type, but relating to a unit smaller than the village, in contrast with the other, more extensive organizations. Needless to say, the patriarch of a large household gains prestige and is vested with de-facto power by

[1]) An example from a culturally and geographically parallel area is offered by the Kafirs of Afghanistan, where the whole social structure of the village community is based on a hierarchy of such honorific titles, attained by giving stipulated numbers of feasts (cf. G. S. Robertson, *1896, pp. 434 ff.*).

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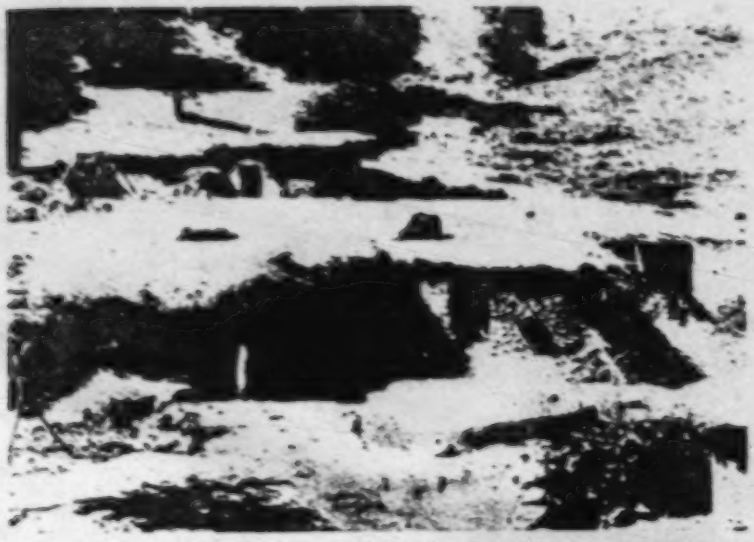

Houses in a tenant village (three households).

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A Hamawand village.

[opposite p. 96 -- Analyst]

592 virtue of his position in the household — prestige and power that contributes very significantly to his total status in the village community.

SCALES

554 I have used the term office for an actual formal position in an organizational hierarchy; status and part-status for this position *and* the prestige that belongs with it. In a system where the rights and privileges connected with a political office are not clearly defined, and a separation of a person's private vs. official capacities is impossible, the power of a political official, or other person in a status hierarchy, will in large part depend on the particular person holding the position. In a sense, there is negligible prestige attached to the position itself; an individual must, in his private capacity, embody the prestige that is necessary to fill the position successfully. Thus the variegated sources of prestige *outside* the formal hierarchies become important to an understanding of how the formal structure functions in the village.

One may, as suggested above, profitably think in terms of certain *scales* by which persons are evaluated, high rating on these scales conferring prestige to the individual. Such scales are of several types, some connected with the life cycle of the individual, or related to the degree to which certain attributes are found in a person, others measuring the degree to which an individual approaches a certain ideal stereotype in his behavior. They may in part define conflicting or mutually exclusive ideals. — Put differently, this means that the prestige derived from high rating on one of these scales may be particularly relevant in a certain organization or role, as in the case of sanctity and its relation to the *Shaikh* status. Other scales are more universally applicable, as that of relative age. However, no matter what its sources may be, *the prestige of a person qualifies him for a certain relative power position in the village, potentially or actually formalized as a named status position.*

Obviously, any number of these scales may be constructed, and the present list pretends to do little more than summarize certain

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554 important Kurdish values relating to individual prestige. On the other hand, they are not pure constructs of the investigator, since they do represent verbalized ideals which the Kurdish villager is aware of as alternative modes of behavior in situations. The following are some important scales on which the prestige of a Kurdish villager may be measured:

Family: (a) prestige derived from descent from a person or persons with high prestige, or (b) membership in a large effective kinship unit.

Age: prestige derived from experience and maturity, increasing up to the onset of senility.

Sex: dichotomy favoring the male and relations in the male line.

Wealth: prestige from capital, real or movable property, and occupations tending to produce such.

Sacred powers: the extent of «unseen powers from Good Forces» delegated to the person.

Sanctity: the actual embodyment of sacred powers, or sacred position achieved by personal suffering and renunciation of the world.

Learning and piety: prestige from knowledge of, and conformity to, Moslem religious and moral ideals.

Honor and Bravery: the degree of approach to the Kurdish «hero» — physical prowess, valor, a certain recklesness, respect for women, kindness to the poor, unending hospitality, etc.

THE VILLAGE HIERARCHY

621 The formal political structures, and certain subsidiary hierarchies have been outlined, and it was pointed out how the actual power connected with positions in these hierarchies is dependent upon the prestige of the persons occupying them. The organization of the village thus becomes one of super- and sub-ordination of individuals, and universal relevance of status differences in the relations of these individuals.

However, because of the presence of several separable hierarchies of organization, the village relations of super- and sub-ordination do

not have an opportunity to freeze and become converted into a formal structure (cf. the relations between Hamawand and *Meskjin*, and the latter's use of the derwish brotherhoods). Individuals are constantly aligning into factions, manipulating these hierarchies, and the superordination of any particular formal status position will constantly be questioned, and must therefore be supported by the necessary superordination in terms of actual prestige. Thus, if the village were left to itself, the formal village organization of super- and sub-ordination would at any time relate to the differences in total prestige between the individuals holding these formal positions. 621

An external factor does however enter in the autonomous Kurdish system, which tends to produce a de-facto power hierarchy more or less different from this «ideal» hierarchy. With the backing of an outside force, individuals may have powers vested in them out of proportion to their actual prestige in the local community. This type of outside force will usually be related to wealth — in effect, before the country was subjected to external administration, the economic ability to *buy* riflemen and thus tyranize a village or section, as in the case of many feudal lords, or on the other hand the ability of one tribe or group, from superior numbers or organization, to suppress other tribes or groups.

The de-facto power hierarchy will then be determined by the balance between the one faction's ability to *buy* or otherwise introduce power into the system, as compared to the other faction's ability to *rally* supporters, referring to the «ideal» hierarchy based on prestige. An important feature of this balance is the fact that the further the de-facto hierarchy differs from the «ideal» hierarchy, the relatively more external power is needed to maintain the position, since the opposing faction's ability to *rally* supporters increases rapidly with the extent of the abuse. — Obviously, the actual balance varies over the area and through time, and a diversity of types of village organization results.

We have thus arrived at some appreciation of the structural reasons for the confusing variety of types of formal organization in the South Kurdish area. At the moment, however, we are not concerned with the specific historic events in these factional con-

621 flicts, producing the present distribution of types, since these depend to considerable extent on variables outside the village system. More important in this connection i the structure of the «ideal» hierarchy, primarily how it develops and asserts itself in the village. For this purpose, the constitution of he village community and village life should be investigated furthe.

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Chapter V.

The village scene

THE VILLAGE

The village, in its physical aspects, is fairly uniform over most of the South Kurdish area. The houses are built of mud, or rock in a mud mortar; the roofs are flat, held up by horizontal rafters — the most valuable item in the construction. Due to the nature of the architecture and the small size of available timber, the rooms of the houses tend to be quite small; pillars and posts are never used to support a longer span of roof. A second story on the building is rarely found. Frequently, there is no door with which to close the entrance, and never any glass in the windows. The windows are small and high up on the wall, the small room is always rather dark. There is no smoke-hole, the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor finds its way out through the entrance or the windows. The rooms are utterly devoid of furniture — the only contents of the room to which a visitor is shown is a tea samovar and some small glasses placed on an in-set shelf, and a roll of small rugs, mostly of felt, which are spread out on the floor to be sat on.

The number of rooms to a house varies, but is never very great, and must of course give accomodation to donkeys, cattle, and perhaps a horse, as well as to the people. To each house belongs a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall. In winter, the house gives only

342 partial protection from the icy gales that sweep down from the Zagros mountains. In the warm weather, the family moves out on the flat rooftop after sundown, primarily to benefit from the cool breeze off the mountains.

361 Wherever a hill is available — which means nearly everywhere in Kurdish territory — the village is placed on a steep slope. That way, the flat rooftop of one house forms a kind of front terrace for the house above it in the hill, and the families tend to use the roof of the house below them for their own purposes, and so on down the line. As indicated by this, the village forms a very compact unit — maybe originally for defence purposes; certainly in part to save trouble by making double use of all walls and partitions in house construction. Frequently, the village is placed in the slope below a cool spring; only in the low country does it depend on wells for water. A common feature is a small pool, fed directly from the spring and protected from pollution by a low stone wall. Around the pool stand tall, shady trees, from which no branch must be broken, and in it one frequently finds large fish, fed by the villagers, which similarly must not be molested. The pool serves as a place for ritual washing and a favorite place of prayer.

621 Although considerable respect is shown for the sanctity of the home, many household activities must necessarily become public, especially in the half-year when they center around the rooftops. A certain everyday pattern of community life thus emerges in the cool of the evening. It requires much cooperation and bustle to direct the returning animals to their respective homes in the evening, with shouting and chasing of stray goats over rooftops and along partitions, away from the grainbins and waterskins and infants. Later, each family gathers around the evening meal, and then there is visiting back and forth, news being swapped, a glow in the dark from the fires where the tea is brewing, and a steady murmur of conversation. All through the night, the clamor and activity continues, with braying donkeys, crying babies, dogs chasing cats, cows shifting and groaning.

Though the patterns of each village differ, and any one of them may appear to be only utter confusion, there are, of course, regulari-

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ties that may be discerned. The village, in all its confusion, sets the scene on which the competing factions act out their parts; over faintly glowing fires of cowdung individuals are discussed and appraised in terms of the ideals expressed in the above outlined scales; control is attempted and leadership emerges. All these activities take place at more or less standardized occasions — and it is these occasions that will be described in the present chapter. In effect, any type of community or group activity gives an opportunity for status and competition to express itself, and a description of these occasions thus becomes virtually a description of community life.

INFORMAL GROUP FORMATION

Claudius James Rich, visiting Suleimani in the 1820's, was surprised at the regularities of the patterns of visiting, at the large groups that would congregate in the house of some «noblemen» or in the open, and spend their time smoking and drinking tea, while talking way into the small hours (Rich, op. cit.). This pattern is also found strongly developed in Suleimani today.

In the village, the farmer must of course keep rather different hours, and he invariably rises with the sun; but the same pattern is discernable. In the summer nights, visitors may be received on the rooftops; in the daytime, or when the weather is colder, any important visitor is showed to a special room, and a more or less standard group will quickly congregate. In the hot weather, other kinds of groups will congregate during the day in any bit of shade — under the trees by the pool, or on the roof-tops that are shaded by trees. These informal groups seem essentially of two types, one the group of village leaders in «the smokefilled room» to borrow an idiom from American politics, the other a less clearly defined «rooftop society» of persons of lower status.

«The smokefilled room». In the traditional tribal system, the *Agha* of the village should keep a *guesthouse*, in which the heads of families, all kinsmen of the *Agha*, and any visitor have a right to sit. In the area around Rowanduz, this seems to be an institution of

514 considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for
554 the hospitable *Agha* (Leach op. cit., pp. 28—33).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from this ideal — it would be a very important man who went to the expence of keeping an «open house» in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *Agha* among the Hamawands will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all persons who would have a «right» to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common center of the village, to which *all* the important men repair, it has become in fact the center of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance attempts to utilize a certain room as «guesthouse», playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

574 No matter what time of day a visitor arrives, he should at least
576 be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to
564 this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies
272] between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a sitting. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige scale by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific titles to
276] one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

621 The persons assembling normally in «the smokefilled room»[1] are
554 the policy makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest ase discussed, the actions of the various members of the group coordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige is

[1] 104 of the Agha's guest house. — Analyst]

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constantly measured, and rivalry between members is directed towards out-doing each other in the eyes of the group as a whole. 621 554

«*Rooftop society*». An other imediately apparent type of informal group which is constantly formed is that of rooftop society. The smokefilled room houses a more polite and essentially closed society; rooftop society includes more diverse persons, and emerges from practically any aggregation of individuals who are not engaged in productive pursuits. There is a tendency for the individuals of the highest prestige to stay away from such groups, since the joking and horse-play may be rather personal and quite free, and the rules of «proper» behavior easily forgotten. Thus, though formed from an open aggregation of individuals, which any male transient as well as villager may join, it developes in practice into a gang of village youths and men, primarily the younger and more irresponsible, and the men of lower class status.

The same problems that are debated in the «smokefilled room» may also be discussed here, but with less stress on policy forming and more stress on the anecdotal. Prestige differences in the group emerge very clearly from who is made fun of and who feels in a position to mediate. At the same time, the group serves as a forum for complaints against abuses. Here the attitudes of the less privileged sections of the village to specific issues become coordinated; pressures are applied and excitement created that may lead to concerted action where persons feel they have been badly wronged.

Women's groups. Women are excluded from both these types of groups, as well as from «political» activities in general. Though they prepare the food that may be consumed in the «smokefilled room», they should not show themselves there, and, for example, tea-brewing, which should be done on the spot, is in the hands of a younger male kinsman of the host. In fact, when a visitor arrives in whom they take an interest, they may find domestic work to do within earshot though out of sight, or a small son of the house is slipped in as informant. The actual extent to which women contribute in shaping the opinions of their men is difficult to evaluate, and surely varies tremendously, but is usually probably slight. On the other hand, they have access to information, especially gossip, 562 573 [272]

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which the head of the family has not, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in «the smoke-filled room», (b) the men of less prestige get together in an informal «rooftop society», and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complete status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above; and many village mullahs find it difficult to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — «they come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home». Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

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intensity of village loyalty is produced that is rarely found in other tenant villages.

Ritual homage. Whereas many villages lack the central focus of a mosque, religious activities still have considerable integrative functions, especially the standardized prayers, or, more properly, the ritual homage paid to Allah five times daily, facing Mecca, as the Prophet Mohammed commanded. This homage being of a standardized type and involving a stereotyped series of postures, supposedly performed simultaneously by all the villagers, it symbolizes a solidarity and *gemeinschaft* that must be re-inforced, shall the community persist. The personal prayer occasionally appended is unimportant; the emphasis is on the common ritual.

The time for prayer is specified in relation to sunrise and sundown, e. g. one two hours preceding, another one and a half hours after sundown. Since no clocks or watches are commonly available in the village, «calling to prayer» gives opportunity for controlling behavior in the religious field, and thus for the emergence of a type of leadership. Where a mullah is present, he naturally performs the function; where there is no mullah, the local derwish or head of the local derwishes tries to assume this responsibility. His melodious chant certainly thrills a Western ear in the quiet evening; but the call is not necessarily responded to very quickly; furthermore, *Hadji* and other important persons will tend to take an autonomous view of the proper time for prayers. Thus, unless a mullah of some importance is present, the degree of *leadership* implied in calling to prayer is rather slight. However, this fact would not seem to detract significantly from the integrative symbolism of the simultaneous ritual homage to God.

Communal magic. The only cases of communal magic which I became aware of are concerned with the most critical and unpredictable question in Kurdish subsistence: rain. The other examples of magic are of different type: The ordinary derwish antics, performed in public, are not instrumental in the sense that they are directed towards achieving some practical and generally canonal end; the magic connected with amulets for protection etc. are of a personal and private kind. The art of rainmaking, on the other hand, is still

practised as a communal rite in cases of need, and gives the competent dervish an opportunity to reinforce his special position and demonstrate his control of power.

The actual rite is in rough outline quite simple. After an all-night session of prayer and purification on the part of the dervish, he is taken to a pool in the near-by, dwindling stream, and submerged in the water.

It is difficult to say just what degree of emotional intensity is involved in the rite so far as a majority of the participants is concerned. In the special case in question, they did not seem particularly impressed — the dervish involved was one who was frequently the object of mild horseplay, and the actual act of ducking him might have some appeal to the less serious minded. However this may be, the gravity of drought should not be underestimated, and would hardly be conducive to horseplay. The winter rains seemed to have stopped much too early, and the rite was a response to this serious situation. Considering this, the performance was probably more emotionally charged than some of the superficial comments might suggest, and certainly served to emphasize the unity and solidarity of the group. — It might incidentally be noted that this specific rite also was successful, in that fairly heavy rains followed shortly.

Thus, this ritual of rainmaking is concerned with a very critical communal problem, and enables the dervish to assume a momentary position of dominant importance in his community. An interesting deviation from the stated norm was also observed in this case: the young son of the village Agha was submerged alongside with the dervish[1]). This equivalence may be significant in several respects. From the point of view of the dervish, it indicates the considerable extent of his momentary prestige — from a normal status of labourer he is elevated to temporary equivalence with the heir apparent of the village Agha. It may also illustrate something in the Kurdish conception of power: there is no really clear distinction made between the

[1]) The fact that the son rather than the Agha himself was chosen is best understood in terms of the slightly undignified situation, and the rather undignified appearance of the actor following immersion.

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sacred powers of the dervish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma.

THE FEAST

The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnizes feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread.

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a man, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige.

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrence in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and resultant total status positions become systematized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast

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take place after sundown, since there should be a fast observed during the day in Ramadan month — as a matter of fact, this fast is observed by very few. However, this degree of Ramadan celebration is not usual. The last three days of that month, on the other hand, are universally regarded as holidays, and serve as formal occasion for forgiving enemies, affirming village loyalties, and reinforcing ties of friendship.

Ramadan is defined in terms of a year of lunar months, and thus falls some days earlier in relation to the seasons for every year. At the time of the present fieldwork, the end of Ramadan coincided roughly with the completion of the harvest; it is difficult to say which aspects of the proceedings were connected with the one, as distinct from the other event. The celebration on the main, first day consisted of four major phases: (1) religious service (2) formal communal meal (3) payment of tax to the mosque (4) informal social celebrations.

The religious service was led by the son of the mullah of the neighboring village, since the village in which I was staying at the time had no mullah of its own. It was held in the house of the *Hadji*, the actual leader and *kikha* of the village. The local derwish, reacting to the presence of only an un-ordained officiator, tried to assert himself by interjecting loud and pious exclamations, but was soon quieted down as the mullah's son speeded on through the text.

After the ritual followed the communal meal, supplied by the *Hadji*, and his prestige profited by a subtle balance between the conspicuous exhibition of plenty tempered with a pious avoidance of over-indulgence. Two of the lower-class laborers, who had been fighting and feeling out of place, took the opportunity to busy themselves by serving the tea; but the *Hadji* insisted upon their status as guests, and they were quickly relieved by a young son, whom he called in for the purpose. Before the meal, hands were kissed (with a tendency towards reciprocity only between social equals or very close kin), misunderstandings forgotten and grudges forgiven. After the meal, some small boys appeared and kissed the hands of all the men present.

This being completed, the heads of village households each pledged

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a tax of three kg. of grain to the mosque for each household member. This is done by each of the men in turn seating himself before the mullah, with a symbolic tray of grain between them. The men follow one another in a descending order of prestige, involving public acceptance and confirmation of the actual hierarchy of individuals in the village. At one or two points there was some hesitation, and very elusive momentary pressures were brought to bear by the group on the actors to assure the «right» sequence. This occasion also gave the *Hadji* an opportunity to affirm his leading position in the village by pledging 3.5 kg. pr. person to the mosque, and with a grand gesture paying for a poor widow in the village, not represented by any male, as well as for my interpreter, who, not being of the village, did not dispose of any grain.

At the completion of this, the group dispersed. Later in the day, the landowner appeared, and people also from the neighboring villages drifted in in informal groups and congregated in a large circle in the courtyard of the house in which he was staying. For the remaining period, celebrations involved only smaller, informal groups and individual visiting.

— I have chosen to describe this occasion in some detail, since it was observed under favorable conditions and illustrates the situation in which the hierarchy of individuals in the village is expressed, and how the individual's rating of himself is confirmed or contradicted by the group. Other religious festivals serve an essentially similar function, though they may in part be more amenable to manipulation and «social climbing». For example, two months ten days after Ramadan follows *Qorbani*, the feast of sacrifice, lasting four days, and centering around the killing of a large animal — sheep or preferably cow. Any person may volunteer to do Qorbani, and offer his cow up — though there are probably informal controls on who may in fact presume to that extent. *Mauled*, Mohammed's birthday, is similarly celebrated by a semi-communal feast and conspicuous consumption; the various other holidays are of a more private kind.

Rites de passage. The various rites marking transitions in the status position of individuals through their life cycle are less formally controlled. They are communal in a different sense from the ritual-

§41 religious festivals; though such transitions are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is then determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

§49 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons, and the woman's fear of being barren: When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or unsmoked hashish by his crib. This is so that the *shaw*, a form of *djinn* or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaw is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaw is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion-leaf may be placed beside her.

§53 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the naming ceremony. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

§52 Circumcision of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, it may in fact still be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Sulaimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village

192

Hamma, an old Kurdish woman.

Sheikh Mahmud.

Dervish Hamma.

[opposite p. 112 -- daylight]

152 leader, if he has a son who is being circumcised, to pay for the sons of poor people, and to give the feast. There is thus a tendency for the headman's sons to be circumcised in a common ritual with a large number of boys. This might be thought of as reminiscent of some form of age-grades, and may be vaguely symbolic of loyalty ties within such generations of village boys.

When a child loses his first *deciduous tooth*, a special dish is commonly prepared and given to the neighbors «because the parents are very proud that their child has become so big».

302 When a girl feels she is growing up, she may, with a few friends,
303 decide she wishes to be *tattooed*, usually only moderate small designs on face or hands. This is performed by an old woman specialist rarely a resident of the village, but is, everyone insisted, now going out of use as a practice. There is no formal rule as to the age at which this is done, but a girl presuming at too early and age would probably be ridiculed. The controls seem essentially the the same as those on the use of cosmetics in Western society, and the time of tattooing does not correspond to puberty in any one-to-one relation as a rite de passage.

575 *Marriage* is one of the most exciting festivals of the village, and usually takes place in the autumn after the harvest, to ensure plentiful supplies. The process of choosing a spouse has been discussed above (pp. 26 ff.) — the ceremony itself is most colorful in the case of marriages that connect two villages, since then the aspect of conspicuous exhibition of wealth is most stressed, and the bridal procession from the girl's to the husband's home most impressive. The celebrations should traditionally last three days, and involve all one would expect of eating, smoking, and dancing, offering opportunities for all kinds of informal social activities. Unless excessive factionalism interferes, the whole village takes part in the festivities.

745 *Death.* After a death, the members of the bereaved household remain at home for three days, and friends and relations come visiting, express their sympathy, and are served food and tea. After three days, the throats of two or three sheep are cut, in honor of the deceased, and the meat is «given to the poor» — that is, distributed

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765 in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by pious ideals of moderation.

574 551 621 576 To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the tea comes out of the host's one samovar, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places conscious. In seating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

721 701 The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) This ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

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situation of armed conflict. The conceptual separation of peace chief and war chief, frequently found in other societies, is lacking in the Kurdish area; thus the leader in war is also the leader in peace, and differences in total status organize the men of a local community in a single, universally relevant hierarchy of individuals. The pertinent questions in the present connection regarding armed conflict are then concerned with who initiates it, and what the extent and nature of his following is. 721 701

At present, of course, external administration prevents large scale conflicts of any kind, and this kind of leadership is rarely expressed, and then only in a limited field. In the autonomous Kurdish system, on the other hand, conflicts of all kinds were endemic, and the following discussion relates primarily to the patterns as freely expressed up till the nineteen twenties.

In the tribal political systems, political office directly involved leadership in war, and each *Agha* and *Raiz* in the hierarchy was responsible for mustering, and vested with the command of, a specified number of rifle-men. The same correspondence between civil and military command was characteristic of the feudal organizations of the non-tribal areas, and e. g. of the temporary organization established by Shaikh Mahmud.

The *Aghas* of villages could also independently initiate war parties — a development carried to the extreme in the case of the Hamawands. Such war or raiding parties also served as steppingstones for political advancement — the Hamawand who conquered a village would sooner or later break loose from the *Agha* that backed him, and constitute himself as an *Agha* on his own right. In the non-tribal areas, this was more easily done, and the successful warleader might carve out a small domain for himself. In the tribal system, the raiding parties directed towards the conquest of land were generally composed of near kin, who were, in fact, relieving local village population pressure and looking for a new place to settle down. The feudal lord, on the other hand, recruited his soldiers where he could, though there was a conscious attempt, as pointed out in the discussion of *Baban* organization to utilize tribal solidarity and use smaller groups of tribesmen to control larger groups of non-tribal peasants. Thus,

721 701 leadership in war parties, and resultant conquest, was a major path of status mobility.

Raiding parties, not aimed at conquest, but merely at the looting of caravans or bazaars, tended to be more open in composition. Competent riflemen-adventurers from various villages would congregate under the command of some «brigand leader» in the terminology of the external administration, and follow him as long as his luck lasted. Characteristically enough, the Hamawands form an exception to this usual pattern. Adapting their whole society to an economy based on war and looting, they also developed a singular form of professional ethics connected with these activities. Not only were even the incidental raiding parties apparently organized in the same pattern as village administration; rules of fair play were also developed. According to the accounts of their opponents as well as their own lore, women were never harmed or even searched in the raids on caravans — if you were able to slip your money-bag to a woman without the Hamawands noticing it, your money was safe — if the woman was honest! Moreover, if the hour for prayer found them in the middle of battle, they would each in turn get off their horse and go through the complete ritual, after which they would again charge into the turmoil!

701 594 The ordinary brigand, apart from this Hamawand development, qualified himself in the eyes of the villagers by a high rating on the scale of honor and bravery, as well as a fairly consistent run of good luck. In spite of persistent efforts on the part of the external administration, brigandage and raiding continues — though on a greatly reduced scale — and this must primarily be due to the positive value given to this type of bravery. The ideal which the brigand should approach is closely similar to our conception of Robin Hood. At the time of my visit, a certain bandit and murderer by the name Kulla Piza was active in the area. For all practical purposes he seemed to regard himself as involved in a blood feud with the police — and the stories circulating about him had a familiar Robin Hood ring. They involved stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, miraculous feats such as visiting the police inspector's home and forcing him to serve up a luxurious dinner, being gallant to the ladies, etc. etc.

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A person exhibiting similar virtues to a lesser degree will naturally tend to lead the local «rooftop society» of his own village, and is the type of person who frequently makes his career as the retainer of a feudal lord, thereby attaining elusive but probably considerable powers. 701 554

An occasional legitimate expression for this type of leadership today is the «posse», organized on a village level e. g. when cattle is stolen, on a larger scale when cooperating with the police in tracking a brigand. It should be noted, incidentally, that such assistance on the part of a whole district or tribe is only extended to the police when the outlaw has made himself obnoxious to the villagers of the area in question. 628

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Chapter VI

Integration of part-statuses

621 554 Such then is the «scene» on which most social activities take place, and where control and organization emerges. This organization however, as has repeatedly been pointed out, is one of supra- and subordination of individuals, and not a formal hierarchy of offices, divorced from the persons filling them. The actual position of the individual thus derives from all of his part-statuses, from his prestige, as derived from his rating on the suggested scales, and from his ability to exploit the possibilities offered by these factors and by chance occasions.

The integration of all these analytically separable factors into a final position in the local group hierarchy poses a problem, and in this problem the familiar anthropoligical techniques and concepts can offer little help. In a traditional system, where individuals are permitted to make political demands on their followers, not by virtue of being vested with an abstract office, but as *individuals* by virtue of their higher status, there must be a single, unitary hierarchy of individuals. In Kurdish society, status is derived from a number of separate and in part mutually exclusive hierarchies and contexts; these elements of status, or part-statuses, must needs be added up somehow — some common denominator must exist by which the elements are given relative values. This common denominator is locally spoken of, and it has seemed analytically convenient to regard it as, a wide concept of *power*. But it is fruitless to attempt to con-

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struct a formula for the addition of these part-statuses. Their relative weights are revealed only in very few contexts of real life, since such a tremendous number of variables combine in the relations between any two individuals. 621 554

At least in certain situations, some qualifications to leadership take precedence over others, and impediments in one field can be overcome or outweighed by advantages in other fields. With respect to the part-status positions, some of these seem to be mutually incompatible, in that they can not easily be occupied by the same individual; others are mutually exclusive to the extent of not coexisting in the same local community. Finally, there are conflicts of loyalties: which units of reference take precedence over others in a situation of choice.

The culture of the Kurdish villager is not an integrated culture, in the sense that there are no discrepancies and conflicts between norms. Various rules and values may in certain situations come into clear opposition. Though for some such conflicts, standardized solutions or circumlocutions have been developed, this is most clearly not true of all. Such unresolved problems are the fields where change and adaptation take place. But by virtue of the lack of consistent logic and a minimum of agreement, these are fields that can not readily be described, much less analysed, by the anthropologist. The following section contains a discussion, based on my own and some secondary material, of some of the more crude and obvious aspects of this situation. All I can attempt to do is demonstrate a few clearer cases of precedence and incompatibility, and suggest certain systematic distinctions between questions of (a) impediments to leadership, (b) general incompatibility of part-statuses, and (c) precedence of loyalties to alternative groups and identifications.

IMPEDIMENTS AND QUALIFICATIONS TO LEADERSHIP

The order of importance of the various qualifications to high positions are most clearly revealed in the emergence of formally recognized leadership. In certain situations, impediments to leadership may be overcome by the posession of other qualifications that take precedence. Since autonomous Kurdish institutions are only partially 622

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functioning in these fields, the data is incomplete; moreover, the relative importance of various qualifications seem to differ somewhat between the infra-village and supra-village levels, and between the tribal and feudal organizations.

The impediment of female sex. The clearest case, illustrating the type of problem I am concerned with, relates to the position of the *woman* who, except for her sex, fulfills all the requirements of a leader. I have previously stated that the woman plays no active part in political life in the widest sense. On the village level, that seems to be invariably true. But on the supra-village level, there are some exceptions. The problem, in the Kurdish system, amounts to what should take precedence, the impediment of female sex, or the qualifications of high family status, wealth, etc. In the village, the differences in family status and wealth are not great enough to counterbalance an obverse difference in sex; among the leading families of Southern Kurdistan, these differences in status and wealth as compared to the general population become great enough to override the impediment of female sex, and in several cases women have emerged as leaders of considerable consequence.

The most spectatcular case was that of *Adela Khanem*, leader of the Jaf confederacy around the time of the First World War. She belonged to the ruling lineage of Ardalan princes in the southern provinces of Persian Kurdistan, and married Osman Pasha, the leader of the sedentary section of the Jaf. To him, she was of assistance in administration etc., and upon his death she retained or assumed the position as leader of the Jaf *Begzada*. Soane (op. cit.) after his visit with her before Osman Pasha's death, speaks very highly of her, both as a person and as a ruler. In 1919, she is described as «. . . about 60 years of age, but, thanks to the skillful, though liberal, use of artificial aids, she did not look a day over 40». (Lees, 1928, p. 257). In the conflicts following the war, she pursued an independent policy of cooperation with the British and opposition to Shaikh Mahmud.

A contemporary example is *Hafsakhan*, cousin and sister-in-law of Shaikh Mahmud. As a young girl, in the critical period of Shaikh Mahmud's rebellion, she assumed the responsibility for a handful of imprisoned British officers, in order to protect them from Kurdish

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irregulars. The just treatment extended to these prisoners was later the official British grounds for commuting Shaikh Mahmud's death sentence to life-long exile (later commuted further). 562 554

Hafsakhan has since retained a prominent position in Suleimani, and today receives visitors of both sexes in her own gardens, independent of her husband, Shaikh Kader. A small, darkhaired, attractive woman, she shows a social grace and intelligence that fully justifies her reputation.

Women who are active in the political field remain the exceptions, however, even among the most prominent families. It would seem that in addition to exceptional ability as well as interest — and the latter is probably fairly rare too — somewhat unusual circumstances are required to give a woman the opportunity to enter publicly into political life. Adela Khanem did so as the trusted representative and later widow of Osman Pasha, and surely gained popularity in Ottoman times from her Persian origin; Hafsakhan showed wise resolution in a situation for which there was no clear precedence. But the mere fact that such women are found at all in Moslem Kurdistan indicates the very great prestige attached to their other qualifications, primarily the fact of membership in the prominent families to which they belong.

The impediment of low birth. A second impediment to leadership is that of low birth, or, in the tribal system, descent from a non-lineage member. This, just as female sex, does not seem ever to be an absolute impediment that can not be out-weighed by qualifications in other fields. Status in Kurdish society is certainly in part inherited, and descent from prominent persons is a contributary qualification to leadership, but does not seem in any political context to be an absolute *requirement*. 565 622 554

Before external administration «froze» the formerly fluid feudal hierarchies of Southern Kurdistan, there were constant changes in personnel and organization of territories. Political power was roughly related to land ownership — obviously, since land was passed on in family lines, political hierarchies may be spoken of in terms of «dynasties». But there were only practical, no fundamental, difficulties preventing a laborer's son from working his way up

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565 through a feudal hierarchy, and eventually be rewarded with a
622 feudal fief, or alternatively to become a leader of a war party large
554 enough to conquer a domain. Both these paths of upward mobility were in fact in constant use, and the problem facing the ambitious youth was simply that of how best to become qualified, in terms of wealth and prestige, to assume leadership. This wealth and prestige could be achieved through luck in small raids, bravery and self-assertion, ability to handle people, wide extension of ties of friendship, and the impediment of low birth could thus be out-weighed.

There is, however, an aristocratic undertone to much Kurdish political thinking, and especially members of the highest leading families of the area are ascribed charisma by virtue of their descent, on the same pattern as are the descendants of the Prophet. Thus, what is passed on in the families of high status is more than mere wealth; and the fact of low birth, quite apart from its disadvantage in terms of initial poverty, would create considerable difficulty if the person were pretending for the very highest status positions. This aspect is clearly expressed in several traditional accounts from Baban times, where the brave hero of modest birth in the critical moment, when he could have achieved the highest position, «knows his place» and is later rewarded by the Baban Pasha. (E. g. a story of Salim Beg, who was offered the position as ruler of Southern Kurdistan by the Persian Nadir Shah). But the Baban family itself is said to be descended from Fakka Hamma Derishman, who owned no more than one small village in Pushdir.

In the tribal system, there enters the additional factor that descent from the apical ancestor of the lineage is a theoretical prerequisite for membership in the group, and thus for political power in it. Even this basic principle of organization can be circumvented, however, if a person appears who by high status or de-facto power can control the group.

An obvious example is the Jaf confederacy, where the *Begzada* do not claim common descent with all the *tiras* in the confederacy, but none the less occupy a position of unquestioned authority. Other examples are found in the recent history of the Hamawands, who for a while followed the Jaf *Begzada*, later the Berezinje Shaikhs at

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the time of Shaikh Said and Shaikh Mahmud. Thus, while no one who is not a member of the lineage can achieve a position *within* the segmentary lineage system, the lineage group as a whole, or even a section of it, temporarily broken away from the remainder of the descent group, can join a larger confederacy under a «foreign» leader.

In summary, one might say that there are no *absolute* impediments, or, inversely, necessary requirements, relating to leadership in any of the Southern Kurdish political systems; that persons theoretically may qualify for leadership by any combination of part-statuses, so long as they add up to a total status position sufficiently exhalted to correspond to, or «justify», the political and other demands involved in leading the group in question.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF PART-STATUSES

Clearly, only ascribed status positions, based on sex and birth, could function as true impediments to leadership. Various achieved status positions may be incompatible with high political positions, but since such status positions can be changed, they are at most temporary impediments, and can better be discussed under the present heading.

Most of these incompatibilities have been suggested above. Of the part-statuses in the religious field, the *mullah* will tend to be rather separated from the general village commuity — he is frequently a tenant-farmer, but rarely occupies any other part-status position, with the occasional exception of *Hadji*. Membership in a *derwish* brotherhood is clearly a badge of low class, and the derwish will not occupy any of the higher status positions. Conversely, the title of *Hadji* is a badge of high status, and is combined with any of the higher part-status positions, including that of the mullah. A *woman* can not be a mullah.

The hierarchy of class, as implied in the discussion, seems to divide the local community into separable categories that do not significantly overlap in terms of prestige or general position in the village and supra-village hierarchy.

563 In summary, the following diagram (No. 9) suggests the relative
621 positions of various social categories in the village hierarchy, and
554 their approximate spread on an ordinate of ‹low-high› — obviously a very impressionistic diagram, for illustrative purposes only. Different part-statuses that do not overlap in their spread on the low-high

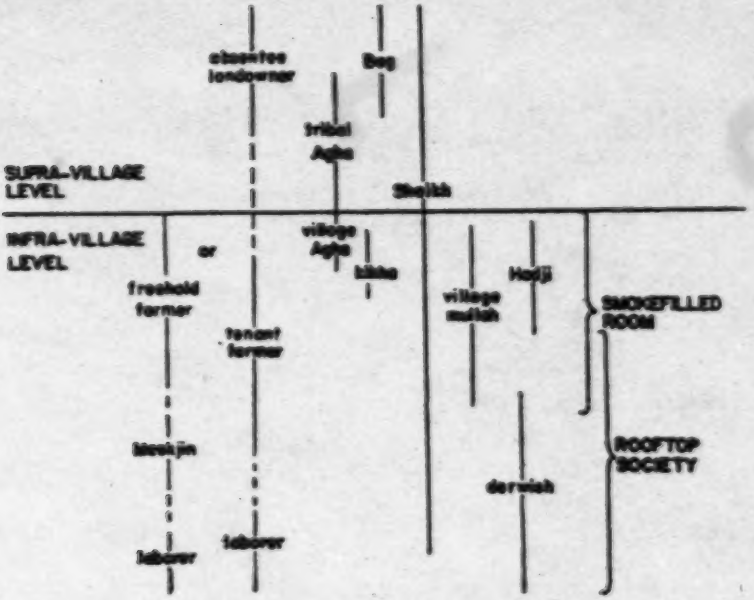

Diagram No. 9. Relative status of some social categories.

axis are incompatible; furthermore, the mullah often not being fully integrated in the community, there will be a lower frequency of combination of the status of mullah with the other, theoretically compatible, part-statuses.

PRECEDENCE IN LOYALTIES

571 In some conflict situations, any specific individual may be faced with a choice as to which group or person he should support — primarily the alternatives of lineage group vs. lord, lineage group

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

vs. local community, and questions of kin loyalties and loyalty to 571
the person of the leader. This precedence in loyalties, that is, the relative degree of identification with various categories or groups, clearly demonstrates the fluidity of the Kurdish village hierarchy. The group or institution embodying the most power seems invariably to be adhered to, and loyalties shifted accordingly. This in no way means that the Kurdish villager may not be fired with idealism, and take to arms for such ideals or for individuals in the face of great odds. The generalization is concerned with a much more fundamental level. The usual anthropological model of society hypothecates a tendency to restore social equilibrium, and pictures social action as brought to bear on any disturbance so as to compensate for its effect and remove it. In the Kurdish system, this would not always seem to be the case. If a social relation breaks down, there is no systematic or communal effort to restore the former status quo. When the breakdown is within the village community, the factions involved will tend to avoid contacts, and struggle till a new balance is established, or till the smaller group or group in opposition breaks out, migrates or forms a new village. If the breakdown were between villages, social relations would be completely severed, feud or at least considerable talk of feud would ensue, smaller incidents might continue for a long period of time. Trade would take a different course, and new contacts be established.

A disturbance that causes a change in some factor thus leads to an adaptation of the whole system to the new situation. There seems, in the autonomous Kurdish system, to be no conception of the need for conserted communal action to restore a normatively or legally defined «right» state; in that sense, all persons with power are usurpers, on all levels. There are no unquestioned normative, much less supernatural sanctions defining rights and privileges; the situation is much more one of a *modus vivendi*, where every person is given an area of «free grace» in Max Weber's terms (cf. p. 50), in proportion to his power position in the village hierarchy. The rebellion or conflict results where either the subject individuals do not recognize or are suspicious of the actual status and powers of the superordinated person, or where the latter incites a person or group against

him by overstepping his «reasonable» area of free grace in his relation to them.

In thinking about social relations, this essentially involves substituting the word «reasonable» for «right» — the latter being rigid and absolute, the former being defined in terms of numerous considerations of the specific situation. Obviously, different individuals with different temperament, experience, and values will have various ideas of what is «reasonable» — consequently, any type of superordination that does not involve constant face-to-face relations with the subordinates must be an uneasy one — hence the importance of the bodyguard, even for the more minor Kurdish leaders.

In the case of conflicting loyalties, the specific situation in the village and area concerned decides which group identification takes precedence. This is clearly illustrated in choice between identification with, or loyalties to, the landlord, the lineage or kin group, and the village community. How completely considerations of power override general rules of loyalty is finally illustrated by conflicts within the family of the old Baban Pasha.

Lineage group vs. lord. In the Kurdish tribal system, genealogical and local groups coincide, and these groups are also the organizational units in a formal political sense. A somewhat similar correspondance is characteristic of the non-tribal tenant villages. Thus, since they coincide, the relative importance of the identification with the kin group and with the political unit, as personified by the political officeholder or lord, can not easily be determined. Only in the rather unusual cases where the two are different, do problems of identification and precedence arise.

An example of the relative powers of the landowner vs. the lineage leader is offered by the *Barzi Gawra* group, settled on the land of Shaikh Mahmud as tenant farmers. The Barzi Gawra are one of ten branches of the *Merwani tira*, the *Ratz* of which is Said Ali Khaiber of Sulaimani.

Formally, the position of the *Ratz* is quite similar to that in other *tira*, though more directly dependent on «democratic» approval. Succession is decided by a council of the important men of the ten villages. This council is limited by informal controls, being open to

any one of the *tira* who «feels important enough». The qualifications of the *Rais* are that he must be experienced, old, and rich (receiving no remuneration for his services), and in fact be acclaimed by a majority of his followers. His field of power, on the other hand, is minimal, and concerns only the relations between the various Memzi villages. Considering that these are spread over a large area, and that the *Rais* has no way of enforcing his decisions, he constitutes little more than a mediator in intra-tribal affairs. S 71 422

Two of the Memzi villages lie on the land of Shaikh Mahmood, and are as completely under his control as are his non-tribal tenants. Shaikh Mahmood freely appoints the village headman himself, and collects the normal shares in tax — according to one critical old woman of the village, he frequently takes considerably more out! In the rather inconceivable case of conflict between the *Rais*, with no formal powers, and Shaikh Mahmood, with the power to evict and fine the villagers, there is little doubt whose orders would be followed. The Shaikh even has the primary loyalties of many of the Berzi — the most succinct statement of the Kurd's attitude to his leader was made by the farmer-mullah of the village: «When Shaikh Mahmood was a religious leader, I was a mullah. He became King, I become a tribesman. Now he is a landowner, I am a farmer.» This does not leave very much to the *Rais*. 531

There is thus a contradiction between the feudal hierarchy of which Shaikh Mahmood is the head, based on considerations of locality and economic relations, and the genealogically defined tribal organization, relating these two villages to the other Memzi villages. This lineage organization is still retained, and headed by the *Rais*. But the extent of the *Rais*'s power is minimal, whereas the landowner's *de facto* power is necessarily considerable; the presence of these *de facto* powers has been fully recognized, and loyalties shifted accordingly. Because of the rigidity of the Kurdish lineage system, no modification of its form has been possible; the field in which it is relevant has simply been reduced.

In effect, this may also be seen as a situation of conflict between two *leaders*, each heading an organization. Since organizational hierarchies are in terms of individuals and not abstract offices, the

97f position of the leader becomes crucial. In the present case, the one leader clearly has more status and power than the other, and identification is with the leader with the higher status.

Within the tribal lineage groups, examples of such identification with *leaders* rather than genealogical groups in abstracto can be multiplied. In various conflicts, tribes will split and align in terms of contending leaders, disregarding the genealogical ties. The *Hamawands* after the First World War partly sided with Sheikh Mahmud, partly with the British; the same conflict found the leaders of the *Jaf* confederacy, the *Begzada*, divided into two factions, each with their following (Leon, op. cit). In the non-tribal areas, larger scale kin organizations are lacking, and such choices do not arise in the same way. In summary, it seems that in situations of choice, any actual organization, as personified in the leader, takes precedence over abstract genealogical alignments. Where also these genealogical alignments are systematized into an actual organization, a lineage, the choice seems to be made on the basis of a relative evaluation of the status and power of the two competing leaders.

Lineage group vs. village community. In certain situations, the lineage or kin group and the village do not coincide, and a conflict of loyalties may result. In such cases, the village community seems to take precedence. From the tribal system, the case of feud enumerated in Appendix II may serve as an example. The originator of the feud is genealogically more closely tied to the village of his victims than to that in which he is residing; yet, he can count on his village of residence for main support. In the archaeological excavations, where workmen from several villages were brought together, the various cleavages would follow community lines; and laborers, genealogically unconnected with the Hamawand landholding farmers who dominated the villages, would invariably side with the village in which they resided.

In the non-tribal, mosaic villages, kinship tends to set the factional patterns of alignment within the community; but in no case would it seem possible for kinship ties crossing village boundaries to override village identification in a situation of conflict. Where the two differ, the community factor takes precedence over the genealogical factor

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1955 NO.11 Kurd NO.11

in determining loyalties. This, it should be emphasized, is true of the[7] village, but does not apply to the absentee landowner class, who, in an urban or semi-urban setting and with widely dispersed property, have nothing corresponding to the unequivocal community membership of a villager.

This primary identification with the village community is utilized for integrative purposes in the non-tribal tenant villages, where kinship-patterned factionalism would otherwise be rabid. It is a very characteristic pattern, noticed by numerous travellers, that every Kurdish village has one or more special «enemy» villages, towards which considerable hostility is expressed — quite out of proportion to the actual grievances between the two communities. The tenant villages lie in the zone where external administration is most completely established, and consequently village unity, for defence or other purposes, is rarely called for. This standardized hostility towards an «opposing» community undoubtedly serves as a mechanism to mobilize the primary village identification, and thus overrule or limit kin group factionalism.

Close kin loyalties. Identification and loyalty would thus seem to follow the patterns of power distribution fairly closely, and be adapted or transferred when changes in the power distribution require. This follows from the general elements of fluidity and adaptability in the whole village structure. Rigid and absolute identification and loyalty to abstract categories could not fit such a fluid system; identification must be with an actual, existing organization of individuals, and loyalties have to be adjusted according to the changing constellations of these individuals.

In a situation of stress, therefore, even the closest kinship ties may be superceded by considerations of power alignments — among the most graphic examples are the conflicts between close relatives in the family of the old Bohtan Pashas. Here struggle and bloodshed between brothers was endemic, and a history of the administration becomes a chronicle of constant battles between competing pretenders.

Rich (*op. cit.*, pp. 106—142) gives an extremely illuminating day-by-day account of the rupture between Mahmood Pasha and his brother Osman Bey — easily produced by Turkish intrigue, in spite

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

571 of the unquestionable integrity of both brothers, and their desperate efforts to resist. The account follows the development from Osman Bey dissuading his brother from abdicating in his favor, through his efforts later to resist Turkish pressures, when he «had a kind of determination and fierceness, like a man who has set his back against the wall» (p. 313) till finally open conflict resulted between the brothers, and Osman Bey was reduced to a pawn in the hands of the Ottoman Pasha of Baghdad. Rich describes his last conversation with Mahmood Pasha: «I told him . . . that nevertheless I prayed God for the prosperity and strength of his family and country. He said neither could ever be strong, while so many powerful members of the family existed. I insisted that it might be. 'Yes' said he, 'if God sent a plague among us and only left one alive'» (p. 323).

571 554 *Loyalty to leader.* In spite of what has been said, loyalties may remain with a leader after his defeat, when the actual organization of which he is the head is greatly reduced in power, and he himself, as was frequently the case, in exile across the border. This relates to the distinction made between the «ideal» and «de-facto» hierarchy (p. 98 ff). For example in Baban times, one Pasha might be dethroned in favor of an other through the intervention of Ottoman or Persian armies. In such cases, the old leader would often retain his high prestige and status in the ideal hierarchy, though he controlled little de-facto power at the moment; once the external force were removed, he would then be able to regain ascendancy.

In a wider application, this means that the relative power by which competing leaders are evaluated, and which forms the basis for transfer of loyalties, is to considerable extent what I have called the person's ability to *rally* supporters, i. e. his individual status in the *ideal* hierarchy, not the de-facto power he controls qua *office*-holder. The apparent contradiction between the above pattern of transfer of loyalties, and the at times heroic loyalty to a leader in the face of great adversity, stressed in Kurdish tales and chronicles, thus disappears. Such examples of stubborn loyalties indicate situations of wide discrepancy between the «ideal» and the «de-facto» power hierarchies.

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Chapter VII.

The detribalization process.

In the same way as certain part-statuses are incompatible with others in combination in a single person, certain of these statuses are incompatible in a single village community. Where two part-status positions imply conflicting interests in the same field of activity, the part-status that controls most de-facto power will dominate the scene, and sooner or later replace the other or re-define its field of relevance. A unified discussion of these aspects of incompatibility should contribute to our understanding of social change in the South Kurdish countryside.

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The mechanics of such redefinition and replacement of part-status categories should be clear from the previous discussion. From the supra-village level, a new factor is introduced, modifying the power or prestige connected with a certain part-status position — e. g. the introduction of a civil code that robs the *mullah* of much of his power, a serious defeat reduces the prestige of a previously dominant *ilva*, or land registration settles property disputes in the favour of certain persons. The individual occupying a relative position in the total hierarchy of supra- and sub-ordination may then find one of two things to have happened: (a) his power, and thus his de-facto position in the hierarchy, has been modified, in which case a fluid adjustment and transfer of loyalties will tend to follow in the village community, or (b) his de-facto power, in itself unchanged, is in time modified by changes in the relative prestige attached to his

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part-status — his ability to rally persons is augmented or impaired, with direct results on his position in the power hierarchy. Either or both of these reactions may result — i.e. primary changes in either or both the de-facto (a) and the ethnic (b) hierarchy may be produced. In certain cases the change produced by the same factor in these two hierarchies may be in contradiction, and the final adjustment is then dependent on the degree of external interference.

The patterns of these reactions and changes are set by the precedents of loyalties in conflict situations, crudely sketched above. It should then be theoretically possible to correlate the nature and form of social change in Southern Kurdistan with the factors. The assumption is generally, and I think legitimately, made that all non-tribal groups of Kurds are ultimately to be derived from one or more tribal groups. At present, at any rate, the direction of change between the two poles, from *tribal* to non-tribal or *feudal*, is very evident, and some of the factors resulting in such a detribalization process clearly follow from the above discussion. There is further considerable indication that only the two poles themselves, described as *tribal* and *feudal*, are moderately stable, and that change from the one to the other, once initiated, is a moderately rapid process. This is e. g. indicated by the numerical preponderance of villages of the polar types as compared to intermediary types. It also follows logically from the concept of incompatibility of certain part-statuses in a single village: many of the tribal and non-tribal formal categories or part-statuses overlap in their fields of relevance, and this results in competition, and elimination or re-definition, where they are combined in one local community. Once the process of un-enrolling is under way, the complete set of non-tribal categories will then tend to replace its tribal counterparts.

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Probably the most potent agents of social change, with a very direct relation to the power hierarchy in the village, are changes in the pattern of land tenure. Ottoman land codes and taxation policy, corrupt administration, and the increasing emphasis in Kurdish culture on leisure and real property have all encouraged the concentration of land in few hands, and the establishment of feudal patterns of delegation of usufruct rights on land. The resulting class hierarchy

laborer-tenant intermediary-absentee landowner, differs radically from that generally associated with tribal organization, which includes relatively few laborers and/or Mrabtin, and a majority of freeholding farmers.

The incompatibility of categories from these two class hierarchies is evident, as is the tendency for the hierarchy embodying most power — i. e. the more highly centralized organization headed by the landowner — to replace the other. The absentee landowner who owns only part of the land of a village, will find his powers greatly impaired by the co-existence of freeholding farmers with his tenants in the local community. The sanctions by which he disciplines his tenants are reduced in effect — eviction from land is less serious, eviction from the village dependent on the vote of villagers outside his control. Similarly, he would be limited in his freedom to settle new farmers on the land by a veto on the part of the freeholding farmers, who could refuse the newcomer village membership. The village headman would almost certainly be elected from among the freeholding farmers, and serve as a coordinator of opposition to the landowner, etc. etc. The landowner, occupying the part-status that embodies most power in this situation of conflicting interests will tend to apply his powers to eliminate the incompatible status category — in this case by buying or forcibly taking over the proprietary rights on the remaining land, and giving the formerly freeholding farmers tenant status.

Where the right to eviction, and in fact the final powers of decision in all village matters, are taken away from the formerly freeholding farmer group, it becomes impossible for it to control a class of Mrabtin serfs, and this status group is similarly eliminated, and presumably assimilated as tenant farmers of lower status, following from their lower wealth.

A second major agent of change, or at times a concomitant of these economic changes, is the factor of modification of the administrative system by external administration. The tribal administrative mechanism, based on consensus-kinship-patterned loyalties, has been discussed above (pp. 61 ff). Where external administration — large absentee landowner or central government alike — enters and

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

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enforces its decisions by coercive means, the pattern of tribal administration breaks down, and a transfer of loyalties will tend to result — e. g. as in the case of the Mamasani *ilva*, cf. p. 126.

At the time of the Bakan Pashas, the [illegible] of less importance, and external administration was along traditional lines. The Baban Pashas utilized the principles of indirect rule, essential in the application of a feudal system to an area of ethnic mixture. Though external administration thus was a less active agent in producing detribalization, it was still operative. The Baban Pashas lent power to the traditional leaders in their hierarchy, and supported many of their decisions by coercive means. In the nomadic groups, this was less necessary, since the necessity and functions of an organizing leader are obvious to all members of the community. In the settled communities, the need for a coordinator is less obvious to the individual member of the group, and the leader's authority will be more readily questioned. Either a constant process of segmentation must be operative, as among the Hamawands, or the «kinship head» type of leader can not retain control. External administration, however, has vested interests in retaining status quo and avoiding conflicts, and therefore applies its powers to resist fusion of groups. Thus the close kinship unity of the local group is lost, and tribal organization is weakened. At the same time, external administration wishes to have a clear and moderately constant leader to deal with, and will thus attempt to strengthen the power of the leader and stabilize his position, to counteract these disorganizing tendencies. Thus it becomes necessary to vest the leader with coercive means, and this leads to the complete breakdown of the traditional tribal lineage organization.

The predominance of non-tribal communities in the area under closest Baban control must be seen as the cumulative effect of centuries of centralized rule, where such factors would be operative. It should also be remembered that any movement of people — except where it occurs in larger blocks — alienates the migrant from his hereditary *ilva* group, and places him in a non-tribal system of administration wherever he chooses to settle, since there is no mechanism by which he may be adopted into a new lineage.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Thus a fairly clear dichotomy can be made in Kurdish territory between tribal areas, in which lineages form the bases for the political structures, and lineage groups correspond directly to territorial groups, and non-tribal areas where the territorial group forms the sole basis of organization in a semi-feudal system, and, though descent and kinship are important, any type of lineage organization is absent.

Though this change from tribal to non-tribal organization seems, as far as any specific community is concerned, to be a road of no return, and there has been a constant detribalization process going on through time, the actual border between the areas where tribal vs. feudal organizations predominate has remained moderately constant for many generations, with apparently only minor oscillations. This must be seen as a steady state, where the rate of population movement — in tribal blocks or segments of such — from the mountains towards and into the plains roughly compensated for the formerly slow rate of breakdown in tribal organization along the zone of contact with external administration.

This rough balance has been completely upset by the changes following the First World War. The rate of detribalization has been tremendously speeded up by modern communications, reaching into the mountain fastness and most distant valleys; external administration has pacified all the old tribal strongholds; and movements of groups across the border from Persia are prevented or at least seriously hampered. It is thus only a question of time, probably less than a generation, till the segmentary lineage type of tribal organization is completely replaced by the non-tribal type in Southern Kurdistan.

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Chapter VIII.

Conclusion

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The types of Kurdish social organization described above seem, even apart from their local cultural dress, somewhat different from those usually reported by anthropologists. Especially the combination in the «tribal» organization of a lineage system, close family endogamy, and a kinship terminology without unilineal emphasis poses some interesting problems.

It has been suggested (e. g. Murdock 1949, p. 234) that this Kurdish situation reflects the breakdown of a previous organization based on exogamous sib groups, following the introduction of Islam, with the Koranic permission, or even encouragement, to marry close kin. Clearly, this explanation is not sufficient, considering how fundamental the pattern seems in the Kurdish tribal organization, and the unusually high incidence of FaBrDa marriage as compared to other Moslem communities.

As far as the historical and comparative material goes, there is little reason to believe that the tendency towards close family endogamy is an Islamic innovation in the area. In appraising the historical material, it is important, as Luzbetak (1951) emphasizes, to distinguish between (a) classical centers of endogamy with examples of brother-sister marriage in royal lineages (Egypt, Sumer, Elam, Arabia, Persia), connected with a tremendous elaboration and emphasis on hereditary prestige, and (b) areas where close family endogamy was a basic feature of the social organization, and operated

on a village level. Eliminating the cases of type (a), there is still ample evidence of endogamous patterns of non-Islamic or pre-Islamic origin, especially in the Caucasus-Armenian area, of which the Kurdish mountains are geographically an extension. The customary law of Daghestan prescribes close kin marriage, and explicitly forbids the marriage with an outsider (ibid). The early ecclesiastical laws of Armenia attack next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence (ibid, p. 643), and such practices caused great concern among the early Christian missionaries, till they were eventually rooted out. Thus, rather than regard the Kurdish combination of patterns as a labile state produced by cross-cultural mixture, it would seem reasonable to grant the Kurdish «tribal» organization considerable antiquity as a stable variant or *type* of lineage organization, of some theoretical interest.

On a structural level, it can be argued that a pattern of FaBrDa marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system. Solidarity to the patrilineal descent group in abstracto is minimal. Close family endogamy results in a direct correspondance between lineage segments and local groups, giving the descent groups a clear territorial framework in which the lineage organization can function. On the individual level, a man's political position and power depends in the last instance on the number of riflemen he can muster. However, only co-lineage males can be expected to give such political support. A pattern of FaBrDa marriage contributes to prevent alienation of immediate collateral lines, and re-affirms the old man's leading position in relation to his agnatic nephews, thereby vesting him with control over a larger agnatic group of males.

Where the lineage is found in other areas as a corporate group, it is usually connected with a kinship terminology of the «lineage» type, which, through unilineal emphasis and classificatory extensions contributes in defining and delimiting these corporate groups. Kurdish kinship terms, on the other hand, are purely «descriptive» in that they measure geneological distance between near kin. Nor do they show any unilineal emphasis. In other words, they do not contribute in any way to the definition of unilineal corporate groups. However, when this terminology is seen in combination with the

FaBrDa marriage pattern, the characteristics become meaningful, and the different function of kinship terminology in the Kurdish type of lineage organization and other types of lineages emerges:

Where a moderately consistent pattern of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy is followed, the local, endogamous community becomes in fact the descent group. In the Kurdish system, these local descent groups are given names — in effect *village* names, which thus indicate both residence and descent, and thereby political affiliation. The corporate framework of the lineage is thus given directly in the named residence units, and kinship terms are unneccessary to further emphasize this corporate character. On the contrary, the terminology measures collateral distance, of considerable importance where relatives beyond a certain degree tend to form separate, endogamous sub-sections, disruptive to village unity and ultimately conducive to fission. Essentially, however, the kinship terminology is liberated from its functions in defining political units in the lineage system, and is utilized simply to describe relationship, possibly with a primary interest in inheritance. Here the effect of the complex Islamic law of inheritance may have been considerable — if it has in fact been applied to sufficient extent in its more subtle ramifications.

A second modification of the usual pattern, concerned with law and the blood feud, would seem to follow from the combination of a lineage organization and preferential FaBrDa marriage. Fortes (1953) summarizes: «where the lineage is found as a corporate group, all the members of a lineage are to outsiders jurally equal and represent the lineage when they exercise legal and political rights and duties in relation to society at large. This is what underlies so-called collective responsibility in blood vengance and self-help as among the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940) and the Bedouin (Peters 1951).» On the background of this, the probable absence of weak development of collective responsibilty and blood feud in Kurdish society might seem puzzling.

Where the lineage system is associated with a pattern of village endogamy, however, as in the Kurdish system, the maximal lineage becomes in effect «the society», not merely one organized group

within it. Thus the whole situation in which jural concepts are to be applied changes radically. No supra-lineage political authority is developed, and no interaction between a lineage and other groups is necessary, except for a certain minimum of trade. At the time of the present fieldwork, of course, and probably for most tribes in the area at most times in the last 300 years, the maximal lineages were in fact not totally independent. They were, however, subject to *external* administration, and that not consistently; and the indigenous social organization does not call for or lead to any supra-lineage integration. The concept of jural equivalence is thus meaningless as applied to a Kurdish maximal lineage; such a concept could only be relevant as applied *within* the lineage, between groups of recognized blood relatives within the political unit. In this case, the disruptive effects of conflicts between what are in fact territorial groups within the unit prevent the extension of patterns of revenge to include larger collectivities than the immediate family, or a group of accomplices.

However, the lineage organization is only one type of social organization prevalent in the Kurdish area. With the breakdown of this regional organization based on politically autonomous, endogamous descent groups, the integration of the separate, endogamous villages into larger political units poses a new problem. Non-tribal Kurdish social organization might be summarized as a system of hierarchical statuses, identified with particular individuals, and sanctioned by force more than anything else. This organization is then expanded into a larger, regional, semi-feudal system. This was at best a very labile structure, until frozen by the intervention of effective external administration which favored status quo. In the place of the regional deplacement of lineage groups in large «tribal» districts, one finds an open web of relations between separate, endogamous, socially quite autonomous small villages. These form no natural larger units, except in purely physiographic or dialect terms. In this open web, feudal hierarchies might establish areas of influence, but until external administration imposed an arbitrary regional classification in terms of counties and districts, any areal units tended to be extremely fluid.

62 64 Parsons (1952) states the problem in general terms: «There seem to be certain elements of inherent instability in societies where the overwhelming bulk of the population is organized on the basis of peasant village communities. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the village community as a primary focus of solidarity can only within very narrow limits be an effective unit for the organization of the use of force. It is, in the face of any more extensive organization, not a defensible unit. Hence there must always be a 'superstructure' over a peasant society, which, among other things, organizes and stabilizes the use of force. The queston is how far such a superstructure is, as it were, 'organically' integrated with the self-contained village communities and often the level of integration is not high.» (pp. 162-3).

'This problem of *integration* the local non-tribal political institutions were unable to solve satisfactorily; and the secondary role played by the quite large Kurdish population in the history of the Middle East may to considerable extent be related to this failure.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

APPENDIX I: Land use.

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According to the Kurdish farmers, there are three classes of land for wheat and barley crops; the same field, differently treated, belonging in any of these three classes:

(1) *Wushka ward* (dry land). Old fields or new land is plowed once in the winter, while it is raining. In the middle of the spring it is plowed again, after which it is left fallow all summer, during which time it grows over with a scatter of weeds. When the farm work is finished in the fall, the field is plowed again, the seed is spread by hand, and the field is cross-plowed. Ideally, it should be plowed over even once more, but few farmers have the time and animals to invest in that. This is the best kind of land, and gives by far the best yield. The work should be finished before the winter rains set in, so the fields get the full benefit from them. In the spring, the crops also resist the locust better, since the plants have grown relatively large before the locusts appear.

(2) *Meo ward*. A simplified form of *wushka ward*, in which the farmer for some reason has not done spring plowing (the farmer was sick, his oxen sick, occupied with too much other work, too little winter rains, etc.). The fields are thus plowed once in the winter, and then left fallow till next autumn. When the rains set in, the seed is spread (in spite of a considerable stand of grass and weeds in the field), and the field is plowed once over, in consequence of which most of the weeds die. This is not as good as *wushka ward*, but better than

(3) *Terra kal* (wet, immature), in which the field is *not* given a fallow year. The farmer waits for the first winter rains. After the earth is soaked, the field is plowed once. Some times the seed is spread and the field is cross-plowed as soon as possible. A better procedure is to wait for more rains, some 20 days or so, and then seed and cross-plow. In the meantime, some of the grasses and other wild plants will have revied and resumed growing; these now become weeded out. Most of the work connected with *terra kal* is done in the middle of the winter, in rain, sleet, or even snow, and involves considerable discomfort. Furthermore, the plants being later to develop, they suffer more from locusts; and the fertility of the land

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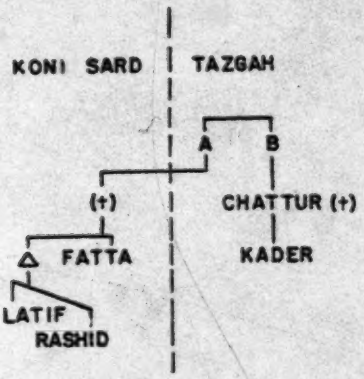
241 311 is reduced from not being given a fallow year. The same field can not be used as *terra kal* for any longer period of time.

Essentially, then, the pattern is one of alternate year fallow and alternate year grain crop. Since no other major crop is raised on this type of dry, un-irrigated land, any pattern of rotation is impossible. Cow dung, being a major source of fuel, is not available as fertilizer. The constant plowing, in addition to making the land able to absorb and retain the moisture of the winter rains, should also be useful in building up the humus by burying the weeds that develop.

APPENDIX II: A conflict involving revenge.

628 The closest approximation to an actual bloodfeud which I observed in progress was concerned with the rights to land, and involved a small lineage which finds itself split between the two villages Tazgah and Koni Sard, in Hamawand territory. The wronged party being consid rably more willing to discuss the situation, the following account may be slightly biased in their favor.



Two brothers, A and B, grandfathers of the present contestants, and both residents of the village of Tazgah, divided their father's land between them. A sold his field to a third person; B's son, Chattur, later bought it. A's son moved to the neighboring village of Koni Sard, where he worked as a landless laborer. Finally, A's grandson, Fatta, claimed the land back. Chattur, in posession of the land, expressed his willingness to sell; Fatta countered, saying that the crops of the past years were sufficient payment — a not uncommon argument. In the resulting quarrel, Fatta shot Chattur dead.

Kader, the son of Chattur, was then a very small boy, and Fatta was widely known as a competent rifleman, so nothing was done. After killing one more person, unconnected with the present conflict, Fatta became an outlaw.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

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In the rather unusual setting of an archaeological excavation, the orphaned Kader found himself working beside Latif and Rashid from Koni Sard, the nephews and nearest relatives of Fatta. This precipitated action on his part. Nothing was noticed for a brief period of work in the area belonging to the village of Koni Sard. When operations were transferred to Tazgah's territory, Kader swore he would not stand for it, and promised to revenge his father. The two boys Latif and Rashid were extremely afraid, and were, upon their request, immediately removed from the site, and a settlement with the group of workmen from Tazgah was later achieved, with some difficulty.

Later, Fatta, who being an outlaw had little to lose, attempted to intimidate the villagers of Tazgah by a further murder (a woman unrelated to Chattur and Kader), and by setting fire to their grainfields, in spite of the armed sentries the Tazgahes had posted there. The people of Koni Sard, Fatta's village, discovered the fire, and disassociated themselves with the action by assisting in putting it out. None the less, they are accused of continually housing him in secret. Kader is still a young boy, and has sworn to revenge his father by killing Fatta.

The essential points seem to be (1) Kader's revenge was transferred to the nephews of his father's murderer only because the murderer himself was out of reach, and because Kader, due to unprecedented circumstances, found himself working beside the nephews on the land of his own village — all a strong implied insult to his honor. (2) Kader did not receive active support in avenging his father, even though the father was, at the time of the murder, the *Agbs* of Tazgah village. (3) The village of Koni Sard was able to disassociate itself from the acts of Fatta — possibly because he did not belong to the major lineage group of that village.

These points would indicate that no developed pattern of blood feud, as defined in the main body of the text, is operative; and where patterns superficially similar to blood feud are found, these can better be explained as a slight extension of a strong pattern of individual revenge, or, in certain cases, a struggle between two lineages for political supremacy.

APPENDIX III: The education of a mullah.

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The scholarly standards of the best village mullahs might be exemplified by a listing of the teachers and course of study of Mullah Said Mohammed, now of the village of Djeshana. He was born in Sharbasher, and grew up in the village of Tepeshwankara in the Barzan valley between Suleimani and Chemchemal. No religious traditions in the family, his interests were stimulated by the older mullah brother of an agemate. After having finished reading the Koran at the age of 9, and then forgotten it again, he decided to become a mullah at the age of 12. He finished the Koran again at 14, under the direction of his village mullah. He then travelled to Suleimani, and studied

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

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1 year with Shaikh Mohammed Ikhal, now a religious judge,
3 years with Abdullah Choroxani, teacher in Qanaka mosque in Suleimani,
2 » » Aziz Effendi, religious judge,
1 » » Hussein Pishenni,
1 » » Shaikh Baba Ali,
1 » » Shaikh Nuri, son of Baba Ali,
1 » » Hamma Said.
Travelled to Warmawa near Halebja, studied
2 » » Abdul Kader Sufi,
travelled to Biara, in the Hauramani mountains, studied
½ » » Abdul Karim,
travelled to Halebja, studied
½ » » Shaikh Rasul,
travelled to Galala in the Penbdir mountains, studied
1 » » Hadji Mohammed Raiz.
Returned to Suleimani, studied
½ » » Shaikh Omar in Qanaka mosque,
returned to Halebja, studied
½ » » Shaikh Omar in Qanaka mosque,
Education completed A. H. 1355 (A. D. 1935), certificate issued by Shaikh Baba Rasul and Mullah Abdul Kader after 15 years of wandering and studies.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

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[For additional information on status, role and prestige, see category 136, pp. 78-130 passim.]

8: Leach E-S (1936) 1940 Mill Kurd Mill
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CHAPTER 1

Introductory

121 The following account is based upon a five weeks field survey carried out during the summer of 1938. It was intended to follow this up with an intensive study of one locality over a period of twelve months. Political developments in Europe made this project impracticable at the time and the scheme has now been abandoned.

For the facilities afforded me in Iraq I am particularly indebted to Mr.C.J.Edmonds, Adviser to the Iraq Government, Captain Trypus Bell, Oriental Secretary at the British Embassy Baghdad, and His Excellency Ahmad Beg & Tawfiq Beg, Mutasarrif of Erbil, in whose province this research was carried out.

The justification for publishing the somewhat superficial data contained in this monograph lies in the absence of any strictly comparable material elsewhere. The general form of Kurdish social organization as here described is probably fairly typical of that of a large number of Mohammedan peoples scattered throughout the mountainous areas of western Asia. Concerning such peoples there is at present available very little ethnographic material of any kind and the postulate that the Kurdish form of society is typical is put forward as an hypothesis open to correction in the light of further study.

121 171 Of more immediate relevance is the close correlation that undoubtedly exists between Kurdish social forms and those of Arabia in general. This fact is of interest since linguistically the Kurds are of "aryan" rather than "semitic" stock. Concerning the "manners and customs" of various Bedouin and Semitic groups there is of course an enormous mass of literature available, some of it of the highest scientific quality, but the emphasis in every case has been to make an historical record of ethnographic fact rather than to study any particular group as a society in functioning existence at the present time. The work of Jaussen, Musil, Lane, Drower and Murray to name but a few, though admirably detailed, is by modern standards somewhat lifeless, since it describes the pattern of various cultural norms without, as a rule, showing their social significance or demonstrating the fundamental interrelationship between them. The earlier studies of Robertson-Smith, Frazer and Westermarck were entirely synthetic in character and gave no true picture of the functioning of any single

114 113

* A. Jaussen - Les Coutumes des Arabs au Pays de Moab
M. Musil - Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins
E.W.Lane - Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians
E.S.Drower - The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran
G.W.Murray - Sons of Ishmael

114 society. Nevertheless these works continue to be of fundamental
113 importance as contributions to anthropological theory. There have been important studies of particular aspects of semitic culture, notably that of Mrs. Seligman on Kinship and Granqvist on Marriage, the latter being at the present time unique in its wealth of documentary detail concerning the actual position of women in a Palestinian society, but we still lack a coordinated study for any single area. Owing to the lack of adequate empirical data the present monograph does not effectively fill that gap, but it does provide for the first time an indication of the structural organisation of a settled group whose kinship affiliations are of the typical semitic pattern. The details of my account will in time hope to fitted in and elaborated by further research.

The existing documentary material concerning Kurdistan and the Kurds is somewhat meagre in quality. Most of it consists of highly romanticised travel stories of which the title of Millingen's Wild Life among the Kurds (1870) gives a fair indication of the contents. The romantic tradition is incidentally still maintained, as evidence G.J.Smaller's Blackmail in Kurdistan published only in 1955

For the Southern Kurdish area in general little serious ethnographic material is available, though Hellmut Ritter's Kurden und Armenier dealing with the Turkish area to the north has some relevance. V.F.Minorsky's Kurdes: Notes and Observations published in Russian in 1915 refers, I believe, in part to the area under discussion but this has not been accessible to me.

Concerning the Rowanduz area itself there are only two books generally accessible. A.H.Hamilton's Road through Kurdistan which is a light hearted though highly interesting account of the construction of the strategic motor road up to Rowanduz and on to the frontier, and H.H.Say's Two Years in Kurdistan. The latter deals precisely with the same area and the same individuals as are the subject of this monograph I shall refer to it frequently both in criticism and as providing supporting evidence. Further local colour may be obtained from W.A.Pilgrim's Cradle of Mankind, which deals with a neighbouring area slightly to the North East; the author's religious prejudices in favour of the Assyrian (Christian) community however give a special bias to many of his judgements.

121 Of my own study I expect that further research will doubtless correct my analysis on many points of detail. Nevertheless I believe the general correlation of the elements of social organisation to be

* H.S.Seligman - Studies in Semitic Kinship (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies Vol.III)
H.N.Granqvist - Marriage Conditions in a Palestine Village

with, and I would like the readers attention to the seemingly very close interdependence of kinship, political and economic factors in the groups studied.

Preliminary note on Kurdish names

The ordinary Kurd has a single name given to him at birth of which the following are typical - Ahmad, Ali, Mustafa, Said (Mohammed), Amin, Sharif. If it is necessary to be more specific he will give the name of his village also; thus we find that agricultural noticeboard Kurds often use the name of their village as a surname - eg Sulaymaniyah village himself Sharif Mahmud - Mahmud being the village of origin. Among the settled Arab tribes in Mesopotamia.

The title Agha will be discussed in detail later - it is usually translated "chief" and is applied by the inhabitants of villages and their immediate neighbours. As a title it follows the name: thus Ali Agha, Ahmad Amin Agha. To be more specific the name of the village is added:- thus Ahmad Amin Agha i Sangasar.

Analogous to this is the title Beg. Etymologically speaking it is a Turkish title but is used by some Kurds. Thus the Ahmadi people of Sangasar call themselves Begzadeh, by virtue of the fact that their leaders claim descent from the former princes of Sangasar, who established an independent principality in the 17th/18th Century. The use of Beg among the Ahmadi seems to be identical to Agha elsewhere, so to avoid confusion I refer to the chief of Sangasar, Bir Ahmad Amin, as Agha and not Bimm or Beg as he is usually called.

Mir (prince) is similarly a hereditary title which is carried by certain families. The Mirs of Rowanduz belong to the Baban Agha and the title appears several times in the ancestry of the chiefs of Pishdar.

The title Shaikh does not, as in Arabia, imply tribal leadership. Normally it is reserved for religious leaders - e.g. Shaikh Ahmadi of Barzan, a leader of the Naqshbandi sect of dervishes. The name is however sometimes carried on as ordinary name. Thus Shaikh Mohammed Agha of Pishdar is not himself a religious leader. He was given the personal name Shaikh Mohammed at birth after a relative who had been a real shaikh.

The Mulla is the village priest, his precise functions are discussed later. As a title it comes before the name: thus Mulla Mahmud.

Hajji is the Mohammedan title for those who have visited Mecca. As the Mecca welcome this, the bearer of such a title likes to be

*See C.J. Edmonds - A Bibliography of Southern Kurdish (Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol.XXIV, 1937).

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Rural MAII
Rowandiz

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534 addressed by Sh. All Agha of Bapir's Bait Wahs to Bajik All Agha and he to sometimes addressed simply as Bajik. The regions of Bait Wahs of Rowandiz had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Bajik.

The title Bapiri implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The Bapiri is probably in most cases spiritually among the Bapirin when I met him every appearance of being pure bred Kurd. In the Bajik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two families of Shaikan and Shaikh Ahmadan and the whole Shaikhiah.

534 The turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables
609 who have no tribal linkage and this cannot be called Aghaan- thus Barzanjie Effendi, the leading notable of Rowandiz. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known sometimes as Sherin Effendi.

Bakia (usually "Zaptieh") is applied only to foreigners. I enquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a "Lord" or a "Major".

The Field of Investigation

102. The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the various features of the country as all adequately and attributes are merely indicated by figures. The area is covered by sections I 30 and J 30 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowandiz area appears on section L. 3 on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102. Map 1 which shows the route of the Bait Line of Iraq-
Petroleum is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic
134 and ethnographic significance.

[487] A. Rowandiz. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some two years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Previously the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bridle infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous "Rowandiz Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowandiz itself is over 1,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 10,000 feet. Frost and cold natural it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparatively little land is available for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of cultivation.

* For photographs see Map pp. 486, 488.

of uniform terrain of agriculture. The villages are all to some from 102
Sag I are situated mostly in the valleys. Most of Dergala village 131
practically the whole area is more broad throughout the winter. Before
the war, though the area was nominally under British domination, the 631
local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the
war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy
adopted by the British administration and the immediate political
consequences are described by Sag. Probably connected it may be said
that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately
"backed the wrong men" the administration eventually achieved a
relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial
salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of
this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the
mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the English authorities
to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". A strategic road 487
was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued on 212
to the Persian borders a large military barracks was established at
Rowanduz with subsidiary police posts at Sapak and Sidakan. The
economic and political consequences of the building of this road have
been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A 1/2 73
are the poverty of the soil resources, the severity of the winters
extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication
between the various villages and the fact that such "tribal dis-
integration" as is now found in all of fairly recent origin dating for
the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment
of permanent police authority in the Sapak valley.

B. Peribil Area. This area corresponding approximately to 133
the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an 177
almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other
hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical 182
considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the
inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins
to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact
with the Arab world and various "sophisticated" influences generally.
At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as
political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense
"directly administered" by the police. Hajji account [1933] seems to
appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the
process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the
interval. The potential economic resources of the district are
probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder
climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by
A.M.Smallian - Road through Rowanduz.

? [Boundaries - Areal?]

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAI Kurd MAI
Rowanduz

548 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from Arbil. Despite special pleading by Nigrom and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Baton, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This appears to likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 The distinction area B therefore by the wildness of its climate its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as one existing.

[102] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and snowbound almost day for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillmen. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years. 111 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the 112 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi-113 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds 114 with distinct Turkish and Assyrian groups in the towns. According to 174 Hay (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds sentiments into the Arbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Kirai tribe. The evidence for this 108 does seem to be doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts, 109 the technique and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds are differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this was a very recent development but similar conditions are described by Hay writing in 1925.

1 [illegible]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organization at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups' though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Meat is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organization of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Surav and Baliz tribes (see Map 2).

"The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jamil Agha of Baliyan (Baziki tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Baziki land. Jamil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however established the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

107 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Soran group whose full tribal name is Soranî Bagzanda (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Soran") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Hallasherifi, Shevtini and Bakri, of which Hallasherifi is much the largest. The Shevtini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Hallasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Balesh - Sheikh Mohammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Balesh, Bast and Gelala. The Bakri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is minimal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Balesh.

794 162 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shikn i Sheikh require special mention. (See Map pp. 235 and 237 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman). The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Chaichillah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakshabendi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

609 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Apart from these two non-tribal villages, all the groups in the Balik and Dargala areas are at least 99% pure Kurdish. The intrusive element is provided by a few Jews and Assyrian Christians who as a rule carry on some special trade such as weaving or carpentry and are thus tolerated as useful members of the community. 563 463

Method of Analysis.

As is clear from what has already been said, the tribal organisation of the various groups throughout the area under review have all to a greater or less degree been affected by contact with, and interference by the external administrative authority. If we go so far as to assume that at one time there was a form of social organisation which could be regarded as the typical norm for all the hill tribes of this region, it is certain that such a norm can nowhere now be found functioning in its complete state. Kurdish society as it exists today is a society undergoing extremely rapid and at times violent social change. As we shall see there are powerful and perhaps irresistable forces at work tending not so much to the modification as to the total destruction and disintegration of existing forms of tribal organisation. In such circumstances, in order to make the description intelligible at all, some degree of idealisation seems essential. In the main therefore I shall seek to describe Kurdish society as if it were a functioning whole and then show up existing circumstances as variations from this idealised norm. I am aware that such a method makes the resulting description to some extent subjective and that on many points I have not the empirical data to check the validity of my hypothetical norm. In the circumstances however it appears to be the most reasonable procedure to adopt. 177 121

The External Administration

The precise form of the external administration has no very direct bearing on the Kurdish social system as described in this monograph. But at various points in the argument especially in the section dealing with economic problems reference will have to be made to elements in the administrative organisation, and it seems desirable therefore to give first a brief description of the functions and relationships of the various members of this external organisation. 177 635

The administrative system of Iraq has been developed out of that of the old Ottoman Empire. The terminology remains in many respects unaltered. The whole of the Kurdish area here under

635 discussion lies within the Province (liwa) of Erbil. *The civil head of the liwa is Mutasarrif who is directly responsible for the police administration and the magistracy and indirectly for such social services as Health, Education, Agricultural Reform etc. The tax organisation is closely associated with the police and also comes under the administration of the Mutasarrif. Outside his control however are the military and the judiciary.

635 871 664 Within the field of our discussion the social services of the government are very limited, though the education system is worthy of note. There are primary and secondary schools at Erbil and a primary school at Rowanduz. There was for a while a secondary school also at Rowanduz but this was closed following a nationalist strike by the students who demanded to be taught in the Kurdish language instead of Arabic. For obvious economic reasons these schools effect only a very small stratum of society - the sons of important Aghas and town merchants. Some of the larger villages have in addition a paid government teacher. Though the intention is good, the practice is less so. The wages offered and the facilities for advancement are so poor that only the very poorest type of indolent scholar offers himself for such posts. In the Balik area anyway the experience of government education has so far proved unfortunate. The current opinion seemed to be that all government education officers are moral perverts. Two examples serve to show the basis for such an attitude. The only schoolmaster among the Balik at the time of my visit was attached to the village of Bayat. Formerly he had been attached to the village of Rust where he had married one of the Agha's daughters; this lady he had now divorced or rather deserted and the Agha of Rust was suing him in the courts for maintenance. In Bayat he had seduced the daughter of the Mulla and to avoid scandal had now married her, but this in itself was a scandalous proceeding since the Mulla and the schoolmaster are regarded as enemies by nature - (since from the traditional viewpoint education is the Mulla's chief function). In another case which is described more fully later the Agricultural Adviser of Rekash was murdered.

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635 * At the time of my visit the post of Mutasarrif of Erbil was held by Ahmad Beg i Tawfiq Beg, a Kurd from the relatively sophisticated district of Sulaimani, a man of great intelligence and personal integrity. I am directly indebted to him for the facilities and assistance which enabled me to carry out this piece of field work, the more especially since his own political position at the time was somewhat delicate. Being related by marriage to the chiefs of the Pizdah tribes, at that time in revolt, he was regarded with a certain amount of suspicion by some of the Arab elements in the Baghdad government. This fact, coupled with a mild reputation for being pro-British - by no means a desirable sentiment in modern Iraq, - made my request for travel facilities a decided inconvenience. In the circumstances his help was deeply appreciated.

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probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth. 609

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil. 758

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred. 635 249

The independent judiciary functions through its court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Mudir (sub-district magistrate) and then before the Qa'im Maqam (district magistrate) before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil. 635 692

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Rowanduz. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Kurds and Turks and is thus in general inclination Kurdo-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Iraqi-Arabs whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Kurd" can be taken for granted. 635 701 578

The Liwa is divided into several districts (Kheam) each presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Maqam). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Kheam of Rowanduz. The Qa'im Maqam is responsible for his district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for his Liwa. 635

The Kheam in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Balik tribe all reside within the nahiya Balik - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Dergala on the other hand is administered from Rowanduz.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the venality of these junior officials which is the worst feature of the system, and which is the real source of

000 Government unpopularity among the tribes. Ray describes the gendarmerie of his time as "hardened ruffians without training and without principles; they used their authority to commit innumerable extortions". It does not appear that the position is much changed today.

"Below the Mudir there should be in each village a Mukhtar, his functions being basically those of registrar and tax collector. Among the hill Kurds the Mukhtar is invariably the Agha of the village concerned and the term is little used.

This summarises briefly the normal functions of the various elements of Government within the area under discussion. A more dynamic view of the interaction between Government and tribe will emerge in the course of what follows.

702 * Iraq has had conscription since Turkish times and nominally all Kurds are liable for military service. It is part of the duties of the Mukhtar to record births and report to the Mudir the names of those liable for service. Until very recently however no real records have been kept, so to avoid military service it was merely necessary to produce suitable presents for the right people at the right moment. Contrarywise military service provides the Agha with a convenient means of getting rid of undesirable characters. That at least summarises the position as outlined to me by my interpreter. But I obtained no figures as to the actual numbers conscripted.

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CHAPTER 2

Political Structure **Definition of Units**

The Kurdish term which in the foregoing pages I have crudely described as tribe is Ashiret. "The name of the Ashiret describes at once the people and the land they occupy. Thus it is sensible to speak of 'Balik country' as a district on the map while the individual tribesman will describe himself as 'a Balik'. 619

An ashiret may consist of one or more patrilineal clans called taifa, the fundamental difference between the two being that whereas ashiret is essentially descriptive of a political group, taifa is descriptive of a kinship group. Thus in Balik there are three taifa usually known as Mullasherifi, Shevdini (or Shmisuri) and Sukri; in "Soran" on the other hand there is just the one taifa of Sorani Begzwada. The dual title of the Shevdini depends upon the context of reference. Shevdin is the name of the ancestor from whom all members of the Shevdini taifa nominally trace their descent, he was the 'founder' of the taifa; Shmisur on the other hand is the name of the district he came from. The Mullasherifi similarly all claim descent from a certain Mulla Sherif said to have been a member of the Galali tribe of Sulaimani district. In general the tendency seems to be to take the group name from the ancestor rather than the place. Ali Agha of Bayat in giving me his genealogy claimed that Shevdin had lived eight generations ago and that in those days his family had belonged to the Surchi tribe west of the Great Zab, and that they migrated to the east in search of better land.† It was interesting to note that Ali Agha was reluctant to admit that his taifa formed part of the Balik ashiret. With the loosening of the political ties that linked the three clans of the tribe he hoped soon to establish that the Shevdini were an ashiret in their own right. 614 619

* The same is not strictly true of the Soranî centred on Dergala. During the latter part of the 18th Century the name Soran was applied to a territory approximately corresponding to areas A and B of Map 1 over which the princes of Rowanduz had established a titular suzerainty. Hamid Amin Beg the Agha of Dergala claims direct descent from these former princes and he and his immediate kin call themselves the Soranî Begzwada - "the descendants of the Begs of Soran". The term Soran has no direct territorial significance today, but on Map 2 the area so marked is that controlled by Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala.

† For comparison one may note that Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Balash, Agha paramount of the Balik and of the Mullasherifi taifa was also able to trace back his descent for eight generations but did not reach the name of Mulla Sherif in the process.

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614 The taifa in turn is frequently divided into subsections called tira (branch), though in many contexts the two terms appear to be interchangeable. The Mullaaberifi taifa referred to before are for instance subdivided into three tira each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Mulla Sherif. These sons (I did not obtain their names) are supposed to have settled respectively in Nerga, Gelala and Rust, and these villages remain the centres of their respective tira to the present day. Thus the Agha of Rust is overlord of a number of villages by virtue of the fact that he is head of his tira. The Shevdini taifa is similarly subdivided into three tira, the names being given to me as Hadr Agha, Kaka Hasani and Hamadi Babakhr Agha - these being presumably the names of the ancestral founders of the lineage. On the other hand some persons at least did not seem to be clearly aware of this subdivision and on being asked the name of their tira would reply "Shevdin". Moreover I was assured by one informant that there is no difference between taifa and tira, but that the one is bigger than the other. This is I think an accurate description. Tira is a type of kinship group fairly frequently encountered by anthropologists. Usually termed lineage, but more aptly described by Firth as ramage, it differs only from the clan group in scale and political cohesion. With the loosening of political ties the distinction between the two types of grouping tends to disappear. The Agha of Rust for instance claimed to me that he was head of his own taifa and as such of equal rank to Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash. Sheikh Mohammad of course did not admit this claim but maintained that Mir Sadik, Agha of Rust was his subject.

From this description and the examples quoted it is clear that the terms ashiret, taifa and tira fall into the normal anthropological classifications of tribe, clan and lineage (ramage), with the single abnormality that the clans are in this case endogamous, or largely so.

Inheritance of Land Tenure

36/ The settlements for the most part consist of small villages (gund) scattered along the valleys. The term gund really includes both the houses and the cultivation surrounding them and may at times prove confusing. The gund of Nanpardan for instance contains two houses only, that of Dergala has over a hundred. Every gund is the 621 'property' of a landlord (Agha). If the Agha owns only one gund as in 423 the case of Hamid Amin Agha of Nanpardan he will live in it himself; if

*See C.Daryll Forde - Fission and Accretion in the Patrilineal Clans of a semi-Bantu community in Southern Nigeria J.R.A.I. Vol. 68: 314.
R.Firth - We, the Tikopia:370,371.

582. Note however that owing to the rule of ortho-cousin marriage, Kurdish taifa and tira tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous.

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he owns several as in the case of Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash or Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala, he will live in one himself and appoint headmen (kokha) as his agents in the other villages. In theory the Agha is the absolute owner of all the land in the gund,*the villagers occupy and cultivate the land in the capacity of tenants and in return pay him, in theory at any rate, the seemingly staggering rental of 50% of the yield of the land. Again in theory the Agha has absolute discretion to evict any tenant he disapproves of, and similarly the tenant is free to leave whenever he chooses; the only property that the tenant possesses in his own right are ordinary household belongings, the roof beams of his house, and his personal livestock. Practise probably differs markedly from theory. So far as I could judge in the Balik country at any rate at least 90% of the population of any gund were not only Balik tribesmen but also members of the Agha's own taifa, many of them being his near kinsmen. It would seem then that the Agha's right of eviction remains theoretical except under extreme provocation. In practise the right of tenancy is heriditable. This latter point was confirmed to me by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash; the way he put it was that when a tenant died he, the Agha, could do whatever he liked with the land, but that "as a rule" he gave it to the deceased's son or brother whichever was the most suitable. It may be noted that such a procedure would tend to prevent the land being split up into a vast number of small holdings by the process of inheritance, and would also provide an economic bond between the members of the smaller extended family groups.

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The tribal custom here is not, as might at first sight appear, at variance with Mohammedan law. According to the Koranic rule a man's testimentary rights are limited and most of his "property" (milk) is passed on in defined proportions to certain specific relatives. Land however is for the most part excluded in the term milk. The actual legal position as it applies to land tenure in Iraq is somewhat involved and the interested reader should refer direct to Sir H. Dowson's "An Enquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions" (Iraq Government 1932). The following account summarises the position.

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The legal situation regarding the inheritance of land tenure is defined by the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, and certain subsidiary enactments of the old Turkish Empire. This recognises five classes of

*I have no data to show what rental is really paid. I was assured on several different occasions and in different contexts at Ranyurdan, Walash and Dergala that the normal arrangement is for the Agha to receive half the gross yield of the land if the tenant provides his own cattle, implements, seed, etc., but two thirds of the gross yield if the Agha provides the seed, implements, etc. According to Hay (p. 68) the figure is only 10% of the yield. But as I shall show presently a 50% rental is probably not as excessive as it sounds.

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.423 .428 land tenure Malk, Miri, Waqf, Matruka and Mewat. These categories however do not apply accurately to present day Iraq conditions, the term miri in particular being in practice used in a different sense to that implied by the Land Code. The effective categories appear to be three in number

1) Malk (property) - undiluted ownership; owners rights and inheritance being dictated by the Koranic sacred law.

2) Tapu - state land, the legal possession of which is granted out on the registered tenure laid down in Book 1 of the Land Code. Inheritance of this land is entailed to the direct descendants of the original holders, though actual ownership continues to be vested in the state.

3) Miri - state land, retained in full legal ownership and possession of the state which may be exploited directly or indirectly at its discretion subject to due recognition of established occupancy rights. In effect miri land simply represents the overwhelming residue of the country not held in malk or tapu tenure.

So far as the area of this study is concerned very little if any agricultural land is held in malk tenure and this category applies, I think, only to town property. Most of area C is held in tapu tenure and some portions of area B also. Area A is exclusively miri land so that in legal theory the tribes are here tenants of the state.

Such subtle distinctions are not clearly understood by the Kurdish tribesmen, and as Dowson's study shows the position is in fact confused and provides many opportunities for corruption. In the Balik area there seemed to be a movement on foot to get the tribal land made tapu in the name of the clan leaders. Ali Agha of Bayat for instance was anxious to have the Shevdini territory "registered" in his name and seemed to think that it was merely a question of bribing the right people. Such a development would be strongly resisted by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Balash since it would infringe his nominal overlordship over the whole Balik territory.

So far as the question of inheritance is concerned the position is legally clear. None of the Kurdish land is malk and accordingly none of it is subject to the Koranic stipulations. The attitude of the Aghas however is not very clear. Sheikh Mohammad Agha for example was very insistent that all the land of the Balik was his personal property, which was somewhat inconsistent since he certainly did not seem to imply that the territory would be divided up among his relatives when he died. It is quite definite in fact that where land is concerned the various claims to "ownership" are not correlated with any principle of koranic inheritance.

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The Clan Agha

The gund Aghas' relations to their tenants has now been defined; they in turn owe allegiance to the Agha of the taifa. This individual also may glibly claim to own all the land of all the gunds under his suzerainty, but his ownership is of a much more nominal variety than that of the gund Agha. The taifa Agha does not levy any specific charge upon his underlings but rather receives from them gifts in proportion to his usefulness. Thus Hamid Amin Agha of Banpuridan, even though he belonged to the same tira as Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash head of the Mullasherifi and nominal paramount of all the Balik, did not admit that the latter was in any general sense his superior; though Sheikh Mohammad for his part claimed that Hamid Amin was his vassal. This discrepancy I think is only partly due to the recent loosening of political ties. In general it would appear that prior to the coming of the external administration the function of the taifa Agha was roughly that of arbitrator and court of appeal rather than dominating overlord. He seems to have been called in to arbitrate in small scale feuds, settle disputes between neighbouring villages over grazing rights and water, settle divorce disputes and so forth. For these services he would be suitably recompensed by the parties to the dispute.

This system of justice was doubtless exceedingly corrupt by European standards, but probably worked tolerably well. It is not clear what sanctions could be employed to enforce judiciary decisions of this sort. Today the claimsmen is encouraged to short-circuit the traditional machinery of the Aghas' courts and appeal for justice direct to the police. To some extent the two systems continue to operate side by side but with the continual lessening of the Aghas' authority litigation tends more and more to be a matter for the external administration only. I tried to obtain some opinions as to the relative efficiency of the old system and the new. The results were interesting. It was admitted that the decisions of the Agha in the old days were somewhat arbitrary, being based on considerations of wealth and nepotism rather than moral right, but at least a decision was arrived at quickly. The modern procedure on the other hand though plainly well intentioned is considered in practice to be slow, complicated and costly, and since the wealthier litigant can nearly always manage to appeal to a higher court if the first decision goes against him, the "justice" is nearly as one sided as before. Moreover it was argued that the police were just as corrupt as the Aghas with the disadvantage that, whereas formerly the Aghas were to some extent limited in their decisions by kinship obligations, the police had no interest at all except to sell justice to the highest bidder. Though this is certainly an overstatement of the case, many of the Iraqi police do appear to be exceedingly corrupt. So much so in fact that the new Qa'im Maqam of Rowanduz, chief magistrate of the district, was generally acclaimed by all as the almost unique example of a sincere

627 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers
492 has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to
721 organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Bayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the
622 largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[741] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammed asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Hangurtar on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammed run away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammed as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Ray ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

[731] "Ray (p. 66) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Ray however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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Administration moreover adopted the Turkish expedient of paying the tribal Aghas an annual salary provided they kept their tribe in order. This procedure undoubtedly gave the tribal Agha an altogether disproportionate economic influence, and has had various repercussions which will be discussed further in the next chapter. 619 622

The salary awarded to Sheikh Mahmoud of Balak was stopped some years ago and, as might be expected, his influence as tribal leader declined rapidly. As is evidenced by the rival claims of the Aghas of Bayat and Bart noted above, the Balik has scarcely any functioning unity as a tribe at the present time, though Sheikh Mahmoud with a wide sweep of his arm, still declares that all the land belongs to him and that the taifas of Shevtin and Bakr are only there on sufferance. At the present moment (1938) his prestige is probably on the upgrade since he has recently been appointed a "member of Parliament" and regularly attends the legislative assemblies in Baghdad. The appointment carries with it a small salary, but its real importance so far as the tribes are concerned is that it demonstrates that the holder is in favour with the Mutasarrif and with the Baghdad Authorities. 619 622 559

Kinship Structure

While I have here sketched out the superficial political structure of the community the real nature of the relationship between the various Aghas and their followers can only be understood in terms of kinship.

The essentially conditional nature of the Aghas' authority was only vaguely understood by the earlier British Administrators. Eg. for instance remarks (p. 97) "The Aghas are very oppressive to their tenants, more especially where the Government is close at hand and can assert its authority. In the mountain districts the tribesmen are exceedingly poor, they have little to fear from the Government, and their chief finds it difficult to coerce them. A rival chief would probably soon appear if he did". This statement brings out the fact, already well known from examples in the African field, that Government support for "the Chief" frequently gives that individual a tyrannical authority quite foreign to the ordinary tribal system of government, but it does not explain the Aghas normal relationship to his followers.

Marriage of Consanguine

As we have seen already the taifa is essentially a ' patrilineal clan. It is moreover largely endogamous by virtue of the system of cross-cousin marriage common to most Mohammedan societies. Reference to the tables of Kinship Terminology at the end of this book 69 582 000

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604 [illegible] will show that the various relatives are known by the following terms

Father's Brother's children - amam
Father's Sister's children - purrun
Mother's Brother's children - khalun
Mother's Sister's children - purrun

My knowledge of the Kurdish language was not sufficient to verify the exact use of these terms, and to some extent my informants were contradictory. It would appear however that some of these terms are "classificatory" at least so far as all members of Ego's own tira are concerned. Thus to quote an example Hamid Amin i Mangurdan considers himself amam to Sheikh Mohammad i Salah. Hamid Amin is actually great-great-grandson of Mir Mahmud Agha and Sheikh Mohammad is great-grandson of the same man. Again I was told of the Dizai tribe, a group widely scattered in Area C that "they all call one another amam" - (implying that they were all one tira)

592 604 According to my informants the order of preferred marriages is:-

1st Amam
2nd Purrun (Father's sister's daughter)
3rd Khalun
4th Purrun (Mother's sister's daughter)

This statement seems consistent with the customs recorded for other Kohsanian areas (See Soligman R.F. op.cit 268) but I was unable to check the frequency of particular types of marriage. It should be noted that Father's Brother's Daughter (amam) and Mother's Sister's Daughter (purrun) may frequently be the same individual, and similarly Mother's Brother's Daughter (Khalun) may coincide with Father's sister's Daughter (purrun). Amam and Khalun could however only coincide if both were used in a classificatory sense. I did not actually encounter any classificatory use of the term Khalun and this probably refers only to the immediate children of the mother's brother (khalo). It would appear that until very recently not only was marriage between amam the preferred norm, it was also a definite right. Soy (p. 71) even records the gruesome murder of a girl who refused to abide by this ruling. Today though marriage restrictions are to some extent relaxed it is probable that the great majority of commoners still take their wives from within the patrilineal group. There is in fact very little choice in the matter. In the Balik country at any rate the proportion of 'strangers' - e.g. Jews, Assyrian Christians, Gradars, Zerin from other tribes and so forth, is very small; nearly everyone within the group belongs to one of the three patrilineal clans. These clans moreover are themselves more or less segregated each by itself. Within any single gaut nearly everyone is of the same clan as the Agha.

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In the ideal, the Kurdish family which maintains ortho-cousin marriage and does not require the wife to change her place of residence on marriage forms what may be termed a "fraternal" group. Brothers are close neighbours or even share the same house. They frequently work their landholdings jointly, perhaps even in cooperation with their cousins. The marriage of ortho-cousins closely serves to simplify and perpetuate such cooperation. Moreover in such a case the bride-price, whatever its nominal amount - and the Kurds are keen to flatter their wives by asserting that they have paid a quite fabulous price for them, - is in practice nothing but a sort of book entry, a transfer of assets from the right hand to the left. Even where the marriage to father's brother's daughter does not take place, there is still a strong tendency for a man to marry a girl from his own village - i.e. a classificatory "ortho-cousin" - if for no other reason than that the Agha must approve of all marriages and he has an obvious interest in keeping the group as closely unified as possible. Besides, a man of the commoner class would normally have competitively few opportunities of either meeting or bargaining for a girl from another village, still less for a girl of another clan or tribe. Startling romances and elopements do take place, but they are the exception and are usually followed by a long and bloody trail of vengeance. For the commoner the general rule of marriage within the tribe is fairly well understood. In this connection the building of the road will probably have important consequences for the Balik in the near future, since the ordinary tribesman can now much more readily make contact with groups other than his own immediate kindred.

592. 582. [illegible] [illegible]

Marriage of Aghas

The foregoing applies however only to the marriage arrangements of commoner families [illegible]. Quite different are the conditions that govern the marriage of the son of an Agha. Mohammedan law permits a man to have four wives at a time, and to effect divorce simply by the pronouncement of the word talaq three times. In practice scarcely any of the commoners among the Balik can afford more than one wife, and polygyny is the almost exclusive prerogative of the Aghas. The marriage to father's brother's daughter serves to simplify and concentrate the inheritance of cattle, implements and other items of 'capital' equipment within the economic working unit of the group household and to avoid friction over the inheritance of tenancy rights. But the Agha is not swayed by considerations of inheritance since, in the limited sense already described, he 'owns' all the available land himself and there is no question of splitting up the territory at death. His aim rather is to gain prestige and live at peace with his neighbours. We find therefore that the marriages of Aghas tend to take the form of political alliances, rather after the style of the royal marriages of mediaeval Europe. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balwah for instance, who in the course of a long life has had 9 wives and 25 surviving children, appears to be related either by marriage or

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622 through the marriage of his sons to nearly every important leader,
581 tribal, religious, or townsman, within fifty miles radius. More humble Aghas are content with one or two alliances with neighbouring notables, while the rest of their offspring are married off to members of their own community, thus further strengthening the bonds of kinship between the Agha and his followers. It is interesting to examine the effect of this in greater detail.

> Sheikh Mohammed of Palash was one of 3 surviving brothers; he himself has had nine wives and has six surviving sons, and several daughters

> Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala has had 6 wives and 24 children of which there survive 9 sons and 5 daughters.

If we consider the male side of the tree only, it would appear that the average reproduction rate of a 'princely' Agha is of the order of 8 surviving sons. If we assume that the total population of the villages remains very roughly stationary we must reach the conclusion that the effective birthrate is very heavily loaded in favour of the Aghas. The effect of this would seem to be that in many of the smaller villages the Agha is not only of the same clan as nearly everyone but actually quite closely related to about half the population. I was unable to make any accurate census of a village but my observations at Palash were I think reasonably accurate, and tend to confirm this calculation.

622 There appeared to be twelve separate households, of which four
582 are accounted for by the Agha's fortress and the establishments of his third and fourth married sons and of a brother. (The two eldest sons have been established as Aghas in their own right over neighbouring villages). The population I estimated at ninety, in the proportion twenty five men, thirty women, thirty five children. The Aghas household appeared to consist of about twenty persons including his younger children and personal servants; while the households of his married sons and his brother contained about eight persons each. In this case therefore quite half the population of the qual was in immediate kinship or economic relationship with the Agha. The case may be exceptional, but serves to explain why a rental of 5/% of the yield of the land does not in practice prove extortionate.

622 Comparison of these observations and those of Hay

64 The foregoing account shows the interrelationship of the
114 political and kinship organisation among the Balik Kurds. As a commentary upon sociological method it is interesting to note that

> "This village would appear to be fairly average so far as size is concerned, though centres such as Dergala and Nerga are vastly larger. Palash however is in some respects the private fortress of Sheikh Mohammed and its kinship organisation may not be typical.

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1960 Hall Hard Hall
Rowanduz

happens when the same empirical facts are considered without an adequate appreciation of the sociological significance of kinship. The following quotations illustrate the position of the Aghas as understood by Bay.

The first is reasonable enough:-

(p. 45) A tribe is a community or federation of communities which exists for the protection of the members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old social system and standards of life. Some tribes have an evangelical chief; some have many.

The second is more hypothetical:-

(p. 45/46) The position of the chief varies greatly in different tribes. In the reactor communities, though granted the most engrossing chieftains, he is distinctly one of the tribesmen, the leading member of a family which has won its leadership through military prowess. Lower down he often belongs to an entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections, and in different tribes we find many sections with the same names. This points to the fact that the sections represent belong to powerful families who have imposed their families and elected their lords. This is notably the case with the Bizal where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful family, against which a few old tribal Aghas and headmen still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than tribal.

The statement that in the foothill and plains area the Aghas are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has already been commented upon in Chapter 1. The idea that the Aghas "represent the original owners of the soil", while the permanent tribal Aghas are conquering overlords is more fantasy, while as for the Bizal the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" (which while the land is mostly held by town dwelling landlords who have no kinship affiliations with the Bizal at all. While this lineage distinction between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is quite absurd:-

(Bay, p. 47) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

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[illegible]
Such generalizations may lead to some startling conclusions.

[illegible] This village [Bergas Bag ?] lies just below Sheikh Ahmadi Agha's residence [Balak ?] on the Balak country, and the inhabitants, some fifty families in number, are nearly all his subjects. Being of 'Jaf' descent they continue to beseech their Agha's aid to achieve the ends they have therefore only two means of livelihood, cultivating on Sheikh Ahmadi land who pays them part of the wheat to help them plant, and herding and taking toll from the caravans that pass along the Persian road.

This paragraph I consider most illuminating. For it is precisely on the basis of such evidence that the British policy of 'military pacification' is carried out as all the outlying inhabitants of Barzan, the villagers just beyond the border are always, it seems, 'desperate bandits and brigands' intent on plundering the innocent peaceful subjects of the British raj. Out of course that is emphatically nonsense. We had only seen Bergas three days and was merely recording the position as outlined to him by Sheikh Ahmadi. In giving this account however Sheikh Ahmadi was fairly obviously [illegible] selling the British administration his own wares, and was probably [illegible] to maintain a prosperous village. There seems no reason to suppose that the position was radically different in 1951, even though the ravages of war had temporarily disorganized the agricultural arrangements of the whole area.

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This is not special pleading on behalf of the villagers of Bergas or of the Sheikh in general, but it is time that their collective activities were cast in proper proportion. It must be admitted that prior to the establishment of an external authority most Kurdish tribes fiercely resented its intrusion in every possible occasion. It was a entirely approved aspect of inter-tribal life and one upon which the Kurds themselves lay great emphasis in folk tale and tradition. But it is this very emphasis that has led to the fabulous distortions that appear in all accounts of Kurdish life either by an official. In fact the literature one must suppose that in former times the majority of Kurdish communities lived solely on the proceeds of pillage and robbery and while the Government continues its present policy of cultural suppression such fallacies are obviously convenient. But the unbiased observer cannot avoid the conclusion that most of the more spectacular exploits of Kurdish brigandage are products of the Kurds' own imagination. Even in Kurdistan where these warlike activities can never have been more than an exciting glean upon the normal, balanced cycle of agricultural occupation.

Notes of analysis noting the further study

The foregoing analysis has drawn emphasis on the fact that the rights in of the male kinship group as the majority of the followers and most closely related to many of them. It was interesting to note that to accommodate the basic data of Jingulu differentiated between "bone relations" (by adoption) and "kinship" (consanguinity), but I doubt whether there is any precise dividing line between the two classifications. I would not be included in the former term at least some of the second cousins. The practical difference seemed to be that the bone relations to sit in the guest house by night while the kinship could only do so by special permission. Linguistically bone appeared to be a reflection between the terms kinship and mudiga both of which were considered to be an entire relation (yawanti). In this area however there is considerable overlapping between the two Gurindji dialects of Kunajti and Gurti and the confusion is probably only due to my linguistic incompetence.

Another point that requires further elaboration is the precise significance of the title Ngiri. We have seen that from the point of view of political organization each goal has at any time one, and only one, Ngiri, in the sense of landlord. The association however does not necessarily follow the rules of primogeniture. As it happens both Purnili Kitchener Ngiri of Yelnak and Alli Ngiri of Ngapi were living with the former were the elder brother (Gurti a critical term) and Yelnak as part in village affairs; to the latter definite Ngiri who lives in Alli Ngiri's house in Ngapi throughout the winter sense off into the wet-time to the eastern with the sheep and goats and a few of the villagers and occasionally his own wife [settlement of Wimbi Wimbi]. But though definite to the elder brother there is never any suggestion that anyone but Alli Ngiri is head of the group. On the other hand though the Ngiri of Ngapi is quite definitely Alli Ngiri the title is much more widely distributed as a form of address. Thus to Ngapi the old chief Alli, the brother, his two nephew's Charlie and Alli and presumably his wife's sister also who was away during my visit) are all given the title Ngiri in ordinary speech. And this seems to be the normal usage. When Rabbit Nelli's brother to Ngapiwin is known as Ngiri Ngiri though he lives with Purnili as a landlord, and Rabbit Nehemiah Ngiri's first cousin once all carry the title. What is not clear is how the title is inherited on the lineage agnatic. For instance will the sons of Charlie, who will in their time presumably be second cousins of the outgoing Ngiri of Ngapi also carry the title? Probably there is no definite rule.

In the remainder of this book where I refer to the Ngiri or the Ngiri of a particular group I shall imply only those individuals who fulfil the sociological function of the Ngiri, and not any male or even relatives who happen to bear the name title. The sociological function of the good Ngiri can be quite clearly defined. He is the

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620 landlord of the soil - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village feast house. As we shall see later when the functions are closely interrelated.

630 Social Organization Areas other than Hills

An exhaustive outline of information for groups other than the hills must be treated with concern. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

621/ 177 Area 5. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as the Kachin and the Shanbwe were originally organized on much the same lines as described above but owing to their relatively long period of contact with an external administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relations with their tenants. The village economy took the form temporarily exhibited among the Hills.

624 Area 6. Section has already been made of the principle political tribes of this area, the Shans and the Kachin. With the Shans as exemplar by far the organization is feudal rather than tribal, since the village heads are not of the same kin group as their headmen. I was told that "all the Shans call each other cousin" implying, if true, that the whole tribe consists of one noble caste. With the Kachin the predominant chief, is himself a Kachin but is a newcomer to Hukaung and holds himself very much aloof from his followers.

3&/ 272 In the technological aspects the plains culture differs markedly from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important archeological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are longer than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites [illegible for context] have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Kumis

62/ Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organization of tribes such as the Kumi differs in many respects from that of the vertical tribes. In terminology the term kaitla appears to correspond to sakkawt and khel to hkiik but the identity may not be exact. The term kaka corresponds to gaul and implies a small settlement of twelve to one hundred. This last term is also used by the vertical peoples. Thus among the Kumikai

of Ndiz the people leave their villages during the hot months of the summer and live in huts instead. This was the case when I visited all kgbe of Ngezi. Apart on this occasion had an a series of huts divided into two separate halfs one under his kgbe himself and the other under his brother, both were located within a mile or so of the deserted village. Among the Lamba, I was told, the halfs are small in size, each group consisting mainly of a single extended family (e.g. father, brothers, sons and dependents). Although in the course of their annual migration the Ndiz spread out over a wide area the whole group of "more than 2000 people" are directly controlled by a single permanent chief, Mutale Ngbe I Ndiz. According to my informants the Ndiz own over a million sheep and some 20,000 cattle; but the Ndiz are notoriously fond of large figures. A notable characteristic of the Ndiz appears to be their extreme hardiness. They live in their black huts throughout the winter and I was told numerous improbable tales of the astonishing vigours and privations they are said to put up with. They appear to have an almost legendary quality even for the neighbouring peoples through whose land they pass.

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 NA11 Kurd NA11
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[illegible]

[illegible] 9

The Guest House

428. In far as here been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kurdish tribal community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships as an institutional given and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village Agha in Pourtaval terms as (a) the individual who "owns" the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

424 It is a sentimental feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha. The more lavish the Agha's hospitality 422. the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of 429 negotiable daily discount disadvantages of birth. Small wonder Agha of Rowanduz for example though only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. In all other it was maintained that he was much more of a real Agha - the Kurdish ideal in the same as our own! Even the cynical shrewd Kurdish Schoolmaster agha of Galash. If Guest Rate was not an exception, it was argued, he also would be stuck and penniless. *Kurdish Schoolmaster was silently not an old woman. It must be admitted that a more cynical explanation for generosity may not being with it any particular negative reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the patients of the society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

349 The the Kurds society the Guest House is seldom actually a home. Visitor travellers are few and can be accommodated if 429 necessary somewhere in the Agha's own stationary during the summer on 394 the other hand a steady pergola is erected somewhere close to the Agha's house and furnished with carpets, mats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

* This individuality seems to have been Sheikh Mahmoud's reputation throughout his life: see Map p. 253.

† In the plains villages however the great heat of the summer and the greater frequency of visitor travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see Map 47 - 49.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shwtiel who spend their summer in Khalk below the "Guest House" is a portion of the Aghas land specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab haleela usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will also sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else impose one of his sons to do so.

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance.

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status matters dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, each the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammed of Palmak received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Ismail Aziz of Barzinjan. On average my host and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (56 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Palmak for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure

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574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
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1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
2	Sons	
6	Daughters	
7	Relationships	Barely kinsfolk of some sort
4	Dependants	
1	Wife	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By suggestion	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

263 However the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
872 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
177 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Persian style
425 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
577 is brewed very strong over charcoal and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at periodical intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about £5/- a bag (of 56 kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Sangsin about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £37 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that,as noted above,the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and most frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a 764 long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Agha's net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

are to underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Hart House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting: it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Hart House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the British viewpoint is the upkeep of the Hart House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not as inconsistent as it first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Hart House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who grow and prepare the meat (a milk product similar to yoghourth) it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this in more for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Hart House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygamous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males here their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though enjoying better quality materials than the commoners, still mainly use Balik cloth and endure the fancy clothing adopted by womenfolk and the Aghas of the plains. This appears to be due to their economic position tending rather than to economic necessity. A number of the Aghas of Dayet Kan were wearing a suit of ordinary Scottish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowanduz, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for 'Stylie and Forbelow' - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by [illegible]

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute grown (see later).

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

Oga

the policy of the administration after the Great War.

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Formerly the village communities were, within the limits of a somewhat meagre standard of living, virtually self supporting. Trade and currency circulation were both minimal. "The British administration's policy of buying the loyalty of the tribal chiefs by means of a cash salary resulted in there being available within the community substantial amounts of currency for which there was no immediate outlet except in the purchase of luxuries. Moreover this wealth was not distributed evenly throughout the community but concentrated into the hands of a few leaders, Aghas. The result has many analogies with similar phenomena observed in Africa. The preliminary expenditure creates a sudden taste for luxuries within a small segment of the community. There are vague heavings both in scope and intensity out of all proportion to the ability of the community to satisfy them, with the inevitable result that the economic balance of the community is upset and the originally wealthy group, by developing expensive tastes, becomes eventually an economic drain upon the community. The process can indeed be expressed in general economic terms applicable even to the conditions of our own society.

Expenditure by the Government can for a time create a new large effective demand, but when this expenditure ceases and the income of the community keeps the newly created wants unsatisfied. The result is not a reversion to the original situation but an adaptation of it, in which the available income is allocated to new ends in an attempt to give partial satisfaction to the newly created wants.

There can be no doubt that in the Balik country, under the influence of the Government activity, the income of the more important Aghas and their immediate dependants developed a high degree of sophistication without any corresponding improvement in the productivity of the community as a whole. With the establishment of effective police authority in the Rowanduz valley the subsidy to the tribal leaders was suspended as being unnecessary. The consequences were inevitable. The foreign clothing and house furnishings which had formerly been mere luxuries had by this time developed into essential necessaries. Today the more sophisticated Aghas such as Sheikh Mohammed of Balek and Hamid Agha of Dargala are feeling the pinch severely. They will tell you that times are hard and that they can no longer afford to maintain the standard they were accustomed to in the days of their youth, but the truth rather would seem to be that they are vainly trying to maintain a much "higher" standard than was ever thought of

* It is difficult to obtain from Kurdish sources reliable information of the exact level. Sheikh Mohammed's son assured me that at one time his father possessed over £1,000 in gold and specie. At the present time he appears to be in debt to merchants and moneylenders.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

in slack times, so that the economy of the village will not stand the strain.

Such points lead to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Sayat (head of the Shevtini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mahmoud received a Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. However, the free lancing the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is openly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevtini and registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an admixed in their own right instead of merely a tribe of the Bolik. It seems significant too that the Shevtini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary investment support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the ecological sense.

One further generalization emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by each are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the guest room and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation stems partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Agha community. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organization of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

any single village community.

The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, bakat in this state (nan), and a sour milk product of the yoghourt type (mast); in addition by a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (wana) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and goats. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as maroons, tomatoes, ghanbine, bahijal, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would everywhere be the preferred crop if it could be extensively cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the nan if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Sheikh Mohammed of Balook and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Balook was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very substantially arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'lau to their guests instead of nan.

In former times this bare self-sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. Few commodities had to be imported; clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Dargala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of mash, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the mash crop is traded.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
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seen pointed out in a previous section the events of the last thirty years have served to create a steadily increasing demand for a range of imports which, if they might previously have been classed as luxuries, are now regarded by the Hinis themselves as essential necessities. Whatever the immediate nature of the cash or credit transactions by which such goods are purchased, they must ultimately be paid for by the 'exports' of the community as a whole, and the problem arises as to how this can be done in a community which, on the face of it, can only produce a bare self-sufficiency of primary products. The following table shows approximately the categories of goods that go to make up the 'balance of trade' for the tribes of the Balik area.

Imports

First Quality Rice for Aghas (Hatu) exist - chiefly from Persia).
Sugar, Tea, Coffee, Matches, Metalware, Clothing, Kerosene, Spec.
Of these the most important are rice, sugar, tea and clothing.

Exports

Tobacco, Lentils, Walnuts, Galbanum, Honey.
Fruits- Apricots, Apples, Pears, Grapes, Melons, Almonds.
Wool and Sheepskins.
Of these by far the most important is tobacco.

In addition there are certain cash transactions that must be taken into account which are independent of the process of trade. On the debit side certain sales- taxes and legal dues have to be paid in cash to the Government, and there is an excise duty on tobacco. This latter is nominally due only on tobacco actually traded but in practice it appears to be charged on the private supplies of the cultivator also. The Agha again incurs certain cash expenditure in educating his children. He also incurs very substantial expenditure in 'purchasing' his very wives and those of his sons, but since the majority of such marriages take place within the group these exchanges do not necessarily affect the economy of the community as a whole. On the credit side one must allow for the fact that a small number of tribes-people are earning wages either in Rowanduz or down on the plain, and that such people may send home part of their earnings in cash.

In general however it is fairly true to say that all the goods imported by the groups of the Balik area must ultimately be paid for by the proceeds of surplus fruit and tobacco. Large scale fruit production is limited to the villages around Rwat, and I will therefore consider only the problem as it affects tobacco production, this crop having a much more general relevance.

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Effects of an Increase in Tobacco Cultivation

276 The Kurds are inveterate smokers and have cultivated their own
279 variation of tobacco for several centuries. Though these particular varieties are still the preferred smoke for the Kurds themselves, they have little or no trade value owing to the crumbly nature of the leaf. In recent years however a number of modern cigarette factories have been started in and around Baghdad, thus creating a good market for a better class leaf. In the main this market is satisfied by the more sophisticated Kurdish areas such as Sulaimani, but the tribesmen of the Rowanduz district are also slowly beginning to adapt their production to the new conditions. In this they receive encouragement from the Government and the factory owners who supply free seed and instruction to those who want it; this service by the Government is of course more than recouped by the ultimate excise on the resulting product.

311 Under these new conditions the imported tobacco leaf has a cash
279 value proportionately vastly in excess of that of wheat or rice. In terms of a money economy it would be possible to increase the area of land devoted to the production of tobacco at the expense of that devoted to wheat and rice.

Furthermore since, other things being equal, the area of tobacco cultivation would again only be limited by the supply of irrigation water available, the logical thing to do would be to abolish the rice cultivation altogether and substitute tobacco, both on the rice land itself and also on much of the wheat land - (tobacco requiring less water than rice). This development has actually taken place in certain of the lowland villages, notably in the Assyrian community round Salwa, and the resulting financial advantage has been very marked; but in the Balik area the increase in tobacco acreage seems so far to have been very slight. In the highest villages such as Shalam and Sapna climatic conditions are probably unfavourable, but lower down in the valleys around Banga and Dengalo where tobacco and rice are at present grown side by side there seems to be no immediate technical reason why the former crop should not be expanded. There would of course be certain difficulties in connection with the re-organisation of the water courses, and there is the problem of specialist training in tobacco cultivation but in the main it would appear that the problems involved are social rather than technical. If it were possible for every individual tenant to grow tobacco in equal quantities the transition to a modern cash economy might be simple. But in practice the existing tenancy rights are such that any extension of the tobacco cultivation must affect unequally different sections of the community - those whose land is converted to the new cultivation benefiting at the expense of the rest. We may analyse the problem in economic form in terms of the factors of production involved.

030 Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation

Leach. The land potentially available for irrigation"

In roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated; - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 312 421

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Portable irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Portable irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dergala) for irriving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Setas where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the irrigation tenants were not entrants in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest in the problem of "irrigable" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Aghas villages of the Dasnawa District, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there does to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the cash incentive were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such reclaimed land rest at present exclusively with the Agha. 428 311

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant occupiers and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the chief harvest comes in 64 211

8: Leach E-S (1938) 194 MAIL Kurd MAIL
Rowanduz

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464 Late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The
291 much smaller rice harvest comes late in the year, in September. With less
sheet and no rice, threshing could be finished by mid-September leaving
labour free for the main work of the autumn harvest. On the other
hand the tobacco plant requires a great deal of finicky attention during
the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest.
It is possible therefore that any final increase in the tobacco
cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of
threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the
change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as
between different households. Whereas at present each household has
approximately the same programme sheet, the situation would be greatly
complicated if one man's land was forced to tobacco and his neighbour's
only to wheat. The difficulty can be avoided if all the tobacco
cultivation were "owned" by the Agha - the cultivator being under
obligation to work for his Agha before for a fellow cultivator. Such a
development would never be entertained by the Government however since
the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesman by his
chief."

249 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed
646 to normal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is
prepared to supply seed and expert advice; so far as I know the process
of drying does not require any initial technical apparatus. The re-
organisation of the irrigation plan would of course be an initial
'capital' expenditure for the whole community.

Technique. On the whole I am the more inclined that Government
is prepared to offer expert advice rather overemphasises the social
aspects of the technical problem. I have already indicated that the
entire Kurdish tobacco crop is a traditional peasant product in a
peasant subsistence that is quite alien for the purposes of a modern
factory. In order to produce marketable products, the farmer has to
be taught entirely new methods. The cultivator is here to against
several types of difficulty. Partly there is a simple conservative
resistance, the dislike of new ideas, not simply because they are new
but because the practitioner is a old methods thinks he knows best.
But there are other difficulties of a much more intimate kind. Here
is an example.

249 The Government are prepared to supply approved villagers with a
609 trained expert to supervise the curing and harvesting of tobacco.
648 But a man may object to the village of Balak. He was a Bek, but a
tobacco from the plains and therefore considers a man of low social

* In Persia, where in Pahlavi times the Imperial Bishop takes the
place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is [illegible] and
difficulties over individual labour requirements thus obviated. But then
a Christian Bishop is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

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[illegible] 433
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of

423 being well sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
299 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading between the chiefs. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Rice grown exclusively for export is an economically valuable (in terms of cash) crop and with any other Kachin production that came will forward villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the English market, - hardly a desirable development.

299 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation may be equally drastic. Consider the instance the author of note.
427 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays
426 his rights DUE of the yield of his land, and this is ordinarily no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 90%. However in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1000 patsoes, a ton of dried would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 90% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added consequence that the commoner who tends tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be enforced. In my view the general levelling up of Kachin status on Saboung commoner and Sgaw which would result from this process would be extremely fatal to the existing tribal organization.

399 In the ending with the Lashadi among the ultimate form of
423 evolution in Lashadi class. The Sgaw Kachin is increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality, he finds less land and eventually he even loses of the low the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bride-payment for his wife, he becomes a landless serf in permanent debt with the community - the process of tribal disintegration may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

299 Even the Government's point of view such a development is not
424 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalized community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. But there are still other factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kachin oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by long definition tribal land is alot land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

by individual Kurds from the Ottoman area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Soviet Union. Economically the cheapest labour is that which is least organized. Here again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external capital may be expected to affect the basic economic organization of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the relations (or exchange) within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of allocation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different households, and trading contracts within the group are normally symmetrical.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the work is completed and upon independently by the women of each household. The materials in this context may also vary in the manner in which the payment either in cash or kind.

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Pelkuh and Dangalta the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the herdsman was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families contributing in kind contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of "joint ownership", each man knows his own sheep. This form being easily ascertained by slitting the ears; sexing and breeding when the resemblance go not to the grading and pick out their particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Herdsmen of Sepan have large herds, and an elected already part of the community organization and having the appearance of being an independent tribe, which tends to the entire community. I have no

* This describes the existing conditions. It is said that Dangalta had some of the other villagers who have no number of their own. The men still mostly all wear Kurdish clothes, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Sumaniya and Erbil.

of
information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

There are few other specialist occupations. Dog making is a specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the particular products are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villagers; the villagers must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a cloth for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - sharabwanda, attar and bazargan. The sharabwanda are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Mirawah a dealer arrived with fruit from Amri which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The attar may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - as Agha such as Sheikh Mohammed would always send to Sirwan to purchase for his sugar rather than purchase it through an attar. Occasionally the attar is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandar; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Shalan.

The bazargan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, cotton, tea, coffee, sugar, so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that money seems to be available, a debt of £5 borrowed today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 3 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite exorbitant. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in the course to lead to the bankruptcy

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

of either the Aghas or the traders. - It is hard to judge which is the most vulnerable. Thus, Said, son of Sheikh Mohammed of Balash, assured me that he personally was in debt to the tune of £300 and wanted me to get him a job with the oil company in Kirkuk so that he could work off his indebtedness; on the other hand in Bergala I met a rather pathetic little Rowanduz trader who complained that he had £150 out at credit, some of it for over three years, and though he had just been round to dun all his clients he had only managed to collect £3!

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Tobacco Marketing

In a previous section I emphasized the growing importance of tobacco for the economy of this part of Kurdistan. It is now necessary to consider how this tobacco crop is actually marketed. My enquiries on this subject led to somewhat contradictory results and the matter needs further investigation; in general I think the divergence of view was primarily due to the rapidly changing conditions in the tobacco trade. My notes reveal three distinct methods of marketing. The first is that now generally practiced in the sophisticated areas of Kurdistan around Sulaimani and in the lowland districts of the Erbil liwa. This method does not at present apply to the Rowanduz area but may be expected to do so as the tobacco crop is increased.

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Marketing procedure 1. The big tobacco factories of Baghdad have their own agents in Kurdistan, who contract with the Aghas for the whole saleable surplus of the village crop. If required the Agha has obtain a substantial cash advance at the time of sowing the crop. Seed and technical advice is often provided by the merchant's agents who presumably work in cooperation with the Government departments concerned. 50% of the crop is the Agha's own by virtue of his land title, the other 50% belongs to individual cultivators. Since however the buyers' agent deals only with the Agha, the latter is in a position to take a substantial commission on the cultivators' share as well. On the other hand the individual cultivator need not sell his crop through the Agha if he does not think he is getting a fair price. But his only alternative is to trade with the star, who as a middleman, can only offer a much lower price than the buyers' agent offers the Agha. The tobacco is transported from village to town at the buyers' expense in each case.

The second method was described to me as that practiced in the old days before the coming of the Baghdad cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Sulaimani man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Rowanduz area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agha's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAIL Kurd MAIL
Rowanduz

277 442 effect of greatly reducing the ultimate return for the producer. Thus a cultivator who sold his crop for a cash advance at the time of sowing would only get about 60% of the market value of his ultimate crop. Merchants would pay substantial gifts - either in cash or kind - to the Agha for the right to trade and in return the Agha would in effect guarantee the contract. Thus if an individual cultivator failed to meet his contract the Agha could force him to sell his personal goods to meet the bond, though for reasons of kinship it seems likely that the Agha would in many cases prefer to meet the liability himself.

Marketing procedure 3. Detailed enquiries in Balnah revealed that the tobacco surplus for that village is fairly small and is disposed of either through individual tobacco dealers operating from Erbil or else through the ordinary shop; some of trade are for cash only, and there is no system of allowance. From Dargale, where the tobacco cultivation is much more extensive, I unfortunately obtained no information concerning marketing methods.

Having dealt with the various individual contacts between members of the village and those outside it, there remain for consideration those forms of exchange within the group itself which have an essentially social rather than an economic basis. Owing to lack of empirical data I can do little more than point out that are the principal occasions for these exchanges.

589 [584] Marriage. A bride price is payable by the bridegroom to the bride's father. I was told that if the wife run away or otherwise misbehaved herself the husband could claim back part of the bride price, but the information was not specific. * In the event of a divorce the husband is responsible for the maintenance of his former wife at any rate during her pregnancy and frequently longer. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures concerning the amount of bride price paid. Hay quotes the figure of £500 for a wealthy Agha. There is a natural tendency to exaggerate the figures both on flattery for the lady and to create an air of affluence about the informant. When I pointed out that in the case of the marriage of cross-cousins living as close neighbours in the same village the payment of bride price, whatever its amount, could be little more than a nominal transaction, this was admitted; nevertheless, it was argued, every girl's self

* Hay (p. 44) says the husband is responsible only for three months after divorce or during pregnancy whichever is the longer and this is good Mohammedan law. According to my interpreter important Aghas wishing to increase the number of their household will sometimes divorce one of their wives merely in order to marry a fifth; in such a case the divorced wife would remain a member of the Agha's household indefinitely, though whether her position would be that of concubine was not made clear. The situation however is hypothetical as I obtained no concrete examples.

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* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to wed their unmarried girl children to immortals. The girls were known as Parikyan. During adolescence she was a close contact of the parikyan but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the well known system of Devadasi.

of cigarette papers. The scale of entertainment naturally varies greatly with the status of the township, whether the bank of a main or the sandy soak the most serious than the death of a Pharaoh. So far as I am aware the ecclesiastic establishments do register to the case of common fractious though on a smaller scale.*

The Police

The Police has its part to play in the ritual both at ceremonies of marriage and burial, and plays some appropriate rôle. Its interest in the marriage ritual is on the decline. Consequent registration and enquiry that marriages must be registered with the police, and the marriage be legal without any religious ceremony. The tendency to questions to give precedence to the police rather than the Police.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to coast natives, I was told that among the Darkinjung the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day. The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Native type.

R: Leach E-R (1958) 1960 WRII Gard WRII
Rowandiz

CHAPTER 4

The Relevance of Technology to a Social Study

The earlier type of ethnographic monograph which sought only to record an historical fact in the manners and customs of peculiar peoples was painstakingly elaborate in the description of technological detail. In contrast to this way of the latest anthropological works with their deliberately sociological emphasis have ignored technological detail altogether. In a science that seeks to establish general laws for human behaviour it is desirable in the first place to emphasize the similarities rather than the peculiarities of different cultures, and from this point of view the demonstration of general sociological and economic principles is of greater importance than the various elaborations of the local variants of a particular technique. Nevertheless the techniques of a people are not merely of historical significance. They too have a functioning dependent upon their immediate function.

Social anthropologists hardly admit the existence of any inter-relationship between the social forms of a culture and the visible material aspects, but the nature of this relationship is rather questionably assumed. The interest tends to be so exclusively on the abstract concept of social structure, that the consciousness of a formal material structure is sometimes forgotten. But the social form and the material form are merely equally significant aspects of human adjustment to the given facts of climate and environment. The tendency in the past has been to see material facts merely as a right stage upon which to demonstrate the interlocking unity of social forms. For my part I have purposely left all material descriptions to the last since by so doing it is more easy to demonstrate the close correlations that exists between the social and the material forms, and to show that variations in the one implies constants and interdependent variations in the other. The recognition of this correlation is especially important where the attention is one of culture change. It is for me the anthropologist's one because use of predicting the trend and development of change, the method must be to detect and evaluate the forces of conservatism and resistance in different aspects of the culture as he sees it. It is part of my argument that any such evaluation based on a consideration of social trends alone is necessarily distorted. In some sense it is true, social forces seem to constitute an of permanent importance, but as others it is technical factors which provide the ultimate determining factor as to which direction a new social development will take. Conservatism in the final analysis is a highly complex amalgam of social obligations, psychological reluctance, and actual technical inability to effect change. A direct correlation between the social and the material aspects of a Kurdish hill village should therefore be of interest.

of
Land Ownership, Rural Construction and Stability

The indications are that land ownership are for the most part on fairly efficient an present technical equipment permits the owner of cultivated land that could be brought into cultivation easily by an increase in economic inducement to work. Except on the central swampy where Native chiefs, subchiefs are the owners, chief by withdrawal deprives the land to sufficiently large to work a plough, and there another possible subsidiary arrangements such as those are carried for by sale the steep hill face. Where there is clear evidence that the land supplies goods are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

Land security appear among the most plausible explanation for the very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed on the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it imediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes on all sides and at first the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block, sometimes they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the relations of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of stability enjoy within the village as can be seen from paragraph 5. The house is a particular shape the roof of one house forms the front part of the one below. The house which shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. All this is an experimental case, a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relations functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconveniences of such close proximity it would hardly be necessary. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the supplementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which emphasizes any effort on the part of the ego to recognize the rights of land owners and settlements on lines of greater efficiency.

In my remark perhaps that in the plains where the chief agricultural emphasis is upon short production and where the limitations of water supply naturally affect the whole economic organization of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. Each factors applies only to the villages of the

[illegible] area, and approximately also to areas B of Map 1. In these areas 361
apply as well to areas A. 362

The archaeological qualifications of the buildings may be summarized as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is an occasional tendency to wide or 363
plan. As a rule the walls have rounded out bends and only the
roof of the house immediately below has this peculiar feature. The
walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet
thick, but the exterior facework is sometimes smoothed and built for
the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is
rather unusual in Wall since the upper story is reserved by an extreme
lights. All rooms have windows to the outside wall but, except in the
right's bedroom, these are very rarely any shutters. The floor is set in
a small floor pit; there is sometimes a ground water near to the roof
but were usually the only escape for water is through the window. The
roof is flat, sloping towards slightly towards the front; the walls
roof beams are horizontal, parallel to the wall surfaces, which are
them to hold a thick layer of this brushes about the thickness of pa
sticks. This is given a top dressing covered [illegible] kind of a
stony soil from lime, ashes and rubble. In any weather this gra
hard and provides a perfectly right floor, but it is not a true cement
floor mats, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if 365
leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are 48
extremely simple. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief item
there is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts,
pillows & rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are 366
rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned
that the best valuable parts of the house are the roof beams.
Straight trunks of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and
only after an effort spanning nearly generations. If the log rotten
a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of the
old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village who feel
the true sentiment that exists almost impossible to remove wood.
The destruction of this type of undertaken are usually defined by the
difficulty of transport. This is demonstrated in the houses of the
wealthier Agha and Beglike where by adding refinements such as wooden
floors, glass windows and hinged doors personality undoubtedly becomes
one to expend from a design essentially similar to that of the
ordinary peasant's house. With any [illegible] to of the general
economic status of the community another modification of the peasant
construction may also be expected. Building in common & operation 371
crafts as expert is usually called in from the town, the other 443
supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably 372
connected with the adoption of different variant of stone and plaster
which above.

8: Leech 8-5 (1938) 1940 WAII Rural WAII
Rwanda:

Ploughing

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The technical equipment available for land cultivation is extremely rudimentary. The principal implement the plough (see photographs) is of the simplest possible type, though small details of design vary from village to village. The complete disregard seen from the Egypt districts. The great advantage from the cultivator's point of view is its extreme lightness; it can be dismantled easily to a few separate and carried about by one man. This is of great importance where it is necessary to reach some of the plots to be cultivated it may be necessary to fetch a stream or climb half way up a mountain. This despite the ending of communications it is doubtful whether any more modern implement would fulfil the special requirements of the environment equally well. In the plains things are different. There is the big short where capital expenditure on large scale mechanical equipment would be well worth while; but in the hills the individual plots of cultivation are so small and the contours so steep that a good portable implement is essential.

The disadvantage of the existing hill country plough is its operating clumsiness. The chief reason for this is that instrument makes a straight furrow and has no curved plough share to help the soil over on to the furrows instrument. Each furrow in that type that will be side on part of an instrument which turns the soil over. But such again any immediate modification is difficult. It was the European instrument efficiently the land must be divided up into long rectangular strips so that the ploughmen can go up one side and down the other. With a primitive straight furrow plough, such as the British, the ploughmen returns on his own track so that it does not much matter how short or much subdivided furrow. The typical smallholdings resulting from the use of these different instruments are that of different shape - with the European plough the typical smallholder's cultivation plot becomes an in Ankole or Norway a long narrow strips with the primitive instrument the typical plot is nearly square. Even if the existing Ankole plough were to be improved so as to carry a curved share, it probably would not usefully be employed without a considerable reconstruction of existing land holdings. Even though educated Ankole, when lamenting the backwardness of their people, tend to deplore most of all the primitive inefficiency of their equipment, it seems to me most

* It is of interest to note that the manufacturers of harvesting machinery seem to be unaware of the existence of Iraq. I discussed the matter with the landlord agent of Hawlera, a village some twenty miles west of Erbil. He was a man who with extensive views. He said that he was quite prepared to invest several thousand pounds in ploughs and harvesting machinery but that so far as he could discover there was only one firm of machinery makers with agents in England and they wanted an open order.

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entirely that there will be any serious modification of the existing type of plough, or any move in the hill country.

Threshing

For threshing the hill people use an instrument on ally the cereals are merely raised and rested on the piled straw until the ears is removed to a free shaff and the straw then exposed with a fork to a light wind (see photographs). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late October; any drastic change in the economic programme of the village - such as a switch over from rice to tobacco - must as I have shown be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very puzzling is that throughout the plains area, - where the wheat harvest is very large - use is made of a relatively advanced "threshing machine". This consists of a large cross shaft (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for shaving up the shaff. The apparatus is very simple and not, one would have thought, unduly expensive. But the curious fact remains that this device is not found in the hill country except sporadic at all, though the advantages seem to well known to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the wheat production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that as long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in November it was good enough. However the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any natural extension of the tobacco cultivation.

Land Utilization.

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The actual layout of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Wheat, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently fixed, their position being determined by the layout of the irrigation system. The wheat on the plain land is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram opposite roughly the layout of cultivation in Palank at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow land is on one side of the stream and all the [illegible] wheat only on the other. Nothing corresponding to this even remotely could be observed in the other villages I visited. In explanation the Kurd informed that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one place - in Palank obviously each working group must have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of rotating land to different individuals cultivators in successive years but on inquiries

[See graph 75 - Analyst]

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kuru MAII
Kawanbari

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[illegible] My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of cultivators must hold its separate plots at least the following: one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of Indian. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my [illegible] evidence is very slight. As I have shown, it appears that as far as land is concerned the cultivators of the Kuru have normally only a residual interest. Several lineages that the Ashe or landlord has a residual right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land lapses among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Ashe - this being true at Lower Kuru Mutsen, Ngaut and Jangalan. I did not discover what particular individuals are responsible for this cultivation or how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Mutsen this cultivation is not turned over to tributes. Should [illegible] probably conditioned by the fact that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with the enemy the Ashe of Jangalan was that the latter owing to better water supplies was able to grow as much rice himself. Primitive political economy for this conservative here has suggested to a previous writings whether reasons is psychological - from the Kachin point of view it just is not worth to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this context the Ashe does resemble Solomon Islanders.

The Mill

In Lakhimpur which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely topographical significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Jangalan, Ngaut and Kaga. Mutsen has none but there is one at Kaunghka. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very efficient. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked on a horizontal machine and thus need the "velocity" head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it dispenses of the necessity for any gearing - and if the operation were "precision work" there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the coating of the millstones which is necessary to work the machine at any great speed and the ability to control to about 1 mm of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

11

256
Dr2
S78

[illegible] the driving water is obtained by diverting some [illegible] This is done at Sangaldan, Sgirt and Banja and the operation of the mill then has an effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Sangaldan however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the mill-stream on Monday etc leave per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. This division arises on this account and while I was in Sangaldan a young man got a good thrashing from the miller for setting the gate during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hereby thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

471
477
256

The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a part [illegible] of the mill. In Sangaldan it is the mill himself, in Sangaldan a father-in-law of the miller. The terms are to effect that the owner of the stone hires the mill at a fixed charge for each week of each period. The man who runs the stone himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The miller usually obtains a contract for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with agriculturists operating in the town, the latter being of course well situated and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the tendency [illegible] to carrying the wheat to Rowanduz and bringing the flour back again to millstones to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In weighing furnishers on may note that the mill owner likely to receive a permanent instruction.

Sawing

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Dr2

The only other piece of mechanical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the circle saw. The design of the apparatus is identical to the Kingdom. It is exactly identical to the saw used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that instead of the "tractor [illegible]" suspended from a right rectangular framework instead of [illegible] hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the gate. Thus while the Kurdish saw has a maximum range of about [illegible] an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a very nearly three times as wide. Kurdish engineers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain gears. Shrigan are sometimes introduced by means of mitered threads on the ends. Sections of circle produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the [illegible]. The fine specimens in my possession, the coarse brass circle, normally used for the sawdings of [illegible], has forty [illegible] Kurdish

The rag [illegible] is quite a different piece of apparatus to be not mentioned here since the social relationship seem insignificant.

8: Leech 8-5 (1938) 1940 WAll Rural WAll
Rowandum

[redacted]

CHAPTER 5

Warfare

Taken present conditions large scale warlike activities on the part of the tribes are a complete impossibility, but that does not justify us in discussing the topic of warfare altogether as being of no relevance to the present social situation. Historically speaking the traditional forms of Kachin social organization are associated with an ideology of raids and counter raids, war, pillage and feud. Certain writers have undoubtedly greatly exaggerated the extent to which the average Kachin in former times did in fact devote himself to raiding, robbery and loot, but to Kachinsthis preoccupation does seem, often still, very accurately to describe the way majorities. The Kachin ideal of manly behaviour does correspond very closely with the typical English concept of a "brigand". His daily tasks are good to the extent that they contribute bodily love on. And this has reference to the existing situation. The fight (ideas to think of himself as a military leader rather than as a landlord; he habitually chooses his own neighbours into "friends" and "enemies". The consequences of this attitude are highly serious and remain to be examined here, but at least the divergent trends can be noted. On the one hand the sharp antagonism between neighbouring groups is very today a force of social cohesion; the members of the clan or the tribe are aware of their unity largely in terms of their common enmity to some other group. On the other hand increasing economic contacts and the constant bureaucratic efforts of the Police and the administration, in so far as they are successful in lessening intergroup suspicion, do act the same time to lessen the social cohesion of the groups concerned.

Police organized raiding or warfare is now impossible the primary fact conditions and may be examined further.

The Feud

The social of the Giant feud may be summarized by the phrase that "a man's enemy must be avenged by his kinsfolk and his descendants", and we may note at once that a system of small politically independent groups is particularly suited to perpetuate antagonisms of this kind. The individuals upon whom we view the near neighbours, and since his kinsfolk are probably identified with him who he is bound by an item of loyalty to any group outside his own village. Within the village all are bound together to secure the aggression, hatred is everyone to a potential enemy, the identity of interest between the family and the village is complete.

Quarrels between villagers may arise from a variety of causes, chiefly economic. Rules and grazing rights are always ill-defined and may lead to serious disputes in times of scarcity, and then may

576 [illegible]
624 [illegible]
634 [illegible]
641 [illegible]

628 [illegible]

634 [illegible]
634 [illegible]
178 [illegible]

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 WWII Hard WWII
Kawandisi

Survey

[illegible] 27

[illegible] 577
[illegible] 537
[illegible] 647

[illegible] 0000

[illegible]

9: Leach E-S (1954) 1940 WWII Rural WWII
Rowandiza

[illegible]

771 773 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms the social position of the Hills in the Kachins as village priests, and give some description of the scope on the visible evidence of the religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine beliefs or ritual practices in detail.

The Hills

773 Most of the larger villages have a resident Hills. The functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write the sacred language and an encyclopaedic knowledge of the Sutras. This sacred equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a student, during which time he is permitted upon the village to which he is sent, begging his keep and assisting all services except laymen. Most Hills have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They are not usually members of the local kinship group, but individuals who through some social entanglement have left their own group and are thus without normal means of support. The student must I believe undergo a certain standard before he 'graduates' as a Hills, but how this is defined is not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The intellectual attainments of the Hills vary very greatly. Some have a real understanding of books and Pentaps and of the various dimensions of their own language, others merely learn the Sutras by rote and recite portions of it as ritualistic exercises without any clear understanding of the meanings. Knowledge of the Sutras does not even necessarily imply an ability to read - the Hills student can learn the whole text but can [illegible] practically everything the whole book. In general however the Hills may be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. Some of the villagers commonly use 10 months each of the lights would claim the distinction but I doubt their real ability - all lights of Ngaut the narrators called to the Hills both to read and write the letters, and Kawlt Hkam of Sangpin though he could certainly read was commonly [illegible] Kiwan. In earlier times one of the Hills's hereditary functions [illegible] to be write out general statements to the lights; predictions in this respect are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most lights know are not quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the lights the Hills's services to the community are chiefly those of village priest. He leads the prayers by the people, and at the Nshang [illegible] supplements this with a brief address to Shadu, which is extremely unintelligible to the audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals and receives suitable rewards from the Sutra. It was learned further that he is frequently called in to cure sickness - usually by means of prayers and charms and incantations. I have no information at all as to the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and Kwaiin charms, especially among the women and the smaller children suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

In return for these services he receives from the Hills a

R: Leach E-S (1939) 1940 Hill Rural Hill
Researcher

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

B: Leach 8-5 (1938) 1940 WWII Guard WWII
Newsletter

[illegible]

Chapter 4

The Institution of the Foregoing Research

The reader may have noted a curious reticence on the subject of military affairs in regard to [illegible]. In reality every one of the authority granted to attend to [illegible] in any responsibility to general duties, - of all my instruments but two, - the most powerful portions of the medical organization were [illegible].

The reasons for limiting my research to [illegible] were [illegible]. I was the first [illegible] that such power to [illegible] the military subject were those of military personnel, and since it was assumed that I was responsible to a special agent of the [illegible] military power I was naturally the object of considerable [illegible] and suspicion. The high policy that caused Britain to [illegible] Iraq as an independent state in preparation to the British withdrawal, and it is assumed that Britain, to maintain an important line of communication between the English and the Arabs, [illegible] though I succeeded with an official pass from the Ministry of the Interior, it was generally assumed that my real [illegible] was [illegible] although the Government's [illegible] authority concerning the [illegible] between [illegible] were suspected as a cloak with which to [illegible] military matters. This put me [illegible] to be assumed guilty. The [illegible] of [illegible] compelled them to treat me as an [illegible] guest, and if my [illegible] to the Government [illegible] that the Government [illegible] were entirely [illegible] they could be well assured to [illegible] with me. [illegible] On the other hand if I was really an agent of the [illegible], any [illegible] with me would surely lead to a [illegible] [illegible] on the basis of the [illegible] as soon as I had left. And there was further complication - [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

The Problem Considered

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

B: Leach E-S (1958) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

p 49

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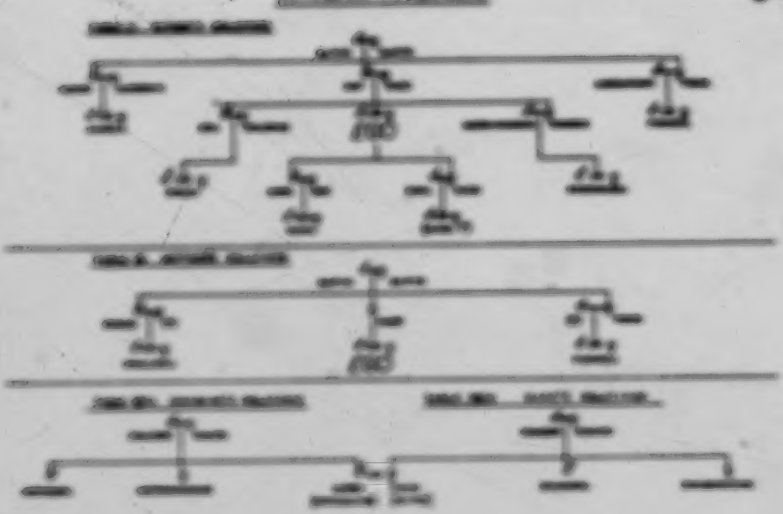

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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APPENDIX.

601 Note on Table of Kinship Terms

General. The Kurdish language spoken in the Rowanduz area has much in common with old Persian, but contains far fewer Arabic importations than does modern Persian. In both languages the kinship terms show a blending of Indo-European and Semitic roots but there is no close correspondence.

	Inner-Kurdish	Persian	Arabic
Grandfather	bapir	jadd	jidd
Father	bap	pidar	ab
Mother	dayk	madar	umm
Uncle (paternal)	emo	'amu	'amm
" (maternal)	khalo	khal	khal
Brother	bra	biradar	akh
Sister	khushk	khahar	ukht
Son	kury	pisar	ibn
Daughter	kich	dukhtar	bint

It may be significant however that in both Kurdish and Persian Semitic words are used to describe the two types of Uncle.

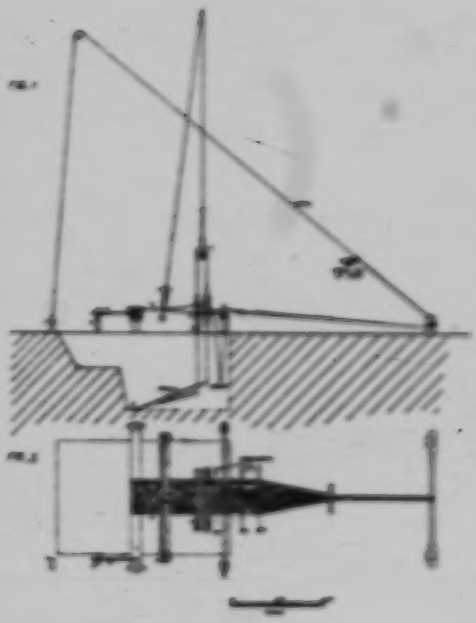
Table 1. As explained elsewhere in the text, the term emam (father's brother's child) appears to be used in a classificatory sense to include all members of Ego's tire. The colloquial use of the English word 'cousin' is closely analogous to this. It is not clear whether terms such as mamikhushk (literally 'husband of sister') are merely descriptive in the sense of 'my sister's husband', or whether they are actual terms of colloquial reference such as 'brother in law'.
Bik - 'daughter in law' - literally means 'bride'
Emo - 'son in law' - " " 'bridegroom'
Kuro - 'grandchild' - seems to have an extended meaning in the sense of 'descendants'.

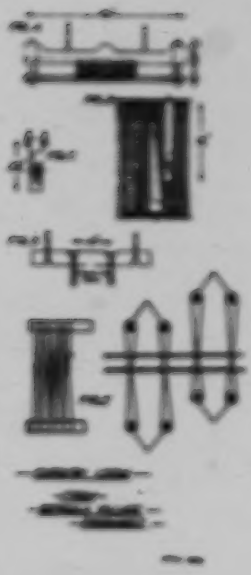
Table 2. Note that in a system of cross-cousin marriage, 'mother's brother' may frequently be married to 'father's sister', so that the 'khalmo' may also be members of Ego's own tire.

Table 3. Xhin - 'wife' - and mamê - 'husband' - mean literally simply 'woman' and 'man' respectively.

(515) It is not clear how any of these tables are affected in a situation of Polygyny. Thus Jalal Beg, eighth son of the Mir of Rowanduz told me that he had only one brother - i.e. by his own mother. He said he addressed his step-mothers as dayk, but if he wanted to be more specific would add a name; thus dayk Fatin - 'mother Fatima'. I do not know whether any distinction is made between uncles who are full brothers of Ego's father and those who are only half brothers.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz





B: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAII Hand MAII
Rowanhill

46

The Scottish Loom

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The Scottish loom illustrated on the opposite page has not, so far as I can discover, been described in detail before. *Ling Roth mentions the Kinds Pit Treadle loom as a variation of the Scarborough Hand Treadle loom but does not describe it. The Scottish Pit Treadle loom, here shown, is similar to that used in Central Pennsylvania except that the latter has the slay slung from a right rectangular framework thus allowing of a wider warp.

Taken in conjunction with the photographs (unfortunately blurred owing to overexposure) the diagram opposite should be more or less self explanatory.

The weaver sits in a pit beneath the loom. He operates the heddle mechanism with his feet by means of a treadle and works the shuttle and slay with his hands.

Fig. 1 is a section through the loom and Fig. 2 is the corresponding plan. Portions of the apparatus marked A.B.C.D.E. in small letters are shown in larger scale in the subsidiary figures to the right of the diagram. The scales for figures A.B.C.D. are as indicated; Fig.E is diagrammatic only.

Fig.A shows the slay (reed, beater &c). As can be seen it can be readily taken to pieces. The comb of the reed is not rigidly attached to the batten frame but rises freely in grooved slots indicated by the dotted lines. This prevents the warp being "dragged" on one side if the weaver fails to pull the slay quite straight.

The weft (weft) on the finished cloth immediately behind the reed is kept taut by the device shown in Fig.B. I am unaware of the English technical term for this device. It can be seen in position in one of the photographs. It consists of two pieces of wood, each with a steel needle at one end, joined together with string at the other. By adjusting the length of the string the two pieces can be made to form a rigid bar of variable length. The diagram shows the pieces in position on the cloth before looking one inside the other.

Fig.C shows one of the two pulley blocks supporting the heddle rocker.

Fig.D shows one of the bars from which the pedal straps are suspended; it appears in cross section in figure 1 at the point D.

Fig.E shows (diagrammatically) the way the warp threads are threaded through the loops of the heddle. Note from figure 1 that both heddle and counter-heddle are double, the odd threads passing through both sets of loops on one side of the weaver and the even threads through those of the other. I did not obtain precise details of how the loash strings are knotted and looped.

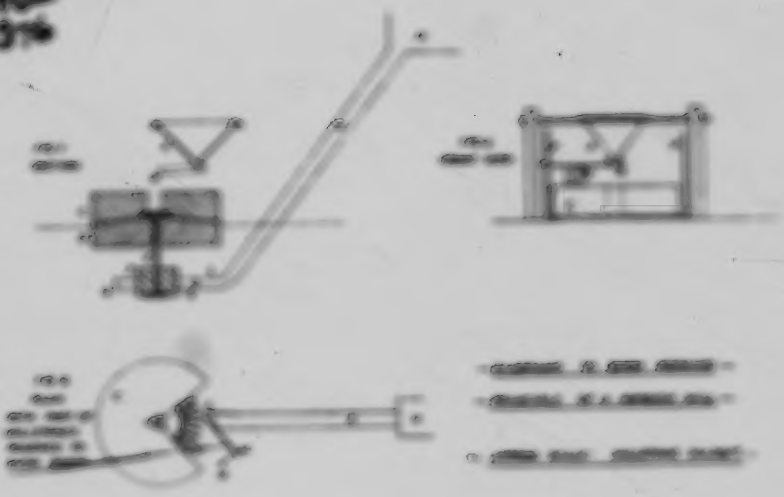
*E. Ling Roth - Studies in Primitive Looms

The finished work is called on the square sectioned tenon [illegible]. This is held in position by the nut B which fits into one of four holes in the sides of J and is locked under the flank groove peg D. To adjust the work the nuts in front at F, and B and J can then be adjusted as well. It should be noted that for convenience A.S.A. have been shown in Fig.1 as well as in Fig.2 though they are positioned on the reverse right hand side as indicated in the plan.

There are three spreaders [illegible], the front one of which is in front of the saddle base E. This bolt is held down by the weight shown in Figure 1; this prevents the spreader slipping forward into the saddle mechanism and prevents the work "bouncing" on E. Without this device the rear spreaders would require constant adjustment.

The saddle base E is slightly grooved on the top face so as to keep the threads in place; it serves the same function as the spreaders - that of keeping the work threads taut and spread out. The centerpiece is secured in projective lens designs.

[illegible]



- 19 -

The Scottish Hand Mill - Mill Housing, Various Type

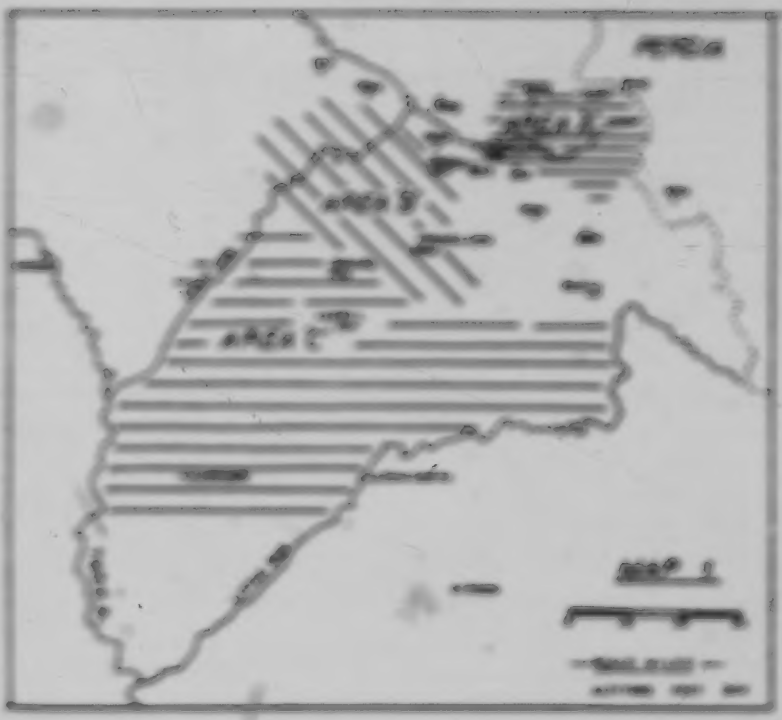
Fig 19

The diagrams appended should be read in conjunction with the photographs on the web. The type of mill illustrated is found all over the Hebridean area (Map 1). Some of the surrounding type a wide distribution, it is not found however in the places illustrated where an entirely different type of water wheel is in use. I have on the failure to obtain a description of any similar mill elsewhere.

The operation of the mill is very simple though I know of no other example of primitive mechanism employing this various principle.

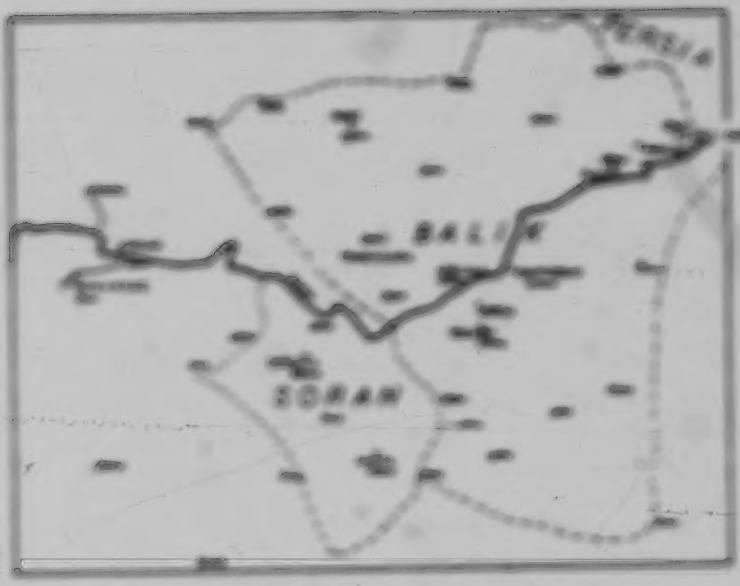
Water is supplied from a channel A and falls from a steep chute on [illegible] fig 1. This is sometimes tightly enclosed but more usually takes the form of a deep wicker channel. The total head of water available by this means is about 20 feet. At the bottom of the last pipe the water passes through a horizontal jet L, the aperture of which can be adjusted by a wedge-shaped piece from the front of the mill-house. From the jet the water plays onto a tangential series of wooden vanes C set in a heavy stone base B. These vanes are set slightly on the skew and have a portion of the upper face cut away to provide a rim. The exact of the vane can be judged from photograph No.20 where a spare vane block can be seen on the left of the picture. There is no bottom bearing and the whole rotor mechanism hangs freely from above supported only by the steel shafting S. This latter passes through a hole in the lower millstone D, which is fixed rigid to the surrounding masonry and is secured into the upper revolving millstone C. I did not see the operation demonstrated so I am uncertain as to the precise method of keying the shafting into the rotor stones F and G or of the form of the bearing where the upper end of the shafting rides on the fixed stone D. The vane block undoubtedly in best replacement from the photograph. The vane passes into the bin L, into the bridget E. The bridget is attached to the hopper G which is jogged by the rotation of the millstone. This causes the feed H to vibrate and thus the corn passes into the central hole of the millstone. The rate of feed is adjusted by varying the incline of the feed H. The screws F is provided with the bolt and nuts of the millstone so as to prevent the flour flying out in all directions.

The following additional explanation refers to the diagrams only. In Fig.1 the structure supporting the vane box and the stones F and G the mechanism for working and tightening the feed H are omitted. It should be understood that the lower stone F is set right in the ground, while the rotor mechanism M hangs freely in a rectangular space underground. In Fig.2 the rotor and jet setting is exaggerated, and the true setting of the rotor blades ignored. The jet L is actually slightly above the rotor blades and the direction of the water flow slightly downwards. The blades are then struck in the centre at an incline of about 35 degrees rather than at the axis horizontally as the diagram would seem to indicate. In actual operation the machine runs remarkably smoothly at slow speeds, but we might be expected a violent vibration because if any attempt to make to drive the opposite way.



G: Length 0-5 (1838) 1940 WWII Guard WWII
Recommdnt

p. 96



—MAP 2.—

LAND UTILISATION

WALKISH VILLAGE SURVEY 1936

List of Photographs

1. Knights. Young Scottish sights - a sculpture of all types of figure.
2. " Small early sights of Inscriptions, two other Scribes, and a standing Deities.
3. Sandstone. Sculpted human representations, Knights.
4. " All sights "Black Tower" at Sights. The open sections at the west end is the "Great Tower".
5. Rock. Rock containing shells, an occurrence normally reported only on sandy shore.
6. " A standing human face rock. The front resembles of this human type; rock strata, human profiles, ghosts, rock, an animal, warrior (helmeted arms shown). Note rock shown there has separated before splitting lines to rock. Note also the head of long angled beside the triangle to the background.
7. Triangle - Sacred Pillings.
8. Triangle - symbol. Note the engineering with which the opposition can be distinguished.
9. Tetrahedron - Bell, ceremony engines, Relevant Pillings.
10. " - Phallus engine. [See comments on text].
11. Tetrahedron - Sacred Pillings.
12. The tetrahedron engraving above a tetrahedron Rock.
13. Lamp - [For comparisons with Kingdoms]
14. " (" " " ")
15. Tertiary Rocks Bell - [For comparisons with Kingdoms, especially Page 4].
16. " " " - Sacred Stations.

Plate 1
Panels: Young Basotho fights a regiment of Nazi fights
of Panels

Plate 2
Panels: Injured Basotho fights of Nazi-soldiers, his other
Basotho, and a running Panda

[Opposite page 74 - C]

[Opposite p 74 - D]

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Plate 11
Wintering Yaus Ridge

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Plate 12
The [illegible] on [illegible]

[opposite page 78 - F]

Plate 13
Learn. (For comparison with engine.)

Plate 14
Learn. (For comparison with engine.)

[Opposite page 11 - ii]

[illegible]

Ft Roosevelt G-5 (1948-1967) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

THE
MIDDLE EAST
JOURNAL

VOLUME I JULY 1947 NUMBER 3

THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF MAHABAD

Archie Roosevelt, Jr.

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668

THE DREAM of Kurdish nationalists, an independent Kurdistan, was realized on a miniature scale in Iran from December 1945 to December 1946. The origin of the little Kurdish Republic, its brief and stormy history, and its sudden collapse is one of the more illuminating stories of the contemporary Middle East. Its strangely discordant themes of tribal warfare, rival imperialisms and social systems, medieval chivalry and idealistic nationalism well illustrate the complexity of the Kurdish picture, involving as it does a people never united and now split among five nations, none of which is sympathetic to Kurdish nationalist aspirations.

[H] Mr. Roosevelt, Jr., served as Assistant Military Attaché in Tehran from March 1946 to February 1947. During this period he made a special study of the Kurdish situation and was one of four Americans to visit Mahabad during the brief existence of the Kurdish Republic.

Pr Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

101 In September 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran,
131 toppling over the structure painfully erected by Reza Shah
648 Pahlavi. As his soldiers scattered, they sold or surrendered their arms to the tribes which still roamed the desolate mountains of Iran, holding to their organization, mores, and way of life in spite of the old Shah's efforts to subdue them. Among those thus benefiting from the Iranian collapse were the Kurdish tribes occupying the mountains along the Iraqi and Turkish borders from Maku, in the shadow of Mount Ararat in the north, to Qasr-i-Shirin, on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road in the south.

In the north, the Kurdish tribes in the mountains west of Lake Urmieh found themselves contained by the strong Soviet garrisons in Rezaieh, Shahpur, Khoi, and Maku. In the absence of effective Iranian authority, the Soviets maintained direct relations with the tribes — the Jalali in the north, the Shikak in the mountains west of Shahpur, and the Herki west of Rezaieh. The chiefs of these tribes were allowed to manage their own affairs by the Soviets, who only required that they maintain security and provide grain for the Red Army. At the southern extreme of the Kurdish area, near the Kermanshah-Baghdad road — one of the main supply links between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union — British troops kept the tribes quiet.

622 It was in the large area between the British and Soviet forces,
648 in the vacuum left by the fleeing Iranians, that the Kurds were able to regain their autonomy. At first the two main centers of disturbance were Merivan and the Awroman Mountains, where Mahmud Khan of Kani-Shean established a precarious hegemony; and Baneh, where Hama Rashid Khan, long in exile in Iraq, built up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. Both of these tribal chiefs were recognized for a time by the Iranian Government as semi-official governors of their areas, but were then driven into Iraq by the reorganized Iranian Army. By the fall of 1945, all of Kurdistan south of the Saqqiz-Baneh-Sardasht line was again firmly in government hands. The vacuum was thus reduced to the small area between this line and the Soviet forces based on Rezaieh, in which there was only one town of any size — Mahabad, formerly known as Sauj Bulagh, a few miles south of Lake Urmieh.

ft Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

Northwestern Iran, 1946

[p.249]

Fr Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

FORMATION OF THE KOMALA

186 609 668 It was in this town of Mahabad, left to its own devices by the Allies, that the most recent of the Kurdish nationalist movements was born. On August 16, 1943, a dozen young Kurds, most of them small merchants and petty officials of the town, founded the Komala-i-Zhian-i-Kurd, or "Committee of Kurdish Youth." For purposes of secrecy, the membership of the new party was kept below 100 and was organized in cells; the semi-weekly meetings were never held in the same house twice in succession. The Constitution of the Komala was strongly nationalist and membership was restricted to persons of Kurdish descent on both sides of the family, the only exception being for those with an Assyrian mother — an indication of the present close relations between Kurds and Assyrians.

The Komala spread rapidly, not only in Iran but in other countries as well, where Kurds saw in the new group a more vigorous force than in the traditional Kurdish nationalist parties. Chapters of the Komala were founded in the Iraqi towns of Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Suleimania, Rowanduz, and Shaklawa; and there was a chapter functioning even in Turkey, where Kurdish nationalist activity is an offense punishable by death. The chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity of Mahabad also sent emissaries offering help. They were told that they were not needed then, but might be called on in the future.

177 668 It was inevitable that the two great powers primarily interested in the area should eventually hear of the Komala. The British, whose Kirkuk oil fields are located in Kurdish country, kept a watchful eye on developments. Their political adviser in Mosul sometimes ranged as far as Mahabad, while his subordinates were stationed in Rowanduz, Kirkuk, Erbil, and Suleimania. Yet the British could not encourage Kurdish aspirations without arousing Arab resentment, and so remained deaf to the overtures of the Kurdish nationalists.

SOVIET INFILTRATION

With the Soviets it was a different story. At first they were evidently unprepared for active work among the Kurds, although

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177 668 they did once in 1942, invite the leading aghas to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmieh the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmrie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, attached to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jafarov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activty in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man [578] dressed in Kudish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.[1] This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finaly the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

[1] Kurdish dress consists of a rounded turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy grey trousers of homespun wool, and a huge crimson kummerband, intricately knotted in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the stem of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians forced to abandon their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their ancestral pride, until the Allied invasion, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are incorrigible dandies and a poor man among them would rather spend his last coins on a fine sash than on a good meal. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more cord.

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Three impartially, the Komala moved inevitably into the Soviet orbit.

During this period VOKS, the Soviet international propaganda organization, was starting a number of "Iranian-Soviet Cultural Relations Societies" in all sections of Iran. As the Komala had grown too big to continue meeting in private homes, its leaders now asked the Soviets to found a branch in Mahabad; they hoped thus to obtain a place to meet without attracting too much attention. The Soviets readily complied, and it was founded, not as a branch of the Iranian-Soviet Relations Society, but as the "Kurdistan-Soviet Cultural Relations Society" (Anjoman-i-Farhangi-i-Kurdistan-o-Shuravi). The clubhouse was soon crowded with Kurds, who showed their gratitude to their new patrons by sending ten cases of cigarettes made of Kurdish tobacco to the victors of Leningrad.

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It was at a ceremony in the society's clubhouse, in April 1945, that the Komala finally came into the open. The Soviet Consul from Rezaieh and the chief of VOKS in Azerbaijan were honored guests. The main feature of the program was an "opera" in which a woman called "Daik Nishteman" (Mother Native Land) was represented as abused by three ruffians, "Iraq," "Iran," and "Turkey," finally to be rescued by her stalwart sons. The audience, unused to dramatic representations, was deeply moved, and blood-feuds generations old were composed as life-long enemies fell weeping on each other's shoulders and swore to avenge Kurdistan.

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At this ceremony the future head of the Kurdish state, Qazi Mohammad, was finally admitted to the party, to the gratification of the Soviets, who had not liked the democratic organization of the Komala and had long been looking for someone on whom they could count to lead it according to their suggestions. At first the Soviets, realizing the strength of the tribes, had approached tribal chiefs with requests to lead the nationalist movement. But only three of them commanded sufficient prestige for the task — Qaranei Agha Rais-ol-Ashair, venerable chief of the Mamesh and the acknowledged leader of the federation of which they were a part; Amr Khan Sharifi, chief of the Shikak and "grand old man" of Kurdistan; and Amir Asad of the Dehbokri, die-hard

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conservative who, as honorary chief of the gendarmerie, had been made responsible for security of the area by the Iranian Government. But Soviet overtures to each met only polite evasion.

Thus it was that the Soviets finally turned to Qazi Mohammad, hereditary judge and religious leader of Mahabad, and a member of its most respected family. They were frequent guests at his house and eventually helped him, through pressure on the Iranian Government, to replace Amir Asad as government representative in the area, by his brother Seif Qazi, who took over the title of Commander of the Gendarmerie. Qazi Mohammad is said to have learned of the Komala only about a year after its formation, when he sent emissaries discreetly offering his adherence. Komala leaders had decided not to admit him, fearing that because of his strong and authoritarian character and also because of the deference which they themselves had been accustomed since childhood to show him and his family, he would eventually dominate the party and end its democratic character. When at Soviet insistence the Komala finally did admit him, there came about precisely the result they feared — one-man rule of the party.

Qazi's admission enabled the Soviets to draw the Kurds rapidly into line with Soviet policy, which, by the summer of 1945, began to reflect the growing aggressiveness shown by the Soviets elsewhere. Previously the instrument of Soviet penetration in Iran had been the Tudeh Party, a popular front of Iranian left-wingers which, although successful in other parts of Iran, had never been able to take root in Kurdistan.[3] Now, however, the Soviets were considering a new and ambitious plan — the attachment of northwestern Iran to the Soviet Union. Accordingly they formed an independence party to replace the Tudeh in Azerbaijan, a party which could then without embarrassing the Tudeh in other parts of Iran stage a revolution, declare the province independent, and possibly request incorporation in the Soviet Union. Obedient to Soviet orders, the Tudeh abolished itself and re-formed as the "Democrat Party of Azerbaijan," whereupon it began to use Azerbaijani Turkish as its official language and to demand separation from Iran.

[3] For a discussion of the Tudeh Party, see George Lenczowski, "The Communist Movement in Iran," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), pp. 29-45. [Source # 24]

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177 668 The Kurds of western Azerbaijan — which includes Mahabad — could hardly have been expected to join a party purportedly dedicated to Azerbaijani Turkish nationalism, so a new party had to be formed to fit them into the Soviet scheme. On September 12, Captain Namazaliev, Soviet Town Commandant in Miandoab, summoned the chiefs of the important Kurdish tribes, together with Qazi Mohammad and Seif Qazi, to Tabriz ostensibly to see the Soviet Consul. When they arrived, the bewildered Kurds were suddenly told to proceed to the railway station, where they were hustled onto a train and taken to Baku. For three days they lived in a villa outside the town and were entertained with tours, the theater, and the opera. On the fourth day they were ushered in to see Bagherov, President of the Azerbaijan S.S.R., who harangued them regarding the wrongs they had suffered under Reza Shah, and said that the Soviet Government would help the new Democrat Party, which was dedicated to freedom for the oppressed and which he strongly urged them to join. He condemned both the Tudeh Party, which he characterized as a group of ineffective trouble-makers, and the Komala, which he said was started in Iraq under the auspices of British intelligence and was nothing but an instrument of British imperialism. Then, after a warning not to say anything about the trip, the Kurds were put on the train to Tabriz, where they were loaded into Red Army vehicles and driven off to their homes.

THE DEMOCRAT PARTY OF KURDISTAN

186 668 The results of the expedition were soon apparent. Shortly after his return, Qazi Mohammad called a meeting of Kurdish notables to announce the formation of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan, which he urged all to join. Concluding from its name that the goal of the party was democracy on the American model, many responded enthusiastically. A manifesto, signed by Qazi Mohammad and 105 leading Kurds, was issued; it stated that the Kurdish people now wished "to take advantage of the liberation of the world from Fascism and to share in the promises of the Atlantic Charter." The declaration said that the Kurds wished nothing but the human and constitutional rights denied them by Reza Shah, and listed their aims as follows:

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668 1. The Kurdish people in Iran should have freedom and self-government in the administration of their local affairs, and obtain autonomy within the limits of the Iranian State.

186 2. The Kurdish language should be used in education and be the official language in administrative affairs.

3. The provincial council of Kurdistan should be immediately elected according to constitutional law and should supervise and inspect all state and social matters.

4. All state officials must be of local origin.

5. A single law for both peasants and notables should be adopted and the future of both secured.

6. The Kurdish Democrat Party will make a special effort to establish unity and complete fraternity with the Azerbaijani people and the other peoples that live in Azerbaijan (Assyrians, Armenians, etc.) in their struggle.

7. The Kurdish Democrat Party will strive for the improvement of the moral and economic state of the Kurdish people through the exploration of Kurdistan's many natural resources, the progress of agriculture and commerce, and the development of hygiene and education.

8. We desire that the peoples living in Iran be able to strive freely for the happiness and progress of their country.

The manifesto ended in Soviet style with the words, "Long Live Kurdish Democratic Autonomy!"

The formation of the new party resulted in the dissolution of
668 the Komala and the absorption of its members by the Democrats. Yet from the beginning the tribal chiefs, fearful of communism, were wary of the new party, though many signed a pledge of support presented them by a Soviet political officer touring the tribal areas. This underlying tribal opposition would have made Qazi Mohammad's position untenable had it not been for a fortuitous accession of strength which arrived from Iraq — Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis.

The Barzanis had been even in Ottoman times one of the most
668 troublesome of all the Kurdish tribes. In the 1920's Sheikh Ahmad
619 of Barzan, considered a god by the Barzanis and neighboring tribes, frequently rebelled against the British, who several times were forced to call in the R.A.F. Finally Sheikh Ahmad, his younger brother Mulla Mustafa, and his principal followers were exiled, first in southern Iraq, then in Suleimania. On June 11, 1942, Mulla Mustafa, who had taken over the leadership from his brother, escaped to Barzan.

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The story of Mulla Mustafa's subsequent struggle with the Iraqi Government, of how he twice defeated the Iraqi army in 1945, and how by judicious use of funds the Iraqi Minister of Interior was able to enlist other Kurdish tribes against him and drive him from Barzan, must be told x another time. Suffice it to say that on October 11, 1945, Mulla Mustafa, Sheikh Ahmad, and about 1,000 armed Barzanis and their families entered Iran at a point north of Ushnuieh. With them were a number of Iraqi petty officials and schoolteachers of Kurdish descent, and Kurdish deserters from the Iraqi army and gendarmerie, including twelve army officers. The latter were men of high caliber, several of whom had been trained in England and had held positions on the Iraqi general staff.

Shortly after his arrival in Iran, the Mulla met a number of Soviet officers, including the general commanding Soviet forces in western Azerbaijan. The Soviets told him to place himself under the orders of Qazi Mohammad, and ordered the local Kurds to feed and house the destitute Barzanis. By the end of October the Mulla's forces, swollen by refugees and adventurers from Iraq, numbered nearly 3,000 men armed with British rifles captured from the Iraqi army, machine guns, and one field piece.

THE KURDISH PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

In November and early December, Soviet agents circulated among the tribes, telling them to mobilize for the coming struggle for independence and ordering the chiefs to assemble in Mahabad. All co-operated with the exception of the Mamesh, the Mangur, and the Dehbokri. Meanwhile in the rest of Azerbaijan the position of the Iranian Government was rapidly deteriorating. Armed "Democrats," many of them from Soviet Azerbaijan or the Caucasus, began to attack Iranian soldiers and gendarmes, who soon hardly dared leave their barracks. The whole province was in open "rebellion," while the Red Army stopped relief columns sent north by the Central Government to reinforce its hard-pressed garrisons. Finally, on December 10 the Democrats attacked the garrison in Tabriz and forced it to surrender. All eastern Azerbaijan then fell under the control of the newly-formed "Azerbaijan People's Government."

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668 692 The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Banei (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zero Beg Herki[1] received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.[2]

578 668 The new government, which controlled only a minute territory including the towns of Mahabad, Bokan, Naqadeh, and Ushnuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Senandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains west

177 622 624 645 [1] Zero Beg was a bandit chief originally associated with the famous Shikak rebel chief, Simitko. Upon the latter's defeat and murder by Reza Shah, Zero Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Barandus Valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have been their favored protégé. Although of little importance in his own tribe, the Herki, most of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, these Soviet connections enabled him to play an important role in developments in Kurdistan.

[2] Other officials of the new government were Hajji Baba Sheikh, local religious leader, Prime Minister; Sadiq Haideri, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Nazaf Karimi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Ma'ani, Minister of Commerce; Ahmad Elahi, Minister of the Treasury; Seyyid Mohammad Tabatabaeh, Minister of Health; and Khalil Khosrovi, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.

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of Lake Urmieh, from Rezaieh north to Maku, are Azerbaijani Turks, the tribes of the hills commanding the plains are Kurds. The Miandoab area, southeast of the lake, also has a mixed population. These areas were claimed by both the Tabriz and the Mahabad governments and were a source of constant friction. Amr Khan and the tribes paid little attention to the Azerbaijani Democrats, and were continually encroaching on the villages and towns presumably under the control of Tabriz. In April 1946, the Soviets brought Qazi Mohammad to Tabriz in an attempt to settle the differences between the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds. It was essential at that time that the two puppet states form a united front, as negotiations were about to open between the Democrats and the Iranian Government for a permanent settlement of the status of the province.

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The final result of talks between Pishevari, leader of the Azerbaijani Democrats, Qazi Mohammad, and the Soviets was a treaty signed April 23, 1946, by the Kurdish and the Azerbaijani representatives. Publication of this treaty caused consternation in Tehran, as its clauses and indeed its very existence showed that the twin Democrat regimes considered themselves independent nations with the right to exchange representatives and make treaties. The text of the treaty was as follows:

1. The two signatory governments will exchange representatives whenever it is deemed advisable.
2. In those areas of Azerbaijan where there are Kurdish minorities, Kurds will be appointed to government departments, and in those parts of Kurdistan where there are Azerbaijani minorities, Azerbaijanis will be appointed to government departments.
3. A joint economic commission will be formed to solve the economic problems of the signatory nations. Members of this commission will be appointed by the heads of the national governments.
4. The military forces of the signatory nations will assist each other whenever necessary.
5. Any negotiations with the Tehran Government will be conducted in the joint interest of the Azerbaijan and Kurdish national governments.
6. The Azerbaijan National Government will take the necessary steps to promote the use of the Kurdish language and the development of Kurdish culture among the Kurds of Azerbaijan, and the Kurdish National Government will take similar steps with regard to the Azerbaijanis living in Kurdistan.
7. Both signatory nations will take measures to punish any individual or

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649 group seeking to destroy the historic friendship and democratic brotherhood of the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds.[1]

The Azerbaijani Democrats next proceeded to negotiate a settlement in Tehran with the Iranian Premier, Ahmad Qavam. By its terms all Azerbaijan, including the Kurdish areas, became once more nominally part of Iran, while the Democrat leaders were "appointed" to posts in Azerbaijan Province corresponding to those they already held in the Democrat government. The Kurds reacted unfavorably to the agreement. Although they had been represented in at least some of the negotiations by Sadr Qazi, Qazi Mohammad's brother and a deputy in the last Iranian parliament, they felt that their wishes had been largely ignored. Whereas the Azerbaijani Democrats had legalized the positions they had seized, Qazi Mohammad's government now had no legal basis at all. The Kurds had progressed from the condition of a minority in the Iranian state to that of a minority in an Azerbaijani Turkish state.

Finally, Qazi Mohammad himself went to Tehran to voice his disapproval to Premier Qavam. He asked to be made governor of a new Kurdish province consisting of the Kurdish parts of Azerbaijan, combined with the much larger areas inhabited by Kurds still under Iranian control — a territory that would stretch from the Russian border to a point half way between Kermanshah and Senandaj.[2] This new province was to have a degree of local autonomy, with its provincial officials and its army garrison recruited entirely from the local population. The wily Iranian premier agreed to Qazi's proposal, but with the proviso that Qazi must also obtain the consent of Dr. Javid, the Democrat Governor of Azerbaijan. Dr. Javid indignantly rejected the plan, and friction continued between the Kurds and the Azerbaijani Democrats.

Although in the course of these conversations in Tehran a truce

[1] The treaty was signed in Tabriz by Pishevari, Biriya, Dr. Javid, and Sadiq Pishegar for the Azerbaijani Democrats, and by Qazi Mohammad, Seyyid Abdollah Ojjaq, Amir Khan Shikak, Zero Beg Herki, and Rashid Beg Herki for the Kurds.

[2] Senandaj (Sanna) was the capital of the province of Kurdistan, the former independent principality of Ardalan. It included Saqqiz and Banah, but not Sardasht, which was administratively part of Azerbaijan. In the present article the word "Kurdistan" has been used to designate Qazi Mohammad's territory, some of which was in the province of Kurdistan.

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668 721 had been agreed upon by the Central Government on the one hand, and the Kurds and Azerbaijanis on the other, sniping and skirmishing continued, occasionally flaring up into open warfare. The Iranians, in view of the declared intention of the Soviets to evacuate Iran early in May,[1] now began to take more active military measures. The Kurdish front was held by the Iranian Fourth Division under the command of tall, able General Homayuni, recently transferred from Khuzistan, where he had carried out a vigorous disarmament program among the Arab tribes. In mid-April, Homayuni opened the roads and rushed reinforcements to Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht.

The Soviets were said to have promised the Kurds planes, tanks, and heavy weapons, and to have taken some fifty young Kurds to Baku for military and political training. For the present, however, Qazi Mohammad had to rely on tribal levies to oppose the Iranians. In the hills overlooking General Homayuni's forces was a formidable but divided force consisting principally of the Barzanis, but also including small Kurdish tribes always ready for fighting and looting, and Hama Rashid and his henchmen.[2]

As General Homayuni pulled more and more reinforcements into the area, Qazi Mohammad and the Soviets put pressure on Amr Khan of the Shikak and his allies, the Herki, to come down from the north and aid in the operations. At first Amr Khan demurred on the excuse that his horses were in pasture elsewhere and could not be moved, but at the beginning of May he reluctantly sent his tribesmen to the battle zone.

The month of May 1946 was marked by a number of fierce battles, all fought by small numbers and none of them followed through by decisive operations. In the beginning of the month the Kurds won a victory damaging to Iranian prestige when they surprised an army column on a road march near Saqqiz, killed twenty, and captured thirty-odd prisoners, two machine guns, and 4,000 rounds of ammunition. The Kurdish prisoners were conscripted in the Kurdish army; the rest were sent to Tabriz.

[1] The Red Army finally evacuated Iran on May 9, 1946.

[2] Hama Rashid was of dubious value to the Kurds, as he was continually carrying on secret negotiations with the Iranian army for his reinstatement as Governor of Baneh, and was also suspected by both Kurds and Iranians of a mysterious connection with the British. In August, hearing that plans were being made in Mahabad to have him murdered, Hama Rashid fled back into Iraq.

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668 721 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Ishmudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Sanandaj road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby liaison officers were exchanged,[1] each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqiz to Baneh and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

186 609 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British opportunism, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going concern. 642 621 Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wazir* (minister) to *rais* (chief). 624 Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishwa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

[1] The Kurdish liaison officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Nazarzadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army plane in which he was traveling crashed near Bandi.

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Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalists everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, ascetic face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not form the same combination as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Suleimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Hetar* and *Hilal*.[10] All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

[10] A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Komala period, such as *Kelavizh* and, notably *Nizkeman*, official organ of the party, which bore a picture of Saladin on the cover and circulated in Iraq as well as Iran.

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the Democrat Party of Kurdistan. The importance Qazi Mohammad attached to literature and the Kurdish language may be adduced from the presence on his staff of two young poets, Hazhar and Hiwan, whose poems were published in spite of the paper shortage.

Although these efforts did not suffice during the republic's short life to bring it anywhere near the standard of the other two centers of Kurdish culture where Kurdish has been freely written and taught for twenty-five years, politically at least Mahabad was the focal point toward which all Kurdish eyes now were turned. In intellectual Kurdish circles in Beirut, Istanbul, and Baghdad, as well as among the wild mountains of western Asia, all were watching to see whether Qazi Mohammad would succeed or fail. Couriers brought communications to him from groups of Kurds not only in Iraq but in Syria and Turkey as well. His movement appealed especially to the young people, who felt that the older nationalist parties had not accomplished much. In Iraq, for instance, a new secret party, the leftist "Rizgari," was formed of these elements.

ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENT

The old nationalist parties, the Hewa in Iraq and the Khoybun in Syria, were not enthusiastic about Qazi Mohammad because of his Soviet connections. Fear and even hatred of the Soviets among the Kurds is strong for several reasons. In the first place, most Kurds are deeply religious and remain distrustful of the Soviet attitude toward religion. Furthermore, many of them have met refugees fresh from the Soviet Union or have talked to Moslems in the Red Army, few of whom paint a rosy picture of the lot of Oriental peoples under Soviet rule. It must also be remembered that the Russians have been traditional enemies of the Kurds since the days of the Tsars. Russian troops in World War I fought over a large part of Kurdistan, leaving a trail of ruin and depopulation still traceable in many Kurdish valleys and villages. In Mahabad itself, Russian troops had been under orders for several days to shoot anyone appearing in the streets, and the town was looted and burned. None of this has been erased from the long oriental memories of the Kurds, who still frighten their crying

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177 children into silence by threatening them with the word "Russian."
186 The Soviets tried hard to counteract this unreceptive attitude.
668 They played up "Kurdish autonomy" in the Soviet Union, and the brave deeds of one Samand Siamandov, Red Army colonel of Kurdish origin, "Hero of Leningrad." How much success they had is hard to judge, but certainly large sections of the population, as well as landlords, merchants, and religious leaders, continued to distrust them and to extend this distrust to Qazi Mohammad, whose connection with the Soviets was undeniable. The walls of the building in which his government was housed were plastered solidly with Soviet propaganda posters; his newspapers and magazines contained a large proportion of Soviet material translated word for word into Kurdish; and his poets composed panegyrics to Stalin and the Red Army.

Yet in contrast to the rest of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan was to outside appearances free of Soviet agents. Aside from a few Iran-sovtrans truck drivers, who acted as observers for the Soviet and pro-Soviet governments, Soviet citizens were almost unknown in the area and Soviet agents kept under cover. There was said to be a Soviet representative in residence in Mahabad, though his presence was denied by Kurdish authorities.[9] Hashumov, Soviet Consul in Rezaieh, and his assistant Aliakbarov made occasional trips to Mahabad.

641 While terrorism reigned unchecked in eastern Azerbaijan, in
661 Kurdistan there were few if any political prisoners and only one or two cases of what may have been political assassination, though a number of Kurds not in sympathy with the regime did flee to Tehran. In the streets of Mahabad one could hear radio broadcasts from Ankara or London, while in Tabriz to listen to these brought the death penalty. Whether the reason for this freedom was the moderation and liberalism of Qazi and his cabinet, or the presence of the tribes who would not tolerate violent action against persons connected with them, the net result was to make the regime popular at least among the citizens of Mahabad, who enjoyed their respite from the exactions and oppression they

[9] The last of these Soviet advisers, one Azadov, is said to have been in Mahabad until the last days of the republic, when he fled to the Soviet Consulate in Tabriz.

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661 641 considered to be characteristic of the central Iranian Government.

OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBES

297 578 661 177 If the Soviets kept their overt interference to a minimum in order to reconcile the tribes to the regime, they were certainly unsuccessful. In addition to historical, social, and religious reasons for the tribes' opposition to the Soviet-supported government, there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish tribesmen depended largely on their tobacco crop for their livelihood, and now that their market in the rest of Iran was cut off they suffered considerable hardship. In certain areas food supplies already strained had to be shared with the destitute Barzanis, who had long outworn their welcome.

This tribal discontent was at its strongest in the south where the deceased Qarani Agha's son, Mam Aziz, chief of the Mamesh, along with his ally, Bayazid Agha of the Mangur, so openly opposed Qazi Mohammad that the Soviet vice-consul finally came down from Rezaieh and threatened to have the Barzanis sent against them. When Mam Aziz continued to resist, the Barzanis did indeed attack him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his tribesmen. From Rezaieh north, the tribes looked to the leadership of Amir Khan Shikak, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and for the time being was keeping aloof in Zindasht, his mountain capital southwest of Shahpur. The only tribes Qazi Mohammad could count on were the Gawrik of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Zerza, in the Ushnuieh region. Even Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis did not get on with Qazi Mohammad, who was no longer able to feed them.

668 Thus it was that Qazi Mohammad, in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitude of the Tehran Government, found himself almost without support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and matériel, in the fall of 1946 Qazi Mohammad was still without either heavy weapons or trained men, or indeed any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly obvious, Qazi sent frantic messages to the tribes, his only hope, say-

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ing that the Soviets had promised the Kurds their support and demanding that the tribes come to the front to fight the Iranian Army. The tribes refused.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF IRANIAN CONTROL

Meanwhile, events were moving rapidly. The Tehran Government had been insisting that the Democrats surrender the district of Zenjan, which is not in the province of Azerbaijan. When the Iranians seemed about to back up this demand by force, the Democrats agreed to evacuate the area, and by the end of November it was completely in the hands of the Iranian army. Shortly after midnight, on December 10, the Iranians attacked Democrat positions in the Qaflankuh Pass, south of Mianeh; within twenty-four hours resistance had collapsed and the Democrat leaders were in headlong flight to the Soviet Union, a year to the day after their capture of Tabriz. In his telegram of surrender to Premier Qavam, the Democrat Governor stated that the Kurd commander, Seif Qazi, had been informed of his decision and had been told that he was expected to order his forces to cease hostilities.

On December 13, Qazi Mohammad's brother, Sadr Qazi, a deputy in the Iranian Parliament who had been in Mahabad acting as go-between for his brother and the Iranians, appeared at Miandoab. There he told General Homayuni that the Kurds were ready to receive the Iranian army peacefully. The general said he would move his forces in as soon as the Barzanis were evacuated from the Mahabad area. He sent forward an advance party of pro-government tribesmen, including some of the Dehbokri and the Mamesh and Mangur who had returned from Iraq, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ghaffari. These were stopped not far from Mahabad by a representative of Qazi Mohammad who said that the agreement with General Homayuni called for occupation of the town by regular troops, not by tribesmen who might cause disorder. The tribesmen finally retired without fighting, and on December 15, 1946, after the Barzanis had withdrawn to Naqadeh, the Iranian army entered Mahabad, thus bringing to an end the year-old Kurdish Republic.

The Iranian army was given a great reception, and Qazi

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668 Mohammad and the army commanders exchanged visits. But on December 17 a number of Kurds were arrested, and the following day Qazi Mohammad, Seif Qazi, and many others were imprisoned. The only members of Qazi's government to remain at liberty were Hajji Baba Sheikh, immune because of his religious standing, and a handful of Kurds who had fled to Iraq or hidden in the villages. In addition to imprisonment, Kurdish leaders were further punished by having tribesmen quartered in their homes, eating at their expense — a time-honored Iranian method of imposing a fine without holding a trial. On December 30, Sadr Qazi, who had returned to Tehran, was brought from his home to Mahabad and imprisoned with his brother, although he had throughout the year left Tehran only when his services as mediator were required by the Iranian Government. The army asked all persons who had grievances against the prisoners to present their evidence, and after an examination by a military court condemned Qazi Mohammad, Seif Qazi, and Sadr Qazi to death. At dawn on March 31, 1947, they were hanged in the square of Mahabad.

The Iranian military government has carried out a program to eradicate all traces of Qazi Mohammad's regime. The Kurdish printing press was closed, the teaching of Kurdish prohibited, and all books in Kurdish were publicly burned. To show the tribes it meant business, the army executed eleven petty tribal chiefs of the Faizollah Begi and the Gawrik of Saqqiz.

One feature in the reconquest of Mahabad needs to be noted. Everywhere else in Azerbaijan, peasants, workers, and shopkeepers massacred the Democrats at the first indication of their collapse. This spontaneous reaction clearly indicated the hatred felt by the people for the regime. Yet in Mahabad, all passed peacefully, a circumstance especially remarkable in that elsewhere in Azerbaijan the secret police was strong and prepared for such emergencies, while Qazi Mohammad did not even have such an instrument. This fact would tend to confirm reports that Qazi Mohammad's regime was popular — at least in his own capital.

In the north, Amir Khan and the tribes under his influence took no active part in these events. The Iranian army, evidently not

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449 wishing to incur obligations, had not informed Amr Khan of its projected move into Azerbaijan, and so by the time he had gathered his tribesmen to attack the Democrats, the war was over. Amr Khan and the other chiefs quickly sent the Iranian commander professions of loyalty. All were accepted back in the fold except Zero Beg, whose tribesmen ambushed some Iranian soldiers in Balanesh, near Rezaieh, while he was conferring there with General Homayuni. Zero consequently had to flee, accompanied by a few tribesmen and Assyrians, to Ushnuiah, where he found Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis in a state of precarious truce with the Central Government. The Mulla finally refused the government's order to disarm his tribesmen or return to Iraq, and fighting broke out again. By June 1947 the Barzanis had fought their way north to Maku and seemed about to cross the border into the Soviet Union.

IN SUMMARY

177 This latest attempt to found a Kurdish state ended with the
186 Iranian occupation of Mahabad. Like previous attempts it failed
441 largely because of disunity among the Kurds themselves. One of the dilemmas of Kurdish nationalism is that while not only its leaders, but nearly all its rank and file, must come from the more enlightened townspeople, its military strength has always had to come from the tribes and their chiefs, with neither the education nor the imagination to look for anything but gain and loss in the weakening of government authority. During 1946 the Kurdish tribes, naturally opposed to government control, felt as restive under Qazi Mohammad as they had under the Central Government, even though he was of their own race. Because of this feeling, as well as their distrust of Qazi's Soviet connections, the tribes almost all sided with the Iranian army.

The principal immediate reason for the collapse of the republic was the failure of Soviet support to materialize. A young and strong nationalist party which might have united a majority of educated Kurds was infiltrated by foreigners who used it for their own purposes and then let it be destroyed. The miniature state had been built under the protection of the Red Army, and continued to exist after its evacuation only because of the possibility

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of its return. When the Kurds no longer hoped for this, and the Iranians no longer feared it, there was no chance for Qazi Mohammad's movement to survive.

The whole episode was a serious blow to the development of Kurdish nationalism. There is now no Komala and no Democrat Party of Kurdistan, and many of the potential leaders of the Kurds are dead, in prison, or in exile. Yet this does not mean that Kurdish nationalism is finished. The Kurdish Republic found its support among those progressive elements of the population which seem bound to increase in numbers and importance, and was opposed by those elements which seem destined to disappear. It remains to be seen whether Kurdish nationalism is practical in an area where, until recently, nationalism was an unknown conception and men still give primary allegiance to their religious and tribal chiefs. The Kurds have never been combined in a stable state of their own and enjoy no ancient unifying culture. Separated from each other by mountain barriers, they have always had to look for their cultural and economic needs to the capitals of the different states in which they have lived.

If the states the Kurds inhabit allow their Kurdish populations a degree of local autonomy and give up the attempt to force an alien nationalism upon them, they may succeed in obtaining a loyalty similar to that found in Switzerland with its multinational population. The Arab countries have made a start in this direction. A similar policy in Iran, if left free of foreign penetration, might be a cause of closer unity rather than of separatism between two of the nation's peoples.

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The Kurds of Iraq. I

by Squadron-Leader J. C. A. JOHNSON

How the Kurds are changing their ways and beginning to take their place in the modern world is the subject of this and a subsequent article. The verdict of history has been unkind to the Kurds, but, in common with the comparatively few other foreign observers who have visited them and known them individually, Squadron-Leader Johnson is favourably impressed with their intelligence and adaptability and fully recognizes the natural handicaps, notably lack of education, which have hitherto retarded their progress

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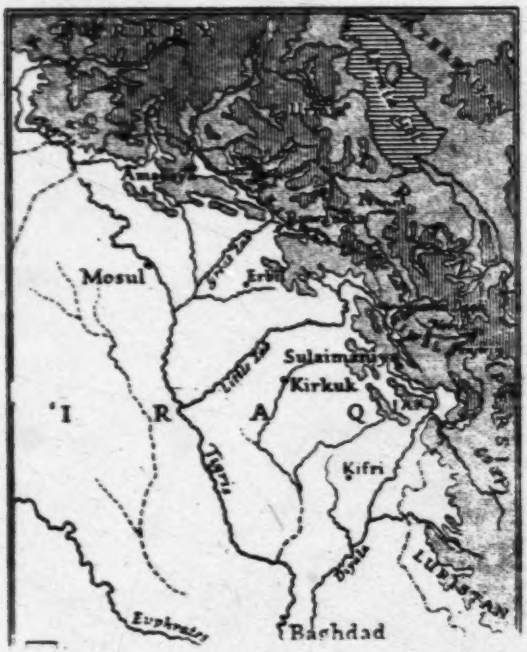
[P.882(A)]

342 I STIRRED drowsily in bed as the chill of the early dawn penetrated my covering of blankets, then rubbed my eyes and slowly became conscious of the world around me. I was lying on the flat mud roof of a house; on all sides other similar roofs appeared. Each had a screen of bamboo matting facing the wind from the nearby hills, and behind it were piles of multi-coloured blankets.

000 The faint light in the eastern sky grew brighter, and the black shadows of the [231] hills turned green as the crowing of cocks and the barking of dogs heralded the approaching dawn. Gradually the piles



[p.382 (B)]

000 of blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

291 411 As the sun peeped over the rugged mountains the blankets moved again and men rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waistband; they also disappeared silently below.

438 I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

515 A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "*Hetta!*" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

000 The night has ended. Sulaimaniya is awake.

[text continued on p. 383(B)]

[p. 382(C)]

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Sulaimaniya, the largest town in Iraqi Kurdistan with an entirely Kurdish population for whom it is an important trading centre. Caravans from over the surrounding hills are always coming and going

Keystone Photo Service

[p. 383(A)]

361 Sulaimaniya is the chief town in Iraqi
369 Kurdistan, in that it is the largest town in the Kurdish area whose population is entirely Kurdish. Other towns exist in Iraqi Kurdistan, but the larger ones—Kirkuk, Erbil and Kifri—are inhabited by as many Turcomans as Kurds, although the tribes around are Kurdish. Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains, and do not take easily to the life of a townsman.

175 In this they resemble their distant
178 relatives the Pathans of Afghanistan and north-western India, who, in the early migrations of Aryan-speaking peoples, penetrated into the highlands east of the Persian plateau while the Kurds spread westwards into what is now north-western Iran, eastern Turkey and north-eastern Iraq. Here, in secluded mountain valleys, they preserved many ancient characteristics which their fellow migrants, settling

[p. 383(B)]

175 in the Persian plains, lost through contact
178 with the outside world. By the time recorded history begins, Kurds and Persians were already recognized as distinct
[101] peoples, the former being known as Medes.
792 Some 600 years before the birth of
771 Christ and 1200 before the spread of Islam, a Kurdish prophet, Zerdusht (Zoroaster), grew up among the mountains of the Azerbaijan district near the Caspian Sea. The gospel that he preached, in its primitive and simple form, is to a greater extent the basis of Christianity and Islam than the adherents of those world religions usually admit. The Kurd of today, however, knows nothing of this. He is nominally a Mohammedan, and has even on occasions been stirred by the call of "*Jihad*"—the holy war—in the name of Islam. But beneath the surface there lurk some curious remnants of Zoroastrian tradition.

[p. 383 (e)]

778 On hills and knolls anywhere in Kurdi-
785 stan may be found a pile of stones under a
782 tree with pieces of cloth tied about it. It is called a *shakhs*, and people who are sick come and sit beside it, perhaps leaving a lamb as a sacrificial offering, or a sum of money which can only be removed by someone really in need of it. By this means they are cured of many diseases.

778 Some say that a shakhs is the grave of a descendant of an Imam. I once asked an old man sitting near a shakhs about its origin.

"My father heard from his father, who learned from our ancestors", he said, "that it is very old. It was here in the days of Mohammed the Prophet, and some

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[291] *Squadron-Leader Johnson in Kurdish dress; Turkish trousers, cut very full from a single width of stuff; a wide, knotted cotton waistband; a loose shirt under a felt tunic, and a turban*

[p. 384 (A)]

778 say it was here long before then. It is called the *Shakhs-i-Kani Ba* 'The Spring of the Wind'; in the time of my father's father a great plane-tree stood over it which was blown down by the wind. But then, as always before, when the tree is destroyed another springs up in its place —and that is the one you see there now."

778 In the religion of Zoroaster fire was
771 considered to be the agent which cauterizes and purifies all things, and was regarded as the visible symbol of the God of Purity. Hence it was but a step to endow wood (as the producer of fire), and certain trees, with an atmosphere of sanctity. Thus certain large and solitary trees came to be regarded much as is the shakhs of today. The Zoroastrians even hung pieces of cloth on the branches.

231 Zoroaster commanded that the dog
771 should be protected and cared for by man even as one of his family; the shepherd looks to his dog for defence against wolves and other marauders. The Kurdish nomad of today, although prevented by his creed from sanctifying the dog, still regards it as a useful ally, and almost a friend. In fact the *tanjiy* (a kind of saluki used for hunting) still remains a member of the household. The Kurd saves his Mohammedan conscience by saying that the tanjiy is not a dog, and nowadays to call a man's tanjiy his 'dog' is almost an insult.

231 The Kurds dislike killing dogs. Soon after the Great War stray dogs in Sulaimaniya became such a nuisance that the Political Agent ordered them to be shot; it almost created a riot in the town, and police had to be called out!

197 Travelling among the tribes of Kurdistan one finds a great variety of dialects, but they have a common basic form throughout, especially in the grammar. There is also an affinity between Pushtu (spoken in Afghanistan), and Kurdish—too strong to be classed as a coincidence. By the casual, or politically-biased, philologist. Pushtu and Kurdish are desig-

[p. 384(B)]
[text continued on p. 386(B)]

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Iraq

H. J. Count

Kurdistan landscape. The citadel of Amadiya, a Kurdish stronghold, stands on the flat-topped hill to the right protected by a rampart built up from the rock which crowns the precipitous hillsides

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[P 385(A)]

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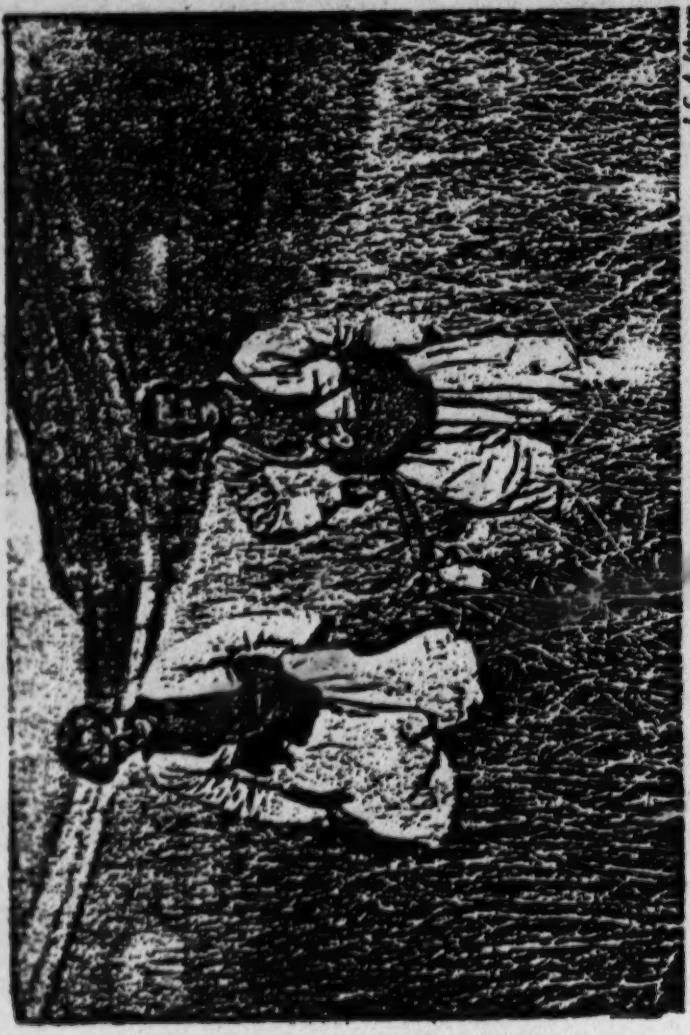

The Kurds are great sportsmen. Even when they have not killed the game themselves, their pleasure after a successful shikr is unmistakable: this ibex was shot by Squadron-Leader Johnson

J. C. A. Johnson

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H. L. Cowie

Among Zoroastrian traditions which have lingered on with the Kurds is the prophet's command that the dog should be cared for as one of the family. But their Moslem faith now forbids such sanctification; so to absolve their conscience they cherish the creature under another name and are accordingly insulted if their tanjiy, a kind of saluki, is referred to as a 'dog'

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[p. 386(4)]

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197 nated as corrupt dialects of Persian. The relation between them is made clear, however, by a knowledge of the migration of Aryan-speaking peoples in the Middle East; moreover the speech of the mountain races, and especially of the Kurds, retains more of the original Sanskrit form through their isolation from the outer world. So Kurdish is one of the oldest forms of the Aryan tongue spoken at the present day.

Further proof that Kurdish is not a dialect of Persian is given by the Zaza dialect spoken by the Kurds of Turkey and the northern border of Iraq, which bears little resemblance to Persian. The greater the distance of the habitat from Persia, the less does a Kurdish dialect resemble Persian, although its relation to other Kurdish dialects will still be evident.

Kurdish has, prior to the last eighteen years, never been a written language, so

[p. 386 (B)]

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no standard form has been brought into general use; but there is little more difference between the several dialects of Kurdish than between the spoken Arabic of different branches of the Arab race. Arabic, moreover, has had the advantage of being standardized in writing, and to some extent in speech, by the spread of the Koran during the past 1000 years.

Semitic languages are based on consonants while Kurdish is based on vowel sounds. Thus the meaning of a Kurdish word may be entirely altered by a slight change in its pronunciation, including minute inflexions of certain vowels which are not recognized in most of the other Aryan languages. It is for this reason that, as in Pushtu, it is almost impossible for a foreigner to acquire a perfect pronunciation. As with other Kurdish peculiarities, the cause may be traced to the

[F 386(e)]

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137 habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflexions to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

162 There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from these in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khuzistan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

168 From the time when groups of Aryan-
186 speaking families settled in secluded valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primeval ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

169 Intermarriage within the tribe has en-
182 hanced physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

187 I have on occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a long way

[p 387 (A)]

147 climbed on foot up the steep hillsides with an agility quite equal to my own. On another occasion I saw a villager alleged to be 120 years old, whose age must certainly have exceeded 100 years. He had a son aged ten by a wife whom he had married in later life. This healthy
571 longevity is the result of simple and clean living, which is common in Kurdistan.

187 To the stranger the Kurd may appear
181 dour and surly—like the Scot—but within his exclusive circle he is smiling and talkative with a childlike lack of discretion: the greatest secret is common knowledge within the tribe. The Kurd has learned

[text continued on p 389(B)]

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A Kurdish agha, *or chieftain, from Barde-shin. Short and stocky, he has the gait of a man who was able to ride before he could walk*

[A 387 (C)]

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F. C. A. Jameson

An agha of the Pizhdar tribe on his favourite mare. Among the Kurds an agha holds the position of a feudal baron, offering to the serfs the protection of armed guards and receiving in return various taxes. He will always ride a mare in preference to a horse because it is quieter and more manageable. Pedigree horses are kept by the tribe for breeding purposes; the others are used as pack animals.

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Two Pizhder warriors from the agha's bodyguard. These men are regarded as personal retainers and therefore they rank higher than serfs. Each man has his own horse and rifle

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[p 389 (A)]

181 to be cunning in action because his
157 preservation has always required action. On the other hand, until recently he seldom conversed with those who were not of his tribe or family, and therefore the keynote of his speech is simplicity; the real 'savage' Kurd scarcely knows how to lie, and when he does he lies badly.

When a Kurd becomes tied up with words, or the cunning put into words which is the mainspring of bureaucratic 'civilization', he may momentarily feel that he is being tricked by something he does not understand, then, as we say, he 'sees red'. He suddenly realizes the futility of words, and leaps to action behind the sharp edge of a dagger or the trigger of his rifle. Thus through a purely natural evolution caused by his environment the Kurd has acquired, among those who do not understand him, an unsavoury reputation for ferocity, treachery and lack of balance.

000 The Kurdish tribesman has a childlike

[p. 389 (B)]

The Kurdish tribesman has a childlike
157 sense of humour. Like a child, too, he
609 unconsciously appreciates sympathy and an understanding of his psychology. It is partly because ruling races were indifferent to such considerations until the evolution of British colonial policy in backward countries that the Kurd has been accustomed to regard every foreign power as an enemy to be driven off or exterminated before he himself suffers a similar fate.

181 Like other mountain peoples the Kurds
175 are a martial race, but owing to their separate communities and 'clannishness' they have never featured as such in modern history. The only Kurdish kingdom known to Europe is the ancient kingdom of the Medes. Nevertheless the Kurds have produced many great individual soldiers. First and foremost comes Cyrus the Great, who united the Medes and Persians and in 538 B.C. conquered Babylon. Others have found fame as

[p. 389 (C)]
[text continued on p. 390 (B)]

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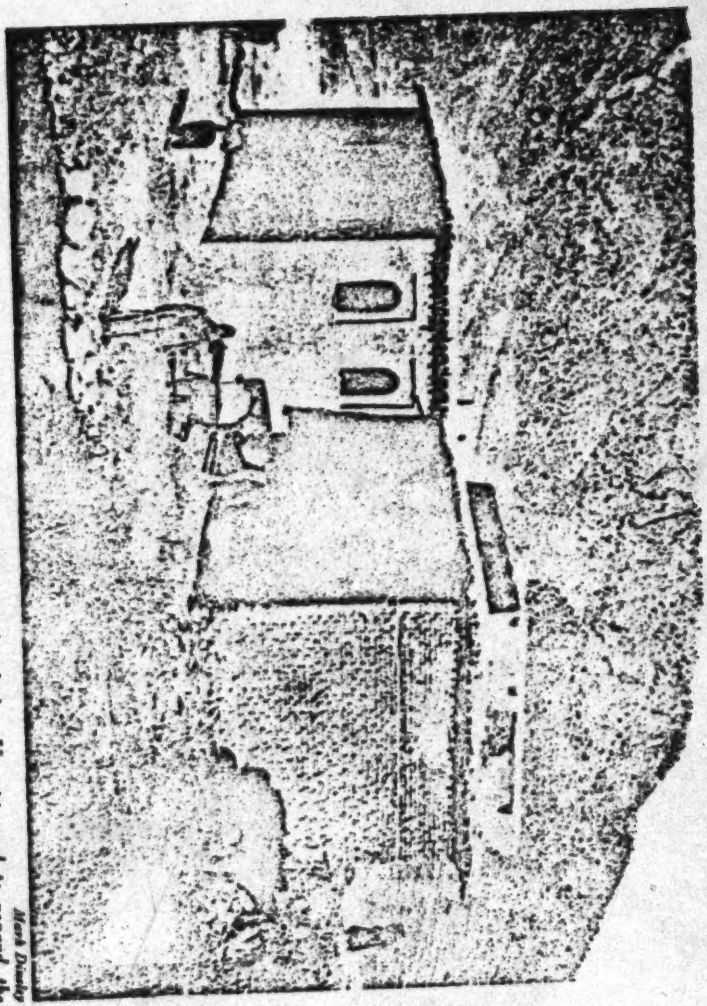

The house of an agha, rebuilt after his village had been bombed. He appeared to regard the incident with amusement and incorporated fragments of shell in the decoration of his new home

Mark Darby

[p.390(A)]

leaders in Moslem armies. from Saladin (Salah ad Din) in the hosts that opposed the Crusaders, to the late Bekr Sidqi in the army of Iraq; but they have never drawn attention to their Kurdish origin, as the name 'Kurd' implies a shepherd, which in the East is considered a lowly occupation not worthy of great men.

Some have carved for themselves small kingdoms among the tribes of their own race. But that very martial spirit which makes the Kurd proud and independent, and forbids him to acknowledge the sovereignty of anyone outside his tribe for long, has prevented the Kurds from becoming united under any one chief and thus imprinting their name on the history of the world.

In the history of the new state of Iraq individual Kurds have already made their impression. The best-known is Shaikh

[p. 390 (B)]

721 Mahmud of Sulaimaniya, whose several rebellions against the British earned him the unofficial title of 'Director of Training of the R.A.F.' He gave the Royal Air Force practice in operations spread over twelve
726 years. The British method of limited air bombardment after due warning suits the ideas of the chivalrous Kurd in war: to the Kurd it is one of the things that are 'not done' to kill too many people. Shaikh Mahmud and his merry men would set off on the warpath and fight for a few months until they began to suffer discomforts, then give in until the restless highland spirit once more urged them on.
727 Sometimes people got killed, but that was one of the misfortunes of the game. During one rebellion, when a British aircraft was brought down near Penjwin, Shaikh Mahmud captured its two occupants and held them prisoner for a fort-

[4.390(e)]

727 night. When they became sick he gave a British doctor safe-conduct through his mountains to succour them. The doctor told Shaikh Mahmud that they could not hope to get fit suffering the hardships of life among the Kurds; so the chivalrous Shaikh released them both, and allowed the doctor to take them back with him.

I remember visiting the village of Hama Rashid, Agha of Norik, chief of the Siwêl tribe, who had at one time thrown in his lot with the restless Shaikh Mahmud. As a result his village had been bombed. I was seated on the ground in the moonlight while the chief and his sons and followers sat around with their rifles ready to defend me should any sporting bandit start sniping from the nearby hills; they described to me the bombing of their village.

726 They laughingly related how they had
727 been warned that their village would be bombed until they gave in—or made their

[p. 391(A)]

726 *dakhalat* (as it is called). They described
727 in stirring tones how they retired to some caves a couple of hundred yards from the village and watched the bombs falling on their homes. The only fly in the ointment was that it was their own houses being destroyed and not somebody else's. Apparently they regarded the affair with some amusement, and themselves as naughty boys who had been punished by having to rebuild their houses afterwards. It had taken them two months' hard work to rearrange the village before the onset of winter; so they decided that in future they would not be led astray by promise of excitement unless they were on the side of the British.

527 Another example of the sporting spirit
857 of the Kurds and their disregard for safety is shown in the great sling fights which take place between the children of adjacent villages or of different parts of

[text continued on p.392(A)]

[p.391(B)]

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Inside a Kurdish guest-house. The guests are all men; it is unusual for women, though they go about freely and unveiled, either to appear or to be spoken of at public gatherings.

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[p. 391 (c)]

526 the town. At intervals they go outside
857 the houses armed with slings and stones. Sometimes as many as fifty boys of all sizes and ages may gather on each side. They commence a great battle, hurling stones at each other with their slings until one side finds the fighting too fierce and beats a retreat. Woe betide the passing stranger who unwittingly walks across 'no man's land' while a battle is in progress!

Now that football has been introduced in Kurdistan the time-honoured battles with slings are being forgotten. Except in the summer, when it is too hot for violent exercise, they rarely take place, the majority of the time being taken up in kicking footballs about. The Kurds have taken to football like ducks to water. In the afternoons, when school is finished, every

[text continued on p. 392(c)]

[p. 392 (A)]

191

J. C. A. Johnson

The two elder sons of Hama Rashid, Agha of Norik, who entertained the author with a stirring account of the bombing of their village

[p. 392 (b)]

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful agha, whose armed retainers guarded the *miskin* (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannize the village. In return for this the agha exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An agha used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from less powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghas and the miskēn, but the aghas are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *sayyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not contented themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

A party of rubber going off to work accompanied by an armed guard able to retaliate against raiding bandits

[1 598 (N)]

10:Johnson C-3 (no date) 1940 MAll Kent MAll
Inst

793 ughan. But on account of the veneration
in which they are held they can usually
exercise influence in circumstances
where that of an agha has begun to wane.

794 One day when I was sitting under a
119 leafy bower on the roof of a well-known
sheikh's house a terrific squall of wind and
rain suddenly arose. For a moment it
seemed as if the thick tree-trunks which
formed the framework of the shelter would
be torn from their foundations. A sheikhly
relative, seeing the fear on the faces of his
wife, smiled benevolently, saying:

"Hoosh oot! I will place my hands upon
the tree, and lo, it will not fall."

Suiting the action to the word, he
leaned his weight against the tree, and
indeed it did remain standing.

For a moment the overwhelming reli-
gious tension in the atmosphere was such
that I could scarcely refrain from echoing
the murmurs of veneration which rose
from the lips of the men around. I could

[p. 893(A)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Knud MA11
Iraq

730 Quite understand how men born and bred
in this village under the eye of their shaikh
719 could not but regard him as possessing
superhuman powers.

621 In modern Iraq the power of the shaikhs
622 and aghas has been curtailed. The
villager still works under his agha as the
732 owner of the land—the only one, in fact,
who is competent to organize and super-
vise the work of the village; but the
simplest villager now realizes that all the
power of his agha or holiness of his shaikh
will avail him "tlle should he unwisely be
persuaded to act contrary to the law.

900 Certain individual Iraqis who cannot
claim tribal ancestry talk glibly of "break-
ing up the tribes" and "exterminating the
aghas" as has been done in some other
countries, but on the whole the Iraq
government treats the matter with greater
foresight and seeks mainly to 'break' those
chiefs who use their influence against the
government.

[p. 393(c)]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

The Kurds of Iraq. II

by Squadron-Leader J. C. A. JOHNSON

114

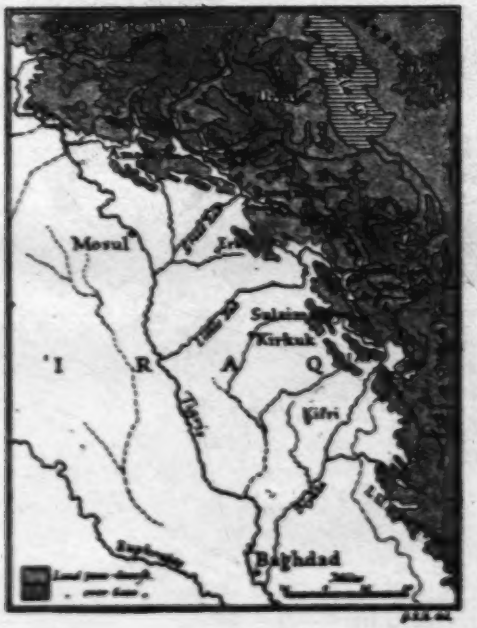
In the second of his two articles on the Kurds, Squadron-Leader Johnson explains how pressure of circumstance is forcing these essentially nomadic people to abandon their wandering life and adjust themselves to a world in which only those whose habits do not bring them into conflict with the machinery of constitutional government can prosper. He also explains his reasons for thinking that the Kurds are by nature qualified, in favourable circumstances, to exercise increasing influence on the progress of the young Iraqi state

[P 50-A]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MAll
Iraq

132 221 We have already seen that the Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains. In the latitude where they live—approximately that of Greece—winter at sea-level may be mild, while in the mountains it is harsh. The cool summer breezes and green meadows of the higher mountains turn to snow, avalanche, and the rigours of a highland winter. So to save his flocks the Kurdish shepherd long ago became nomadic, making annual treks to the warmer valleys in the lower hills to obtain 221 winter grazing. The nomadic life, however, provides but a limited diet and the desire to supplement it by agriculture is a

[102]



11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

221/ natural one. The Kurdish shepherd moves through lands where cereals and vegetables can be grown: barley, wheat, maize, rice, melons and tomatoes are among the crops cultivated in various parts; so the tendency is for the nomad to become semi-nomadic.

This is the term applied to tribes which have built villages in the lower ground into which they retire with their flocks and herds during the severity of the winter. The live-stock are normally crowded into a semi-basement below the living quarters. In the spring, when the grazing near at hand is used up, a portion of the tribe takes the flocks to the highlands, living in the usual black tents of the nomads, while certain members of each tribe remain in the village attending to the crops. Some tribes vacate their villages completely. The family goods and chattels are loaded onto the backs of oxen, donkeys or mules, and nothing is left behind except the four stone walls and mud roofs of the houses.

221/178 A number of Kurdish tribes in Iraq, however, are still entirely nomadic; these include various sections of the Jaf, Herki and other tribes. At the other end of the scale are the 'settled' Kurds, who live in villages in one locality throughout the year. Settled Kurds already outnumber the nomadic Kurds of Iraq, and for several reasons the tendency is for their numbers to increase further.

The first and most important is that in the case of most of the nomadic tribes the mountains of Iraq have been their winter habitat in the past, while for summer grazing they used the fertile slopes of the

[50-c]

221
184

J. C. A. Johnson

An increasing majority of the Kurds are now 'settled', but sections of some tribes, among them the Jaf, are still entirely nomadic. A powerful chief of the Jaf with ten of his sons

[51 01]

221
178 higher mountains over the Turkish or Iranian border. With the spread of bureaucratic administration in these countries—especially in Iran—the frontiers have been closed to the passage of nomadic tribes by the imposition of taxes and conditions with which the tribesman cannot economically comply; so he has perforce to give up his summer highlands. Instead he has to use the border districts of Iraq which he formerly passed through in the spring and autumn. But here again the Iraq government policy is to settle the tribes where possible, owing to the difficulty of effective administrative control over nomads and the difficulty of bringing them within the influence of the government's educational and social policies.

000 The 'settling of the tribes' is distasteful to anyone who has lived among them and learned to appreciate the healthy care-free

[51B]

000 life of the nomad, the glamour of carrying one's home on one's back, and shooting a way through enemy bands who attempt to bar one's progress.

But there is another side to the question; for the constitutional governments of today have sounded the death-knell of the nomad. Even if allowed to continue leading his own life in his own way the nomad will eventually be ousted by the settled inhabitant. The latter lives in comfortable surroundings and comparative security. He can adapt himself to education, and the purchase and development of land, while the nomad's energies are used up almost entirely in movement and physical labour.

Thus the day comes when the nomad finds himself without grazing because the settled inhabitant has bought the land formerly unclaimed in court of law, and without education with which to fight for

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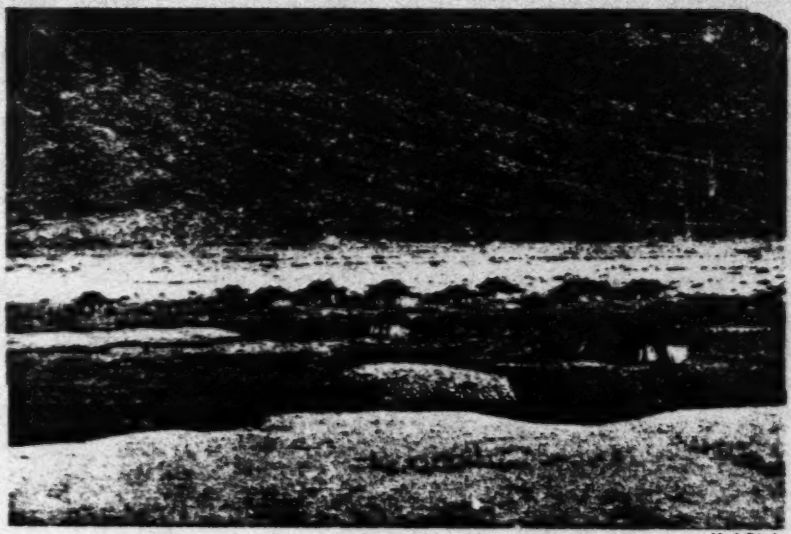

Mark Dineley

Encampment of nomad Kurds, who, owing partly to new frontier regulations which bar the way to their old summer grazing grounds in Iran, are being gradually forced to abandon their wandering life

[342]

Mark Dineley

Nomads live in tents of black woven goat-hair with bamboo walls—surrounded by domestic animals

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

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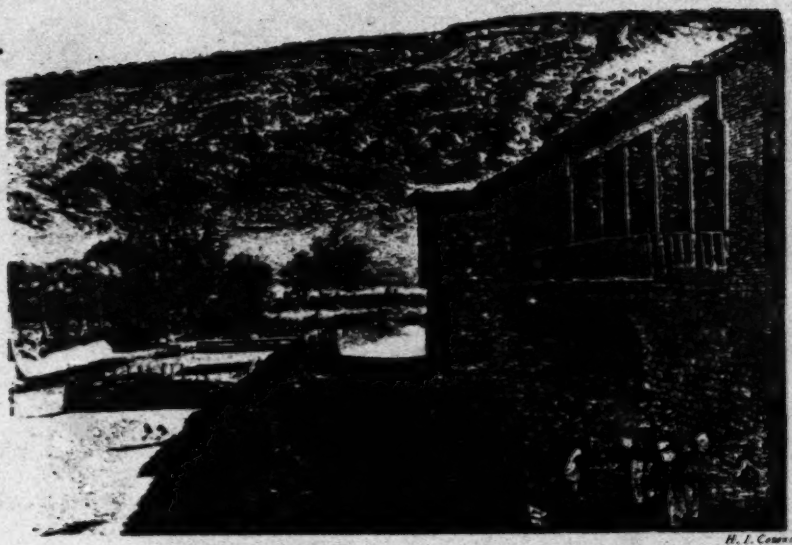

H. I. Count

Farmhouse recently built by a rich 'settled' Kurd, who, contrary to the law which forbids fortifications, added a bastion. In the distance goats and sheep are being herded for dipping

000 his land and water rights; finally, when the powers of government decree that the pen must replace the rifle in obtaining one's rights, and moreover are in a position to enforce this decree with armed police backed by machine-guns and aircraft, the nomad finds himself paying exorbitant taxes to anyone on whose land he wishes to graze.

So his great flocks and swift horses decrease in numbers, that adventurous spirit is dimmed which formerly carried him forward annually to explore the blue distance beyond the next range, and he becomes a penniless vagrant. The process of evolution pushes ever onwards the wave we call civilization, carrying man and his environment with it. Those who cannot, or will not, go forward on the crest of the wave are left behind and drowned in the sea of the past.

181 Whatever may be the longings of the educated Kurd, the ordinary villager—who is equivalent to that well-known

131 personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[844] The Kurd is born into a world of dancing and feasting, for relatives and [857] friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers be- [852] neath. When he reaches the age of five he [292] is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of excess shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

852 He has another great festival when he is
304

[text continues on p. 54B]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

535

J. C. A. Johnson

The Kurd is born into a world of feasting and dancing: to the music of pipe and drum Kurdish women will dance the reshbelek, *at a circumcision festival, for hours on end*

[54A]

852 circumcised at about the age of seven.
304 Once more the relatives and friends gather, sweetmeats are produced, and there are two days of preliminary feasting and music to dim the pain of the operation. On the third day, when the operation is
[535] performed, the *reshbelek* (national dance) is danced, in which men and women stand arm in arm in a row swaying backwards and forwards while music and singing fill the night with sound.

583 The next great event in the life of the young Kurd is his marriage. When he reaches about eighteen years of age, or earlier among the tribes, he takes a wife. Among the poorer people a girl of one family is exchanged for a girl of another family, and a double marriage takes place; or if one girl is too young, she is set aside as the *dasgiyran* or fiancée of the boy until old enough to be married (that is, about 14 years old in the case of women). So for a poor family the only expense incurred is three days of feasting and the

583 price of cooking-pots, blanket and a carpet with which to set up the new household. The total cost of a poor man's wedding is between five and ten pounds sterling.

Among the richer families a girl may be bought instead of exchanged. The price may be anything, depending on the beauty of the girl and the willingness of the family to part with her (that is, on their ability to argue well). The wedding feast of a rich *agha* (chieftain) may involve feeding a thousand guests for a period of ten days.

462 In the nomadic tribe, however, the situation is rather different. The women
583 of the tribe do all the work while the men sit about talking and sleeping. By night they rarely sleep, as they sit around with their rifles ready to guard the box of money and valuables kept in the tent. Therefore the beauty of a young girl taken in marriage is a secondary consideration in determining her price. The nomad is rich in live-stock, if not in cash, and the cost of a girl may vary between

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[491]

[492]

Springtime exodus of a semi-nomadic tribe and its flocks up the Rowanduz Road, constructed under British supervision in 1927, to higher summer grazing grounds. Cows serve as pack animals

[361]

Encampment of tents occupied by semi-nomads while away from their villages with flocks in summer

291

J. C. A. Johnson

Minor chiefs of the Jaf descended from Adela Khanum, who ruled over the tribe as she delights of its prosperity and is reputed to have rivalled Queen Elizabeth in wisdom

462 about forty and one hundred pounds.
583 Her value will depend on her utility—her physical strength for manual labour, and her ability to make carpets, rugs, clothes and other things.

562 Contrary to the practice in most Mohammedan countries the Kurdish woman goes about openly and unveiled. She carries herself with a quiet dignity rivalling that of her menfolk. Although women are still regarded as chattels, the women in a Kurdish family have an appreciable influence over their spouses. The symbol of triumphant womanhood in Kurdistan was the famous Adela Khanum, who on the death of her husband took over the reins of chieftainship of the Jaf tribe when it was at the height of its wealth and power. She ruled it with a wisdom and firmness rivalling that of Queen Elizabeth.

177 When education in a foreign tongue, 'European' clothes, and rattling typewriters are forced upon the Kurd by the threat of rattling machine-guns in the way

11:Johnson G-8 (no date) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Iraq

177 of the modern East, he displays a lack of enthusiasm which his more 'progressive' neighbours cannot understand, and he is classed as bovine and wooden-headed. On the other hand, if allowed to develop quietly in his own way, he readily adapts himself to the new world springing up around him.

439 177 With the coming of the government, motor roads, and organised forces to keep the peace in the country, trade has begun to improve in Kurdistan. When it no longer pays to raid, the Kurds take to trade—being traders by nature like the Scots. Foreign 'luxuries', such as the new coloured cloths, tea, and sugar, have quickly become necessities even in the remotest districts, and to obtain the wherewithal to purchase them the Kurd is compelled to cultivate for sale as well as for food.

439 661 Now that caravans can come to the towns without hindrance from those through whose territory they pass, instead

[text continues on p. 58A]

361

[illegible] in the Amudiya River, one of the villages in which the environmentally [illegible] live, and [illegible] in contact with the [illegible]. [illegible] villagers remain in [illegible] the right

311

[illegible] Arabs, showing how [illegible] are then [illegible] whilst [illegible] by grazing sheep

of having a large proportion of their merchandise removed forcibly (as was the case in Turkish times) by the garrisons of soldiers, gendarmes, police and corrupt officials, the villagers returns safely to his village with the indispensable tea and sugar bought in exchange for his loads of tobacco or firewood cut from the hillside.

Great changes have been brought about in economic conditions by the improvement of communications and security, but the development of the country has barely started. If and when money and foreign are available one can imagine Kurdistan being turned into a tourists' paradise for mountain climbing, game shooting,

[58 A]

Leighton C-9 (no date) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Iraq

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A Kurdish plough: as of old it is made from a forked tree, cut with one long limb and one short, to form a wooden hook. This is dragged through the ground by a pair of oxen. The ploughman welcomed the chance of showing off his child

[55 B]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

000 winter sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

439 277 Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'stags' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq. But unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

245 Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlander never sees, wide hillsides covered with grape-vines greet the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs flows under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation and much of them is wasted.

[273] Were Mohammedan prejudice overcome, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I

554 181 have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting to do their bidding. When asked why

181 they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MAll
Iraq

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[59 A]

181 ing to live by doing the same, so why should we do more?" is the gist of most replies. Some say: "Why don't you English come and show us how to?" . . . Foreign undertakings are, however, not encouraged in Iraq.

186 The greatest difficulty to be overcome by the Kurds before they can take their place in the modern world is lack of education—that is, education in the broad sense as well as book-learning. The majority of Kurds have never seen Baghdad, and those who have find in it many things which disappoint them on coming down from the pure air of their snow-capped mountains.

Although the young Kurd who has been to school wants to improve himself and his race, his ambitions are stifled by members of the older generation who see in the advancement of civilization a loss of their own power; therefore they keep to the fore the old motto of "not being cleverer than

[51 8]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

186 your fathers". It was this fear of loss of power which frustrated any attempts at progress in Kurdistan during the period of 000 the British mandate over Iraq. The men who could have helped their race to become civilized—the chiefs or 'aristocracy' —have preferred to retain their temporary local power to the detriment of the advancement of their race. As has happened in nearly every country except England, when feudalism has ceased to be useful its leaders have sunk with their system rather than be the founders of a new democratic order.

There is little doubt that if education goes forward in conjunction with a raising of the standard of living, the highland Kurds will exercise an ever increasing influence on the progress of the young Iraqi state; just as the Scots in Great Britain, since the days of Queen Anne, have quietly introduced their fertile brains into every phase and calling of the national life.

[59 C]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

Abstract

ROWANDUZ; A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE
AND MERCANTILE CENTER
by William M. Masters

121 105 This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to wider cultural horizons in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as detailed, localized treatments of the Kurds have not been previously attempted, this study of Rowanduz is able to contribute to the ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Muslim people [101] numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous [141] region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, [131] and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within [114] which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowanduz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) [128] the administrative center, 2) the mercantile center, 3) house, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, [161] 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 5000 and is basically made up of merchants,

[p. i(a)]

105 craftsmen, laborers, and servants. The town dominates
121 a large district of agricultural villages both as a
center of government administration and as one of commerce.
Detailed descriptionsof the aspects of life pertinent to
the areas of discussin are given.

The most important focus of investigation, connected with the second objec of the study, is found to be the society of the town. Formerly, Kurdish society, a composite of both tribal and feudal systems, was "primitive" or "pseudo-primitive" in character. It consisted of a mass of commoners, tenants or tribesmen, ruled by a hereditary aristocracy, and advancement from the first class to the second was impossibl. The incursion of the modern state has added a new class to this society, a government elite, and offers the possibility of attaining the highest social rank through educatin to the commoners of the older systems

The conclusins implement the two purposes of the study. 1) Kurdish culture, as represented in Rowandus, is discovered to be strongly regulated by Islam and to have many general similarities to that of Islamic peoples elsewhere, in spite of numerous peculiarities. 2) The impact of the modern state is changing the structure of Kurdish society and threatens to eliminate the native aristocracy by replacing it with the government elite. The Kurdish chieftains have reacted to this with a series of revolts, while many of the commoners are being absorbed into the new order, particularly in towns like Rowandus. Popular understanding of th reaction, as well as of the transformat

[p. i(b)]

of the commoners into a body of citizenry, is obscured by a nationalistic ideology directed against the rulers (who belong to other ethnic groups) of the Kurds. A movement such as this has important relevance to the contemporary Middle East at large. 105 121

[p. i(c)]

second was the diversion of some of the chieftains at the expense of commercial travelers who, of course, had reason to complain of the tolls exacted from them. It is ridiculous, however, to suppose that the Kurds as a body are a race of murderers and thieves. 579

An investigation of Kurdish life, the first object of this study, has value, not simply because the people have so often been maligned, but for the reason that the ethnology of the Middle East, a field which has only recently begun to receive adequate attention must be built up from accurate, localized descriptions. If broader analyses of contemporary Islamic culture are to be undertaken, as well as historical studies, they demand a body of data which admits of verification, the work of observers whose motives are scientific, rather than the loose aggregation of anecdotes and generalizations one has to deal with at present. One may profitably study Kurdish life, because it has been almost untouched as far as primary observation is concerned and, as the culture of a non-Arab people whose language and background is Indo-European, an inquiry into the effect of Islam in modifying its formation would not be without regard. One may properly seek to present those elements which may be proven to be unique with the Kurds and those others which may be attributed to the influence of Islam and other peoples. It is convenient here to mention the recent monograph of E. R. Leach, Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds, which, with the exception of some studies made many years 121 184

age and published in Russian by V. F. Minorsky, unavailable to the investigator, seems to be the first attempt to deal in systematic fashion with the people themselves.[1] Leach's study, however, is brief and neglects a number of aspects of life, for example, the ceremonies surrounding birth, circumcision, marriage, and death, of which treatment would be desirable. Secondly, the "Rowanduz area" in Leach's work includes a wide region of investigation ranging from Erbil to the Iranian frontier and, with a few exceptions, his remarks cannot be referred to a particular village or town. Lastly, he was primarily concerned with the agricultural villages and has little to say about the town of Rowanduz itself.

In addition to a primary, comprehensive description of Kurdish life, a second problem, of importance to the ethnology of the Middle East as a whole, is almost forced on one. The first facet of this is the question of Kurdish nationalism, the repercussions of which have recently directed a great deal of popular attention to this group. Nationalism, which requires no new definition here, is a variant of ethnocentrism. In its best known contemporary forms it evolved in Europe during the last two centuries. The nation, in such thinking, is differentiated from others by criteria, often highly fictional, of race or culture. The goal of nationalism is the realization of an autonomous state. In this it achieves a political aim, but its real

[1]Leach, 1940.

determinants are usually economic, the reaction against exploitation by those considered to be aliens. Occasionally it conceals the desire to exploit others, as exemplified in the recent cases of "Germans" of Danzig or the Sudetenland. The trappings of European nationalism are singularly uniform. The nationalists find for their group a glorious historical past and a wealth of intellectual and artistic achievements. It is interesting to consider how many national "epic poems" and folk heroes have come to light in Europe in the last century. Nationalism of this type has characteristically been developed among the educated upper and middle classes from whom it descended to the mass of the people. In this restricted form, nationalism as an ideology has spread over much of the civilized world from Europe, and found recruits in the Middle East among the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, such as the Albanians, Armenians, and Greeks. With those dissatisfied with Turkish domination and attracted by the extravagant new philosophy were the Kurds.

> In the autumn of 1908, a Kurdish club was established in Constantinople . . . with the object of studying the essential principles which must govern the organization of the nation and the homeland. They published a newspaper . . . In the first few numbers of the journal, leaders . . . laid great emphasis on 'acquiring and organising a good language,' as a key to learning and civilization. Details were published showing the wealth of Kurdish folklore and unwritten literature . . . it was suggested that a national Kurdish force should be raised on the basis of tribal regiments . . . Similar Kurdish Clubs were established also at Baghdad, Mosul and Diarbekr to promote the same ideas and methods . . . This common passion for education formed a close bond between the

> students who met each other not only at school and public meetings, but also at social gatherings where they could talk and exchange their views.[1]

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Kurdish nationalism in the European sense thus had its first protagonists among the educated Kurdish officials, officers, professional men, and students of the Ottoman Empire, not the chieftains and the people themselves.

Nationalism, which has an independent state as its goal, is something quite different from the transition of primitive into civilized society. It is held that the basis of membership in a primitive society is one of kinship while that of civilized is one of territorial distinctions and property relations. There is thus a fundamental difference between the two in structure. This thesis, one of the central problems of ethnological theory, was well outlined by Maine:

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> The history of political ideas begins, in fact, with the assumption that kinship in blood is the sole possible ground of community in political functions nor is there any of those subversions of feeling, which we term emphatically revolutions so startling and so complete as the change which is accomplished when some other principle--such as that, for instance of local contiguity--establishes itself for the first time as the basis for common political action.[2]

Maine was joined by other nineteenth century anthropologists and writers in asserting the change from primitive to civilized society was qualitative. Morgan, for example, wrote:

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[1] Safrastian, 1948, pp. 70-71.

[2] Maine, 1888, p. 124.

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648

> It may be here premised that all forms of government are reducible to two general plans, using the word plan in its scientific sense. In their bases the two are fundamentally distinct. The first, in order of time, is founded upon persons, and upon relations purely personal, and may be distinguished as a society (societas) . . . The second is founded upon territory and upon property, and may be distinguished as a state (civitas). The township, or ward, circumscribed by metes and bounds, with the property it contains, is the basis or unit of the latter, and political society is the result. Political society is organized upon territorial areas, and deals with property as well as with persons through territorial relations.[1]

More recently this point of view was challenged by Lowie, among others, who claimed the difference was merely quantitative:

> The traditional distinction established by Maine and Morgan retains its validity in so far as conceptually a union of neighbors is different from a union of kinsmen. It must even be conceded that the blood tie is frequently the overshadowing element in governmental activities of primitive peoples. Yet, though it often dwarfs the territorial factor, it never succeeds in eliminating it . . . The basic problem of the state is thus not that of explaining the compromise by which ancient peoples achieved the step from a government by personal relations to one of territorial contiguity only. The question is rather to show what processes strengthened the local tie which must be recognized as not less ancient than the rival principle.[2]

Without arguing the question, in which the advantage seems to this writer to lie with Maine and his successors, the problem will be seen to have relevance to the recent history of the Kurds in Iraq. Civilized society is represented in their situation by the modern state, the monarchy of Iraq.

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[1] Morgan, 1909, p. 6.

[2] Lowie, 1927, pp. 73-73.

and it is important not to confuse the ideal of the intellectual nationalists, a free Kurdish commonwealth, with that which the chieftains and their people are now striving to preserve, a society quite unlike the state.

The Kurds, occupying a mountainous terrain, were but superficially governed by the Iranian and Ottoman governments. Inasmuch as the roads were poor or the country impossible for artillery, the Kurds, a well-armed people, were usually the military equals of their governors. The control of the Iranians and Turks was thus largely confined to the maintenance of police posts and army installations and the attempt, often in vain, to maintain public order and collect a few taxes. Helmut von Moltke, writing in 1838, notes:

> It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman empire comprises vast regions in which the Porte exercises no real authority. It is certain that the Padishah (the Turkish Sultan) has to reconquer widespread regions within the territory of his own state. To this category belong the highlands (of Kurdistan) between the Tigris and the Persian frontier.[1]

In recent decades, however, the Kurds, notably in Iraq and Turkey, have been subjected to the full impact of the modern state and some remarkable changes, comparable to similar developments elsewhere in the Middle East, are beginning to take place, challenging the whole structure of their society. This last, as will be seen, is one which is at once tribal and feudal, formerly directed by a landed aristocracy. A

[1]Quoted in Safrastian, 1948, p. 30.

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at its rear. Rowandus proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basic population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Rowandus was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Rowandus as an administrative and mercantile center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER

To give a description of Rowanduz, its administrative and economic importance, as well as its social and religious life, demands a certain excursus above and beyond the actual physical limits of the town. To understand the role of the town, not only as a rural center, but in broader cultural horizons, one must have some understanding of the areas within which it lies. It is not intended to enter into an exhaustive discussion of either regional cultures or of a civilization, for that presupposes a much more extended survey than either the basis or the framework of this study can support, but rather to indicate the proper perspective in which the town must be viewed. The most convenient beginning to this task is not to be found in an economic or social background, but in the government, for in proceeding from its delineation, in many cases generalized with respect to district and to nation, an effective appreciation of later discussion can be formed.

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Thus a clearer definition of the position of Rowanduz as an administrative center requires in some wise an appreciation of the constitution of Iraq itself, on whose northeastern border lies the district dominated by the town. A segment of the old Ottoman Empire, the territory of modern Iraq was

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Attention might be directed to the land of Kawandus itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriy), private (temm), and religious endowment (vaqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economics of the Kawandus district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Ravendun, it is necessary to describe in detail those of the officials there, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Greek, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often accompanied or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they regard only as part the larger social unit to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. Some of the officials and officers had yet [illegible] nothing reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Turkish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Turkish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of relatives to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

or marriage, have their focus in that place, rather than 525
in the town. It is interesting that this class, which 593
regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should re- [44]
gard even things held to be reactionary by some of the town people, specifically the elaborate segregation of women. Even a politically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in England or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers [illegible] which on the basis of similar wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present 539
an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and [n.1].
it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Dr. al Ittouli, like so many others, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from thirteen days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that [58]
"youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Ramadan is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Something of the dictative aversion of the Peoples Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanafite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from the surviving Schools.

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no account to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weighter queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the sayyid (Pl. sadat) or descendant of the tribe of Mohammed might be mentioned. Many persons in the Koreshan district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

This study has had two objects, the first of which has been to present a primary description of Kurdish life as observed in an administrative and economic context. This attempt has not been without its limitations, intimated from time to time, the chief of which is the inaccessibility of the quantitative data desirable in the definitive analysis of a people's life. Similarly, the complete account of almost any culture was much beyond [illegible] and the town itself, was forced to limit the scope of his inquiries and in this presentation to omit or condense material which might overburden the discussion. Some subjects, such as Islamic law or the details of government administration, although they are an integral part of the life of the town, may properly be found elsewhere, and others, such as Kurdish folklore or music, present objects of study in themselves. Many topics, thus, have not been exhausted, and further investigation, particularly among the villages, would provide welcome amplification. Nevertheless, it is felt that the first aim has been achieved, an accurate, comprehensive description of the culture of a particular Kurdish town, which is not too unsympathetic to prevent the appreciation by anyone other than the

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specialist and which can provide the material for broader analyses of the economics, society, or religion of the Middle East. The value of investigations undertaken in a particular town or locale is obvious. Too often the student of the ethnology of the Middle East is forced to glean his information from the chance remarks and anecdotes of administrators, missionaries, and travelers. If such a writer happens to comment on the wedding customs of one village, or, several pages later, outlines the funeral rites of another, one cannot legitimately infer that marriage and burial are the same in both villages. A body of this type of material exists for the Kurds themselves, but it has not been thought necessary to have reference to it. One must take some engineer or missionary to task for an observation, seemingly incorrect, which cannot be identified with reference to a definite locale, nor does there appear to be much value in noting their occurrence. The dangers of generalization are marked, for example, Soane, who writes:

> Turkish women are comparatively free to come and go as they like; they are veiled and run up open countenance, but in almost all tribes they are unveiled.[1]

This statement, as has been shown for Suwaidia, is not valid. It has also been felt that a detailed comparison of life in Suwaidia with that of other groups in the Middle East would be worth little, for the student has at his disposal comprehensive, localized treatments only of the Arab Bedouin, the Egyptian peasantry, and certain peoples of North Africa.

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[1] Soane, 1912, p. 168.

The most productive comparisons would be with the Turks or the Persians, but, unfortunately, no such monographs are as yet available. To utilize the scanty and widely scattered materials on Turkish or Persian life would be at best haphazard. This study of Rowanduz, with certain exceptions, stands by itself, in the belief that it will afford concrete data for the comparative treatment of the future.

Something of the context of Kurdish life, as observed in Rowanduz, has been presented. It has been seen that the town conducts, partly in an administrative and partly in a commercial way, a large agricultural district. The bulk of the townspeople are merchants, craftsmen, and servants who depend for their livelihood on commerce with the villagers and the patronage of government personnel. The basis of the town's importance is both economic and political. Life within the household, the structure of society, and religion have been treated. What is perhaps of great importance in the whole demonstration that the Kurds are not savages devoid of culture, that they are not all "robbers" and need not "kill six or seven men" in order to be respected. Till the exception of revolts and blood feuds, the district is relatively peaceful and normally one is merely in danger of molestation. The old brigandage, carried on largely by the chieftains as a lucrative diversion, was directed against commercial travelers who could protect themselves from it by the simple expedient of making "gifts" in advance. A district population of some fifty thousand

could routinely support itself by robbery alone. It is interesting that the Arab Bedouins, among whom the vendetta and brigandage are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Bedouin, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticized rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of Medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been moulded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is quite testimony to the character of Islam and to the force of its protagonists in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

was in reality that of a tribute empire, concerned with the collection of taxes and recruits. Even in these two last tasks there was a contest, often in good humor, between the governors and the governed, and the victories were divided. As long as money and men were in reasonably good evidence, the Turks left the Kurds to their own devices. They handed down justice of a sort, but most quarrels never reached their courts. They were not particularly concerned with homicide, insofar as the murdered party was not a Turk, and, above all, they did not tamper with the economic structure of society. The bulk of the taxes were collected, in the best way possible, from the chieftains and landowners, never from the farmers and shepherds. The Kurds regarded these taxes, when they were forced to pay them, as a sort of levy to some superior chieftain. Matters of education or public health received little attention. This does not mean that in certain other areas of the Ottoman Empire there was not a complex bureaucratic government, but in Kurdistan it may be summed up as little more than domiciary control. The gentle character of this administration, compared with that of today, is indicated by the fact that many Kurds look back with nostalgia to the "freedom" of Ottoman times.

In ethnological theory the significant difference between primitive and civilized society is held to have its basis in economics. Membership in a primitive society is defined in terms of kinship relations, usually by "blood,"

and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the consentic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Ruwenzori district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the sword, because of his mobility and firepower, has a military advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

with respect to value. Feudalism, while it may not be "primitive," is herarchal with a primitive, tribal system and uses its terminology.

In civilized society, in contrast to primitive, ownership is not bid to be based on descent but on residence and propey relations, and this form of society is represented by a state. This does not mean that the state does enter the primitive terminology, for, out of numerous exampl, one might remember the insistence of the National Socialist government of Germany prior to the second World war o"blood" and "race." Of greater importance, the state has a diferent system of economy, because, depending on its constitution, it defines its resources as its own, as the personal property of its citizens, or both. The state in this case is not a newcomer to Iraq, because as some of the earliest examples known in history were developed there, it, at least for some centuries, it has been a stronger institution. It has been seen how, in the Rwandan area, it has [illegible] tion of life. Youths are recruited to the army, not to the following of a chieftain, and the military forces and the police have the task of regulating public order. Matters of civil and criminal law are decided in its courts, and the important matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce require its authorization. Students may, if they are able, study in its schools and the sick can avail themselves of its medical facilities. Perhaps more importantly, it has insisted on the classification of land, buildings belonging

It has had a new class added to its society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an industrial system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, as far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and some are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Kawandus, then, that a new social structure is being realized as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Kurds Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the ironies of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterized by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially crossed, but, causing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participants in the new regime.

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into

civilized society. For the ethnologist the Middle East presents an important but little-studied area in which the impact of European civilization on those that are older, as well as societies still primitive or feudal, may provide the means for the most productive investigation. This study has attempted a primary description of life in Rowanduz and the collision of this civilization, here represented by the Arabs rather than Europeans, with a little known Islamic culture. It is believed that the absorption of the commoner group into a new system of society in which advance is possible is one of the most significant trends taking place in many parts of the Middle East today. That European nationalism was almost none of these developments, which are quite different ideas, say, the reaction of the Egyptian state against British imperialism, is a matter which must be taken into account.

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FATHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER MARRIAGE IN KURDISTAN

FREDRIK BARTH

[1] THE PREVALENCE of preferential father's brothers' daughter marriage in the Middle East, and its association with Islam, has frequently received comment. Yet no clear picture of the possible structural implications of this form of preferential marriage has emerged, nor of the actual distribution and frequency of the practice. The present paper attempts to analyse the relationship between the Kurdish form of segmentary lineage organization and this marriage pattern.

[2] Any form of unilineal descent in a stable or expanding population constitutes a restricting system where succeeding generations in many lines tend to be larger and more inclusive than the preceding. It is this short, generally to compressed form, which is utilized to organize a descent group in the form of a segmentary lineage organization. This organizational form was named by Gifford and later by Peel, who called it a "lineage," and first analysed fully by Evans-Pritchard.[1] Recent work on this type of organization has been lucidly summarized by Fortes.[2]

[3] In almost all the lineage systems described in the literature, the lineage, or the class of which it is a part, is an exogamous group. This fact of exogamy has important implications, e.g. for the development of dispersal rules and consolidation of a "daughter's son" relationship as a mechanism for granting foreign lineages or the dominant lineage of an area (as described for the Nuer), and it is further frequently reflected in the whole construction of kinship terminology.[3]

Lineage exogamy is, however, an essential feature of lineage systems. The manner in which the marriage pattern in a population may be, a minor share of unilineal descent affects an equally clear framework on which a segmentary lineage organization may be erected, or a [illegible] which a segmentary lineage organization usually underwent in the political relations of segments and whole lineages over large patterns may, as a result, be "distorted" from their role in defining the relations between political groups. The link of association of lineage organization and exogamy is common among Semitic and Iranian tribes of the Middle East,

1 E. W. Gifford, Miwok Lineages and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California (American Anthropologist, vol. 28, pp. 389-401, 1926); Raymond Firth, We, the Tikopia (London, 1936); E. E. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer: Tribe and Clan (Sudan Notes and Records, 1935-1937), and The Nuer (London, 1940).

2 Meyer Fortes, The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups (American Anthropologist, vol. 55, pp. 17-41, 1953).

3 E. Peters, Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (Chicago, 1948).

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, although marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not ensure that marriage relations and removal ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Portions of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today sedentary farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the *tira* varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the [illegible] the nomadic Warde Shirit (location: summering in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq) twelve [illegible] generations.

Several *tira* may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Lucy J. Lockwood, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Ithaca, 1951).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1913; E. B. Soane, *Social and Economic Organization of the Hamawand (Kurdish) Shaikhdom in Iraqi Kurdistan*, no. 1, London, 1916; Fredrik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museums, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

3: Barth E-S (1951) 195- MA11 Rec'd MA11

[462] the [of] subsidiary of necessity as well as ordinary rites. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Thamesmith, an independent tribe of population ca. 2000-2500, which knows ordinary water rites as well as three gravitation rites.

[477] The Iteaga organization has two main areas of ceremonial land ownership and defense and offense in war. Property rights in land and grazing rights are held jointly by the rite as a whole; exclusive, profitable rights are vested in the localized segments, subdividing compact villages with a population of 50 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have proprietorial rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as normal inheritance to the other segments of the [same, according to the degree of kinship (no one may own land of segments, "related" excludes "unrelated" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1911, the Iteaga men, and still to [a considerable, also a military unit, mobilized in case if a segment were attacked, from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary cluster when [738 fights were within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both 739] within, where they led to feuds, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

[771 There is a close common between the Kurdish and some African systems in the 473] manner with which the problems of [give and] [take are solved. A man's rights 474] to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as land [here help ("squats") at dependent rent. The territorial subdivisions of lineage segments [here tends to be maximized to high degree, and there are the kinship mechanisms for developing "unrelated" lineages with land ownership and political rights.[1] The segmentary nature of the territorial lineage segments [self] [identity to [judge], [individual] nearly exclusively [operation] [combination] of [major] and [minor] [segments], [individual] nearly exclusively operation combination of major and minor segments, individual nearly exclusively operation combination of major and minor [segments], individual nearly exclusively operation combination of major and minor segments, individual nearly exclusively operation combination of major and minor segments, individual nearly exclusively operation combination of major and minor segments,

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Where the case of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the economic preference for near kin clear, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men make the "right" choice though they appear subjectively to feel, and invariably express the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem lies in the situation existing when the inclination of the girl's father is, that he should forego his rights to a bridegroom which, in the Kurdish system, constitutes a minor fortune. He can accomplish differently, the central problem is what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a brother's son which compensate one for the loss of the bridegroom.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, counterbalanced by the interlocking circles of identification normally associated with segmentary descent systems (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups; cross-cutting age-grades among Tallensi, Ifugao the clans collaborative between lineages, etc.). This pressure is particularly evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all functional descriptions of Kurdish life.[1] Kurdish villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, or those men women. Such political power is proportional to the number of alliances one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-section, and the fraction in the village used to the alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an elder leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The relation to the latter is most critical. It creates the few potential loci of cleavage between collateral branches. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of the brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the bridewealth. The other son-in-law can, in the lineage system, fill this role as political supporter; consequently they must immediately pay bridewealth. The opposition may [illegible] which he gives him. In this way, the payment of bridewealth [illegible]

[1] Cf. C. J. Bak, Principles of a Business in Kurdistan, London, 1945; E. B. Soane, Through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise, London, 1926; Hay, op. cit.

Kurdish marriage customs to emphasize the political significance of the lineage system.

3: Barth E-5 (1961) 1956 MA 11 Ward MA 11
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daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

If this view is generally correct, one would expect to find a high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage associated with a developed lineage organization in the Middle East, and the frequencies to be appreciably lower in villages with a different type of organization. In the southern Kurdish area, this is clearly so; for other areas, the literature gives no conclusive evidence.

In the southern Kurdish livestock-agricultural territory, neighboring on the above discussed Pharaonic territory, the comparative picture might be summarized as follows: (1) The segmental norms are modified, though not drastically changed. Here rights of potential exercise are not as strongly emphasized, and the ideal of equality between agnates tends to be interpreted in terms of village endogamy rather than with reference to descent groups. (2) Endogamies tend to be lower for all categories of kinsmen, especially those of the local community (this holds true for the villagers, not for the larger towns, where given variations in class and wealth intervene); some villages have made formal agreements that an endogamy should be changed within the village unit, the alternative and undesirable practice way of extending endogamies to the more exchange features are additionally relaxed now. (3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage closely drops, while village endogamy (in villages generally larger than those with a low age organization) remains high. A complete census of marriages in one such non-tribal village may serve as an example:

Father's brother's daughter (married)	Father's brother's daughter (widowed)	Other kin (agnatic)	Other relatives	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
6	1	1	5	27	25	65

The picture would seem to be consistent with the above segmental theory.

Hilma Granqvist[9] gives some comparable material from an Arab village in Palestine, where the local community is divided into patrilineal descent groups, but called clans, apparently of a segmentary type, but where several of these formerly groups came together in a large village, and have no other political or territorial significance. [illegible] marriages [illegible] agnates in one village.[10]

9 Hilma Granqvist, Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village (Helsingfors, 1931).
10 Ibid., pp. 81, 82, 104-105.

INTRODUCTION

In the spring and summer of 1957 the Danish Dokan Expedition was working under Professors Harald Ingholt and Jørgen Lassøe on the Bania plain west of Lower Zab, a tributary of the Tigris in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Expedition concentrated on the excavation of the ancient Tell Shemshāra. Before the expedition left Denmark it offered to take with it a cultural anthropologist from the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, who, based on the excavation camp on the right bank of the Lower Zab, would have an opportunity to investigate Kurdish villages in the vicinity. The assistance of the Carlsberg Foundation enabled my association with the Danish Dokan Expedition.

Being a woman anthropologist, I was given, in addition to general investigations of Kurdish ethnography, the special task of studying women's cultural patterns, which in Moslim areas is difficult for male investigators to undertake.

The necessary female interpreter for such investigations was obtained through the former Kurdish Minister, Tawfik Wahbi, who at that time was living in Baghdad and was in touch with the Danish Chargé d'Affaires, P. Lyon, succeeded later in the summer of 1957 by F. de Jonquières. I left Denmark in May to join the expedition at the Dokan Dam Site, which is now the dam building area Lower Zab, the Anglo-Kurdish engineering project in the Kurdish mountains started by the Iraq Development Board.

As it transpired that the neighbouring male villages Tapawra-Kakawa, from which the British and Danish engineers obtained some of their workmen, offered excellent possibilities for study, it was arranged through the Resident Engineer of the Dokan Dam Site, Mr. J. G. Campbell, then, while waiting for a woman interpreter, I should be taken as a paying guest to Shaikh Fadhil's home in Tapawra as a member of the village owner's family.

In the course of three visits, through the good offices of Tawfik Wahbi and the mayor of Sulaimaniyah, the capital of the Liwa of Sulaimaniyah, I was gained with a young Kurdish woman called Tawhida Kadir Sa'id, who, accompanied by her 12 year old half-brother, agreed to go with me to the villages mentioned and stay with me in the shaikh's house as long as my work and their [illegible] etc. Where this had worked, complemented by a visit to and stay at the now evacuated and flooded Serry village, Mirza Rasoom, with trips over the mountains to Shaikh and Sergalu, my total of more than months/years in my interpreter's home in Sulaimaniyah, a Kurdish-furnished home, [illegible]

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Map of the Middle East. The shaded panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which stretched south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

were made into the area with maps of known areas were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Rabbiat and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's poor mountain were used, local cars, primitive local types, mules and horses. If no private horses were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exception of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to cover the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every fortnight came to from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavations site at Tell Shemshara. I lived all the time I was in the country (Mr Mayrhofer Kept) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connection with the Forwarding of my collections. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. There I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Tagawerdan [illegible] and went with my interpreter and two brother to Barkan, making a lengthy trip to Rawanduz via Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil in order to determine some signature variants. When I was to have overtaken my interpreter and an older brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

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Local map of the area visited. The area is covered by U.S.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Then during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

CONCLUSION

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

[redacted]

As mentioned by different members of each household there would sometimes appear the problem of Kurdish women in society. With the exception of Yezdi, who distinguishes between the urban upper class and the village dwellers, Kurdish women are referred to under one heading. However, even from the limited material available in my it is evident that there are in all events two different environments, each with its own patterns (and this division ignores the nomadic). Some emphasize that Kurdish women are "... as free as in any European country"[1], and Rowlatt declares that "... in Kurdistan one nevertheless does see Kurdish women (Ygale de Florence)"[2]. Even though in the case of the Kurds we meet quantities somewhere found by a number of the Islamic cultural patterns have undoubtedly been in other Moslem areas, I would point out the risk of using the terms "free position" and "equality" as guide-board in the West when attempting an assessment of the position of Islamic, and in this case Kurdish, women. Freedom and equality are concepts that seem to mirror on the background of the position of Western women when their struggle for changed conditions was in progress in the end of the previous century. These terms bear no relation to the status of Kurdish women of [redacted].

In an attempt to explain the Kurdish woman's position in the community I shall now deal with the various forms of veil and the use made of them, contact with the world around, women's participation in ability of agreement, and the degree of seclusion. I shall discuss also the distribution of authority between men and women in the home, and, finally, the degree of common life in the home. These elements will be investigated within the four Kurdish environments existing within the area visited in Southern Kurdistan.

DIFFERENCE OF VEIL TYPES

The veil. Five different types of veils, each with its function, but differently distributed in the four Kurdish environments, were found as far as we saw. These were as follows: The triangular multi-shoulder veil, dressed, the hood veil, striped, the yellow cotton "Turkish" veil, the white European bridal veil, and the black face veil, [redacted].

The first type, really a shoulder cloth fastened by means of a loop to a ruby worn over the centre of the top, is forbidden among the veils because its material, cotton cloth, interwoven with metal thread, of a green, rose or light-blue colour enables it to be called a veil, and because its function was to hide the neck and [redacted] of the married women. It was an indispensable constituent of a married Kurdish woman's dress more to the evangelical home. The multi-shoulder veil presupposed the presence of a cap, but was occasionally the use of a turban. At Dohuk, for example, it was worn with a white crochet cap [redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[77] manipulating these various systems and principles. These competing factions, manipulating the familiar (but in part mutually exclusive) systems, will establish different power hierarchies in different villages, resulting in the present variety of forms of social organization found in the area.

However, one type of basic organization may be said to be dominantly Kurdish. This is usually called *tribal*, and is based on the *lineage principle*. Any movement away from this basic framework of organization will be the result of the above type of manipulations, and may be seen as a step in a *tribe-to-feudalism* process. A special attempt will be made to explore the structure of the tribal group, and to mention to the pressures that tend to lead to its breakdown.

Certain characteristics of the lineage system in its Kurdish application might profitably be noted immediately, to avoid an *Iranian*. The Kurds practise close family endogamy with preferential FaBrDa marriage, and a Kurdish descent group shows many consequent characteristics, among which is a tendency towards constant fragmenting and the establishment of new, independent endogamous subdivisions. The concept of a lineage, as developed for other areas, normally applies to an exogamous grouping. However, the main importance of the lineage concept is in the field of political organization, and it will be seen that the political functions of the Kurdish descent groups and the African lineage groups are essentially similar. This might be expected, if only from the following considerations. Women in Kurdish society are normally of minimal political importance, and matrilineal descent has no political significance. The *socially patrilineal descent group* will be unmodified by any patterns of preferential marriage. Since this, in Kurdish society, is the politically significant group, the fact of endogamy has no direct political importance. I have therefore chosen to call this patrilineal descent group a *lineage* when politically recognized.

After an orientation on some factors which are uniform over the whole South Kurdish area, notably in the field of subsistence and kinship, the formal lineage organization will be discussed, as well as the basic patterns of non-tribal formal organization, and the fundamental composition of the smallest local groups will be treated.

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial pic- (2) ✱
ture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village;
and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power
hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting types
of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the (3) ✱
Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are
nomads, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant pas-
toral agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely
pastoral nomads, of what has been called the «vertical» Persian type.
The Kurds inhabit the mountainous country stretching from the (5)
Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia;
the backbone of this country is formed by the Zagros mountains.
Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the
foothill zone; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into
that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In south of their area, Kurds make
up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is,
on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map
No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the (6.)
characteristic settlement pattern is a small, compact village of 50
to 100 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today
are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of
International Affairs, 1951), but of that figure a great number are
urbanized or turbanized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and (8)
shows great similarity to Persian, but also salient features that suggest
a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent
splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. His- (9)
torical records seem to accord Kurds as an ethnic group considerable
antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1943), assuming them to be the
Carduchi who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400
B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities
attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abba-
sid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing
Salaun Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

[page continues on p. 3]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

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[42]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

B: Leach 6-8 (1938) 1940 Hall Ward Hall
Rowandduo

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

B: Leeds E-S. (1958) 1960 WAII Rural WAII
Kawambazi

[redacted]

The Relevance of Technology for a Social Study

[redacted] The earliest type of ethnographic monograph which might only be termed an historical study the customs and customs of primitive peoples was predominantly economic in its description of technological detail. In contrast to this many of the latest anthropological works with their sub-theoretical sociological emphasis have ignored technological detail altogether. In a volume that seeks to establish general laws for human behaviour it is impossible to find room to emphasize the exceptional nature that the predisposition of different cultures, and from this point of view the dissemination of general sociological and economic principles is of greater importance than the various achievements of the local variants of a particular technique. Nevertheless the technique of a people are not merely of historical significance. They can have a fascinating bearing upon their economic structure.

Social anthropologists rightly object the existence of over simple relationship between the social forms of a culture and its material material aspects, but the nature of this relationship is rather specifically examined. The inherent tends to be so subjectively as the dominant concept of social structure, that the consideration of a formal material structure is overlooked altogether. But the social form and the material form are surely equally significant aspects of human adjustment to the given facts of climate and environment? The tendency in the past has been to see material facts merely as a slight rough aide which to demonstrate the interlocking unity of social forms. For my part I have purposely left all material descriptions to the last since by so doing it is more easy to demonstrate the close correlation that exists between the social and the material forms and to show that reference to the one implies questions and acknowledgement reference to the other. The recognition of this correlation is especially important where the attention is one of culture change. In so far as the anthropologist's aim becomes one of predicting the trend and development of change, his method must be to isolate and evaluate the forces of conservatism and resistance to different aspects of the culture as he sees it. It is part of my argument that any such evaluation based on a consideration of social trends alone is necessarily incomplete. It does seem to me that, whilst forces exist to operate as of permanent importance, but to others it is technical factors which provide the ultimate determining factor as to which direction a new social development will take. Conservatism in the final analysis is a highly complex amalgam of social obligations, psychological reluctance, and actual technical inability to effect change. A direct correlation between the social and the material aspects of a Turkish hill village should therefore be of interest.

(2)
The Eastern Kandyans

On the other hand on the positive side I have attempted to point out generalizations of the form "the Sinhalese among themselves" by one methodology are not true to record the "opposite and contrast" of the Sinhalese. Further I have tried to throw some light on the continuing tension of conflict and opposition that affect the lives of the small group of people inhabiting this Kandyan area. If there is any merit in the point of view that emphasizes some aspect the continuity of enduring psychological values in cultural groups, again and again the facts on a group have been internal complexities, transitions, [illegible] events, unusual and a human beings reactions, this study of [illegible] does that there can be no such easy classifications. It is true that the structural patterns of a society does impose some restrictions upon predispositions of individuals, but that structural patterns affords the dynamics of different individuals to achieve different ends and their resulting reactions differ considerably. There was space to describe variability in the cultural data, which has been stressed which only on a process of conflicting viewpoints and divergent attitudes. All cultural groups, no matter how studies they appear to the light of history, are simply snapshots of any given time in a constant state of flux and potential change, the failure to accept generalizations.

Now the changes, after studies and disagreements, that active social conditions of Kandyan Sinhalese society in together and can be used from modified assignment changes that take place all the time area that the culture going to functioning under "normal" conditions, however there may be difficult. The emphasis of culture change is to be found in the reaction of individuals to these differentiated economic and political conditions. Viewed in this light the particular area of a small and obscure Kandyan valley may have a wide and general relevance, providing area in the conditions of our own society. The study of processes of change and development by a method, problem for anthropologists. As an anthropologist I would argue that these processes can best be studied in the economically subsistence of a small and relatively isolated group, where the limits of individual behaviour are by clearly recognized, but the problem is one of general significance.

In conclusion, as far as the facts are concerned, I will merely express the hope that this analysis is some part out of date by more systematic research.

PREFACE

This study is the result of work undertaken while the investigator was a member of the University of Michigan 1951 Expedition to Iraq and Iran. He most first express his gratitude to the director of the expedition, Professor George G. Cameron, and to the Rockefeller Foundation for subsequent financial assistance that has made this inquiry possible. The investigator lived in the town of Ramadiya, a Kurdish administrative and commercial center in northern Iraq, for a period of seven weeks in the summer of 1951, a large part of this time as a guest in the home of a Kurdish merchant. He was accompanied by an interpreter, a former employee of the intelligence service of the British Army, and the facility with which much of this information was gathered was to attributed to the ability and impartiality of this person. The investigator is well aware of the shortcomings which may arise from the use of an interpreter and the brevity of a visit. In the first regard, however, the experience of inquiries and the corroboration of recorded statements by the townspeople convinced that a considerable degree of accuracy in this matter was being attained. The freedoms of the town's schools offered additional corroborative and amplifications. There is still, of course, the possibility of error, but the investigator feels that mistakes such be few in number, are only because of the ability of his

[illegible] and communicate, but because he found [illegible] which prompt strange or excessive with relation to his creation of other Islamic cultures. The second failing is more annoying and the deficits in information arising from this difficulty have been indicated from time to time in the text. Nevertheless, it is felt that the limited size of this undertaking, discussed in the initial and concluding chapters, have been achieved. The investigator was fortunate in having a plurality of informants, men of various ages and callings, with whom narratives could be evaluated. Their versions were volunteered, and the only compensation asked was a similar exposition, by the investigator, of life in the United States. The information was recorded in many places in the town, the house, the shops, the gardens, the club, and the mosque, and supplemented by a photographic record.

The investigator must make the deep appreciation for the aid afforded him by the [illegible] of Kawasaka, Said [illegible] Beg, and Dr. Ahmad al-Amin of the Iraq Museum who facilitated his relationship with the local government. He is also obliged to H. E. Najib al-Asali, Director-General of Antiquities, under whose auspices the expedition conducted the work. A great debt is acknowledged to Professors Leslie A. White, Marcia Tilton, and Arthur E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan for their guidance in the preparation of the manuscript and the Lawiata expedition of the previous. Both Professors George G. Cameron and Douglas E.

PREFACE

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The material on which the following study is based was collected in Kirkuk and Sulaimani Liwas, Iraq, in the period February–August 1951. Part of this time was spent with an Oriental Institute, University of Chicago archaeological expedition under the direction of Dr. Robert J. Braidwood, part in doing independent work with a grant from Hammerdinger, Ohio. For further financial assistance, in the form of a liberal reduction in the air fare from Ohio to Arabia, I am indebted to Director Brueton of Brueton's S.A.F.E. Luggage; permit that other official assistance was kindly arranged for by His Excellency, Dr. Naji al-Asil, the Director General of Antiquities, Iraq Museum.

My thanks are more of all due to my kind host, Baba Ali Shaikh Mahmud, who offered me assistance of every kind during my field-work and graciously extended the more classical Kurdish hospitality. Khalid Said, a young Kurdish artist, was invaluable as interpreter and assistant; I am also obliged to Mr. Fuad, the School Inspector in Sulaimani, for recommending Khalid Said to me, as well as for several illuminating conversations. Sayyid Sabri Shakir, now of the Mosul Museum, kindly endeavored to teach me some of the fundamentals of Kurdish language and culture; Linda and Robert Braidwood, through their experience and knowledge of the area were able to help me and assist me in the problems, and also kindly lent me some necessary equipment. Finally, the spontaneous friendliness and hospitality that I received from everyone I met in Iraq, from the

PREFACE

This study is the result of work undertaken while the investigator was a member of the University of Michigan 1951 Expedition to Iraq and Iran. He must first express his gratitude to the director of the expedition, Professor George G. Cameron, and to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for having made this inquiry possible. The investigator lived in the town of Rowanduz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile center in northern Iraq, for a period of seven weeks in the summer of 1951, a large part of this time as a guest in the home of a Kurdish merchant. He was accompanied by an interpreter, a former employee of the intelligence service of the British Army, and the facility with which much of this information was gathered can be attributed to the ability and ingenuity of this person. The investigator is well aware of the shortcomings which can arise from the use of an interpreter and the brevity of a visit. In the first regard, however, the repetition of inquiries and the retranslation of recorded narratives to the townspeople revealed that a considerable degree of accuracy in this medium was being obtained. The teachers of the town's schools offered additional corrections and amplifications. There is still, of course, the possibility of error, but the investigator feels that mistakes must be few in number, not only because of the ability of his

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[727]

Attention might be directed to the land of Rowandus itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriy), private (tapu), and religious endowment (waqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

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It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economies of the Rowandus district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a *primary* nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

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[651]

The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious.

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fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children. A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Lali Khan and Beyia Amina, the Turkish wife of Shakir Effendi, both unveiled and neither of European education or inclination. Visiting women, almost always married and related in some way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain in the diwankhana if the house-owner and a male guest should suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle, in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy,

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially segregated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the wall of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The gaimuyan, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

Both festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the shi'i, the mating celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, zarnag'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shengal'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and perik "waiting instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the arpeggiations and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Kawandus played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Kawandus. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

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[123]
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[207]

Fig. 1. Village watercress. Married women fetching wood home. Before

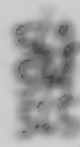
and village [illegible]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes bring in wives, mostly in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and will share their go abroad"[illegible]. He then distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[illegible], so which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bellaires, (1949, writes: "Die Frauen regen keinen Schleier und genossen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten anderen mohammedanischen Völkern"[illegible]. The same is repeated by Rondeau (1967, "La femme ne considère chez les Kurdes, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[illegible]. Some commentators that the veil is quite rudimentary among the Kurds[illegible], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", or "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the house"[illegible]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a superior treatment ... than is seen among Mussulmans races"[illegible]. Sir Ferrières similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the Arab

commenced from the moment. He was carried by the child's maternal uncle, Ali. The wedding was done, as had been the case with the little girl, amongst by the mother and other female relatives. In this house it was performed in the back room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the embroidered of the room as a female does. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ornaments and wedding gloves was torn into pieces by a knife, the knife, though the wedding gloves was also torn seen by one of the women bedfellows of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other women of the house broke into lamentations, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child gripped one of its mother's hands from the moment the corpse matter had rolled it up and carried it into the bedroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped up in the little girl had been, in a prayer rug beside the coffin, to be given the body for on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mecca. The dead are covered with cotton, and face with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs - one at the head and one at the foot[40] - are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and government towns were, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1946 Hansen[41] accused the great difference between the simply, raised burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab graves, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in regard of the children's deaths, while later the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning need for friends and acquaintances referred to by Hasluck[42], summons to funeral wake, was not given in the case of his two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and his only thing obtainable was bread and water native. Nothing resembling that among Kurds a special agency[43] was found three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death news of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bedroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the chamber is not visited and glasses are not smoked. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for one to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in case of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man in Tuyserre the day before a triple wedding resulted in the men's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq. They take place immediately after death, the death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The corpses must be of new, white native material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the city, the corpse of the fourth being commenced for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men, in both



PREFACE

This study is the result of work undertaken while the investigator was a member of the University of Michigan 1955 Expedition to Iraq and Iran. He most sincerely expresses his gratitude to the director of the expedition, Professor George E. Kenyon, and to the Research-Corp Foundation for Anthropological Research for having made this inquiry possible. The investigator lived in the town of Kermanshah, a Kurdish administrative and commercial center in northern Iraq, for a period of seven months in the summer of 1955, a large part of this time as a guest in the home of a Kurdish merchant. He was accompanied by an interpreter, a former employee of the intelligence service of the British Army, and the facility with which much of this information was gathered can be attributed to the ability and ingenuity of this person. The investigator is well aware of the shortcomings which may arise from the use of an interpreter and the brevity of a visit. In the first regard, however, the repetition of inquiries and the reexamination of recorded narratives by the townspeople revealed that a considerable degree of accuracy in this medium was being obtained. The teachers of the town's schools offered additional corrections and explications. There is still, of course, the possibility of error, but the investigator feels that mistakes must be few in number, not only because of the ability of his

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

The investigator must work with the very appreciative [illegible]
[illegible] of Honolulu, Hawaii
[illegible] Dog, and Mr. Roland [illegible] of the Dog Museum who facilitated his relationship with the local government. He is also obligated to R. E. Bailey [illegible], Director-General of Antiquities, under whose auspices the expedition conducted the work. A great debt is acknowledged to Professors Leslie A. White, Marcia Tiller, and Arthur E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan for their guidance in the preparation of the manuscript and the isolative expedition of the problems. Both Professors George G. Cameron and Douglas S.

ei-Qaida ei-Askari. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to think through this "book of wisdom" he guide.

The illustrations further the character of the journey. It is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rwanda. The story was recorded in the garden of Sheikh Mbwaki with the latter present to verify some of the episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Dar es Salaam on a bus, which sounds distinctly canonical, Hajji Mustafa's tale rings truthful at most points, while from its suggestiveness. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology.

My real name is Mustafa only, but my name as a Muslim is Sheikh Hajji Mustafa Rwamukuli. I am [24] [25]
now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rwamukuli who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is with me helps in my shop and the other is an infant.

I was born in Rwamukuli and the name of my father was Sheikh Hassan Mbwaki, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the schoolboys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I am commander of an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had

[illegible] 6

The Jurisdiction of the Foregoing Removal

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

Abstract

[illegible]
[illegible]
by William R. Shelton

This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Sumadia, a Serbian subsistence-agricultural and semi-nomadic town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to other cultural features in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as detailed, localized knowledge of the Kurds here not been particularly attempted, this study of Sumadia is also to contribute to the ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Semitic people numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven months' intensive investigations in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Sumadia are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) the subsistence sector, 2) the nonsemitic sector, 3) house, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 3000 and is basically made up of merchants,

[p. i(a)]

many of the Schaeffer's expeditions have contributed an immense 114
of Linguistic and Ethnological. Gratitude must be expressed
to Professor E. Harbury Williams and Dr. Edward H. Schafer
of the University of Michigan, the former for his help in
obtaining the grants received by government organizations
and the latter for a monthly review of the foreign words
and phrases. Lastly, it remains to thank the Management
of Sonnenschein and their publishers, Messrs. John Whitehead, for
their friendship and generous hospitality without which
this investigation would have been impossible. It is hoped
that a study of their life and practices will in some way
repay them for their kindness.

Words from Arabic, Sanskrit, Turkish, and other 128
languages have been encountered in the text, but accent 114
marks have been omitted. The reader will find in the
appendix a glossary of these words in simplified transcription.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

of modern methods of agriculture. The villages on this [illegible] are [illegible] by [illegible] activity in the harbour. Most of Seaton Village [illegible] particularly the main area to have been [illegible] throughout the history. Before [illegible] so far, though has also had relatively minor [illegible] industries, the [illegible] Seaton [illegible] considerable political importance. After the [illegible] the area was within the area of the [illegible] system. The policy adopted by the British Administration and the resultant political consequences are described in [illegible]. Every [illegible] to say he would [illegible] after [illegible] initial success to think the government unfortunately "picked the wrong man" the administration eventually adopted a [illegible] responsibility by paying all the important leaders a [illegible] salary [illegible] these [illegible]. The present [illegible] of this [illegible] to [illegible]. Following the [illegible] of the [illegible], or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the [illegible] Administration to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". To [illegible] this was built through the [illegible] from Hill to [illegible] and [illegible] as in the Persian Gulf, a large military barracks was established at [illegible] with subsidiary police posts at [illegible] and [illegible]. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have [illegible] been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To one or two, the distinguishing characteristics of area [illegible] are the poverty of the soil resources, the severity of the malaria [illegible] [illegible] and, of our interviewees [illegible] the fact that most "active [illegible]" as is not found in all of Early recent origin being for the most part from the [illegible] of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Sapir Valley.

5. Portakli Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Seaton is separated from area 4 by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the North side as the river [illegible] it merges quite gradually into the plains area 1. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area 5, though possessing of identical cultural origins to those of area 4, have for many years been in both direct contact with the west and eastern "modernised" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Early accounts [illegible] seem to appear that conditions were very similar even in this time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area 4 both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.B.Smythe - Road through Barbarism.

Abstract

ROWANDOZ: A KURDISH ADMINISTRATIVE AND MERCANTILE CENTER

by William H. Masters

This study has two purposes, the first of which is an analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowandoz, a Kurdish administrative and mercantile town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to wider cultural horizons in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as detailed, localized treatments of the Kurds have not been previously attempted, this study of Rowandoz is able to contribute to the ethnology of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Muslim people numbering several millions, who inhabit the mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the modern state on the structure of the society of the town and the district within which it lies. The materials were obtained from seven weeks' intensive investigation in the summer of 1951.

An analysis and interpretation of the culture of Rowandoz are presented in six areas of discussion: 1) the administrative center, 2) the mercantile center, 3) homes, dress, and diet, 4) the society, 5) the family, 6) religious life. The population of the town numbers about 3000 and is basically made up of merchants,

[p. i(a)]

CHAPTER I

KURDISTAN AND KURDISTS

Kurdistan, "the land of the Kurds," is an area of the 101
Middle East which cannot be defined by its environmental peculiarities or its political unity. The Kurds, a Muslim people whose numbers are estimated at several millions, occupy that mountainous region where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet, an arc of land extending approximately from Aleppo to Tabriz. This corresponds to the southern portion of the complex of mountains sometimes called the "Armenian Knot," in which the Taurus and Black Sea ranges of Turkey join before fanning out as the Elburz and Zagros formations of Iran. Politically, Kurdistan is divided between five governments, and for centuries has been a party to the frontier warfare of Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. Until recent decades the "Armenian Knot" has been the home of peoples who have resisted absorption into the larger nations of the Middle East, some by force of arms and others peacefully as relics of almost forgotten Christian and Muslim sects. Of such groups, one might mention the Armenians, historically the northern neighbors of the Kurds, the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians, the Yezidis of Jebel Sinjar, and the Druses of Lebanon and Syria. To the north, in the Caucasus, were the Christian

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Save at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowanduz is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowanduz was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Mar Busha, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1]Recounted in Hamilton, 1937.

Figure 1. Sketch Map of the Middle East

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Figure 2. Sketch Map of the Rowandus District

3:Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not assume that marriage relations and matrimonial ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down to the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the tira varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Warda Shatti (location: cantoning in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several tira may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Louis J. Luzbetak, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1951).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. R. Leach, *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 3, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

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131
103
133

Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plain around Baghdad.

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[913]

were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Rakiba and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used: hired cars, primitive local lorries, mules and horses. If no private homes were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to view the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every fortnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a couple visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshara, I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May - 5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connection with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Topzawa-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Sirkan, making a lengthy trip to Rawanduz via Kirkuk, Mirwal and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an elder brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

Detail map of the area visited. The area is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 388, 427 and 428.

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Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the women interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the shafi'i rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to-day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nisaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Sanna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakhs and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 3 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

[P. 5]

S: Edmonds G-S (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet of Mosul: Mosul (31% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (12%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent qadhas[2] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

• C. J. Edmonds was formerly in the British Foreign Service. In 1932 he was seconded for service under the Iraqi Government and from 1931 to 1941 was Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior. He is now lecturer in Kurdish at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London.

1 [Territorial-administrative units, with wiqads sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.—Analyst.]

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village; and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting types of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the «vertical», Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mountainous crescent stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this crescent is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 50 to 300 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1911), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exhibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds as an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1913), assuming them to be the Carduks who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Sultan Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

[text continues on p. 12]

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 90A11 Kurd 90A11

Kurdish territory was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I., 175
but retained considerable local autonomy, leading to adjustment
rather than replacement of traditional Kurdish organization.

The area generally called Southern Kurdistan, where the present 131 •
material was collected, may be delimited on ethnic and geographical
grounds (cf. Map. No. 2). It is bounded on the north by the Lesser
Zab, on the south by the Diyala river. To the east it stretches up
into the Zagros mountains to the Persian frontier. A western border
can only be drawn on ethnic, and rather arbitrary criteria, since
Kurdish territory extends in part beyond the foothill area, into a
a zone where Kurd and Arab villages and villages mingle.

Physiographically, the area is characterized by a series of ridges (193
running NW—SE, building up towards the Persian mountains. The
drainage pattern is rather complex, partly leading to the Lesser Zab,
partly to the Diyala, and some smaller rivers dissipating in the dry
areas south and west of the city of Kirkuk.

In the lowlands, the «Garmian» (hotlands) of the Kurds, condi-
tions approach semi-desert, and agriculture becomes increasingly
difficult. Kurdish territory stretches in places to the edge of what
has been called the rainfall zone (Warriner, 1948, p. 100), but
generally falls somewhat short of this, leaving the remaining area
to Arab agriculturalists with an identical economy.

Though predominantly Kurdish, the area shows some ethnic diver- 162
sity. There is contact with permanent Arab settlements in a rather
broad zone of mixture. Bedouin herdsmen in the summer graze their
camels as far as the Chemchemal valley, and have at times remained
in the area continuously for several years. The city of Kirkuk has a
considerable Turkish-speaking population, and Turkish-speaking
villages may still be found in a wide stretch of the lower districts.
Some 100 years ago, Turkoman nomads occupied some of these areas
(Rich, 1836). The town of Sulaimani had till 1911 a considerable
Jewish population, as well as the still persisting small Chaldaean
Christian minority.

The Kurds themselves exhibit considerable diversity, ranging from
tribally organized nomadic herdsmen to feudal peasants. The Gar-
mian lowlands are mainly peopled by detribalized tenant farmers.

554 addressed by it. Ali Agha of Bayat's Hill title to Hajji Ali Agha and he is sometimes addressed simply as Hajji. The nephew of Sheik Amin of Sangesiar had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Hajji.

The title Sayyid implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The descent is probably in most cases apocryphal; anyway the Sayyids whom I met had every appearance of being pure bred Kurds. In the Balik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two Shaikhs of Shaikan and Nim - Alaeddin and his uncle Shaikhillah.

554 609 The Turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables who have no tribal linkage and thus cannot be called Aghas - thus Mustapha Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known everywhere as Shevin Effendi.

Bakin (arabic 'Doctor') is applied only to foreigners. I acquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a 'Lord' or a 'Major'.

The field of investigation

102 The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the contour features of the country at all adequately and altitudes are merely indicated in figures. The area is covered by sections I 38 and J 38 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowanduz area appears on section L. 38 on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102 Map 1 which shows the whole of the Erbil Liwa of Iraqi-Kurdistan is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic
• 131 and ethnographic significance.

[487] A. Rowanduz. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some ten years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Practically the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bandit infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous "Rowanduz Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowanduz itself is some 3,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 12,000 feet. Cool and well watered it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparitively little land is suitable for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of agriculture.

* For photographs see Map pp. 220, 222.

E Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

9
5

a mature economy of agriculture. The villages we will be seen from [illegible] are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village [illegible] particularly the whole area is seen bound throughout the winter. Before [illegible] war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the [illegible] Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the [illegible] the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy applied by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarized it may be said [illegible] that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately [illegible] backed the wrong men" the administration eventually achieved a [illegible] relative tranquillity by paying all the important leaders a substantial [illegible] salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of [illegible] this will be referred to later. Following the abolishment of the [illegible] mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities [illegible] to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road [illegible] was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued to [illegible] Penjwin. In the Pavilion territory a large military barracks was established at [illegible] Penjwin with subsidiary police posts at Bapir and Balula. The [illegible] economic and political consequences of the building of this road have [illegible] been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A [illegible] are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winters; the [illegible] extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication [illegible] between the various villages; and the fact that such "tribal dis- [illegible] integration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for [illegible] the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment [illegible] of permanent police authority in the Bapir valley.

B. Penjwin Area. This area corresponding approximately to [illegible] the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an [illegible] almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other [illegible] hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical [illegible] considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the [illegible] inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins [illegible] to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact [illegible] with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. [illegible] At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as [illegible] political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense [illegible] "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it [illegible] appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the [illegible] process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the [illegible] interval. The potential economic resources of the district are [illegible] probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder [illegible] climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.H.Smellie - Road through Kurdistan.

1/2 [Rowanduz -- Bapir]

St Andrews G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MAII Kurd MAII
Mahabad

In September 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, toppling over the structure painfully erected by Reza Shah Pahlavi. As his soldiers scattered, they sold or surrendered their arms to the tribes which still roamed the desolate mountains of Iran, holding to their organization, mores, and way of life in spite of the old Shah's efforts to subdue them. Among those thus benefiting from the Iranian collapse were the Kurdish tribes occupying the mountains along the Iraqi and Turkish borders from Maku, in the shadow of Mount Ararat in the north, to Qasr-i-Shirin, on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road in the south.

In the north, the Kurdish tribes in the mountains west of Lake Urmieh found themselves contained by the strong Soviet garrisons in Rezaieh, Shahpur, Khoi, and Maku. In the absence of effective Iranian authority, the Soviets maintained direct relations with the tribes — the Jalali in the north, the Shikak in the mountains west of Shahpur, and the Herki west of Rezaieh. The chiefs of these tribes were allowed to manage their own affairs by the Soviets, who only required that they maintain security and provide grain for the Red Army. At the southern extreme of the Kurdish area, near the Kermanshah-Baghdad road — one of the main supply links between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union — British troops kept the tribes quiet.

It was in the large area between the British and Soviet forces, in the vacuum left by the fleeing Iranians, that the Kurds were able to regain their autonomy. At first the two main centers of disturbance were Mariwan and the Awroman Mountains, where Mahmud Khan of Kani-Sewan established a precarious hegemony; and Baneh, where Hama Rashid Khan, long in exile in Iraq, built up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. Both of these tribal chiefs were recognized for a time by the Iranian Government as semi-official governors of their areas, but were then driven into Iraq by the reorganized Iranian Army. By the fall of 1945, all of Kurdistan south of the Saqqiz-Baneh-Sardasht line was again firmly in government hands. The vacuum was thus reduced to the small area between this line and the Soviet forces based on Rezaieh, in which there was only one town of any size — Mahabad, formerly known as Sauj Bulagh, a few miles south of Lake Urmieh.

• [31] personality in England, the 'man on the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[84] The Kurd is born into a world of
[85] dancing and feasting, for relatives and friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers be-
[92] neath. When he reaches the age of five he
[293] is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of excess shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

[93] He has another great festival when he is
304 [text continues on p. 54]

CHAPTER V.

Persia: Kurds, Circassians, Gudars and Turkomans.

The name Persia only indicates a geographical territory. If, and in how far, it is possible to disentangle the anthropology of its inhabitants will be discussed below.

For this purpose a study of the less-mentioned races may precede. According to SPISSER [1]) the Kurds are the descendants of the ancient Gutti or Qurti. At the present time most of the Kurds live in Kurdistan, a territory belonging partly to Persia, partly to Turkey, lying approximately between 35° and 40° N. lat., including the Ararat slopes and extending west to the Antitaurus in Central Turkey, and east to Hamadan in Persia (i.e. approximately between 37° and 47° E. long.). Besides, a large Kurdish colony, originating from S.E. Turkey (the Kemangans, Dimilkis and Mardin) has settled in Daressun. It is this colony that I examined with Mr. MINOS, a student of the American University of Beirut and a Kurd himself, to whom I wish to express my thanks for his help.

The literature concerning the Kurds is somewhat contradictory, as appears from the data concerning their cephalic index.

PELAT [2]) describes them as a Median race. DONIKOWSKY [3]), who measured five Kurds, found them to be brachycephalic (86.2).

CHANTRE [4]) who examined 100 Kurds (91 males and 49 females) from Kurdistan and Caucasus, found an average index of 79.33 (with variations from 70.09 to 86.4) for the males. A similar male average (79.48) was found by HAMBERGER [5]) with

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[1]) SPISSER (Mesopotamian original) supposes the Qurti or Guti to belong to the Proto-Zagrian or Elamian brachycephalic race. Although with 48 Kurds measured he found the KNIGHTONS found the prevailing index to be 84–85, the great majority of the present Kurds are mesocephalic.

[2]) PELAT, Perses. Des Land und seine Bewohner. Breslauer, Leipzig, 1865, p. 18.

[3]) DONIKOWSKY. Etudes sur les populations de la Perse. Paris 1882. Quoted from RANKEN. The original not being at my disposal, I cannot say where the Kurds measured by DONIKOWSKY lived.

[4]) CHANTRE. Recherches anthrop. en Asie occident. Arch. d. Mus. d'Hist. nat. de Lyon. Tome IV. 1885. See also CHANTRE: Aperçu sur les characteres ethniques des Arméniens et des Kurdes. Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Lyon. Tome I. 1881—1882, p. 165 and CHANTRE: Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans l'Asie occidentale et specialement dans les régions de l'Ararat et du Caucase. Arch. des missions scientifiques et littéraires. 3eme série. Tome X. 1883. In this paper (p. 42) CHANTRE emphasizes the variations in the Kurdish index, according to the people amongst whom they live. I am greatly indebted to Dr. CLAUDE COLLARD of the Museum des Sciences Naturelles de Lyon for the loan of these valuable papers.

[5]) HAMBERGER. Table of Kurdish measurements. Reports of the Anthropol. Soc. of Moscow 1880. Abstract in the Arch. f. Anthropologie, Bnd. 26, 1897, p. 446.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

At Sulemaniah, the Kürdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harimlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tekerdaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his 'Anabasis', or Retreat of the Ten Thousand, mentions that the Kardoni kept their wives in underground chambers, lib. iv. chap. 5.

and highland customs. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Here at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowandus is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowandus was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Mar Isaiah, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1]Recounted in Smallian, 1935.

Fig 4. Urban milieu. Unschooled married woman and educated girl eating tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish woman whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh houses in Topzawa, Sheikhs, Surgalu and Serkan. I visited peasant houses in Topzawa, Bikrawa, Mirza Rostam and Bekhin. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rostam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Koweisdar. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the subservient house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of milk and dry, sheets of bread folded into corners to be used as spoons when eating the milk[58], and, rarely, fried eggs, fellas, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104 F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *Pilāf*, rice, steamed in butter[59], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[60], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kābāb*—not the Turkish kind[61] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bāmjā*[62] or ladies' fingers, and *bādhgān* or eggplant[63] pipe gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[64] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in order at the morning meal and also given as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Tegawra, Bahdinan and Balkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[65]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225-0.305 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

4 Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[68], but forks and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is *mâstâw* or the less-distinguished *dûg*. These are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

Fetching of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds: clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm: there are also water skins, *kawl*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[69]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[70]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat ember pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

Heating. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temperatures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool under a quilt ... formed the "kirsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[72] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret *(kursi)*, on le recouvre d'une couverture[73] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

461 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

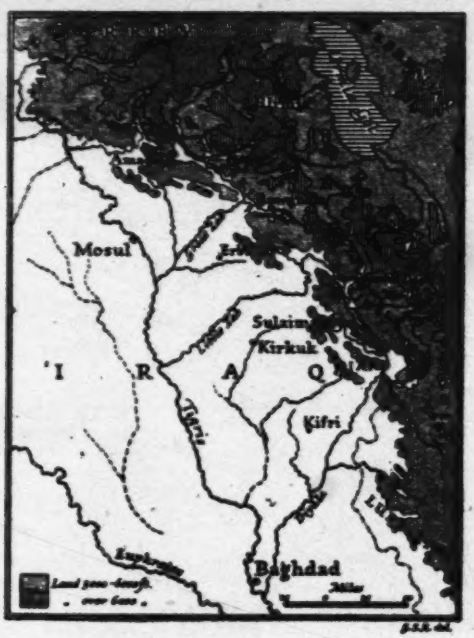
243 233 • 132 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm., concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

• 132 221 We have already seen that the Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains. In the latitude where they live—approximately that of Greece—winter at sea-level may be mild, while in the mountains it is harsh. The cool summer breezes and green meadows of the higher mountains turn to snow, avalanche, and the rigours of a highland winter. So to save his flocks the Kurdish shepherd long ago became nomadic, making annual treks to the warmer valleys in the lower hills to obtain 221 winter grazing. The nomadic life, however, provides but a limited diet and the desire to supplement it by agriculture is a

[102]



1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Save at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowanduz is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowanduz was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Kor Pasha, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1]Recounted in Hamilton, 1937.

the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handrin Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war. 361 [133] [727]

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowanduz and Handrin rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowanduz, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowanduz is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowanduz river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan [491] [487]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

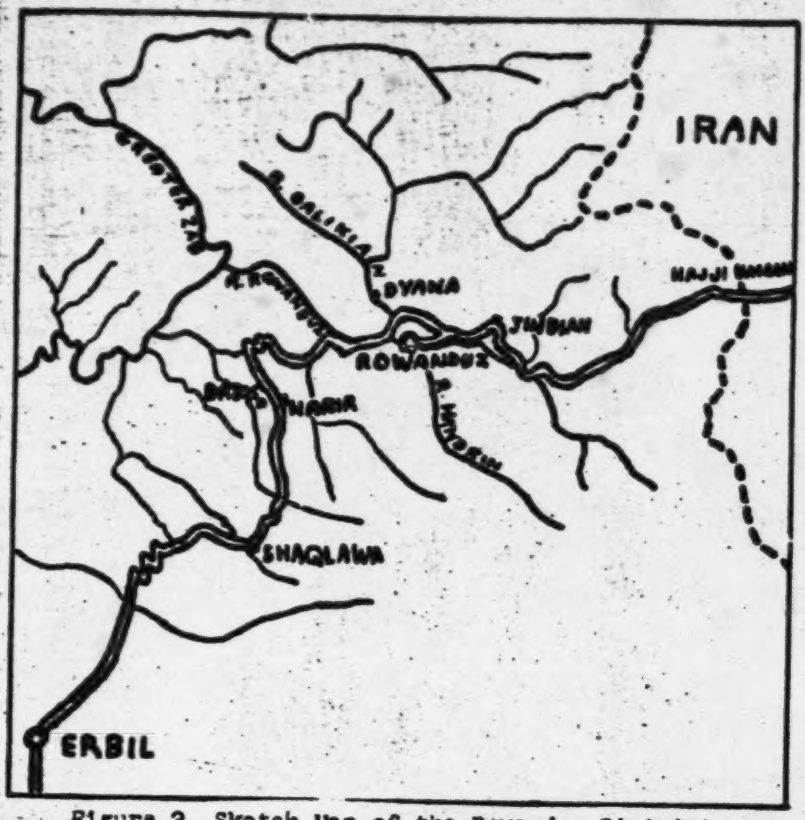


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Figure 2. Sketch Map of the Rowanduz District

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

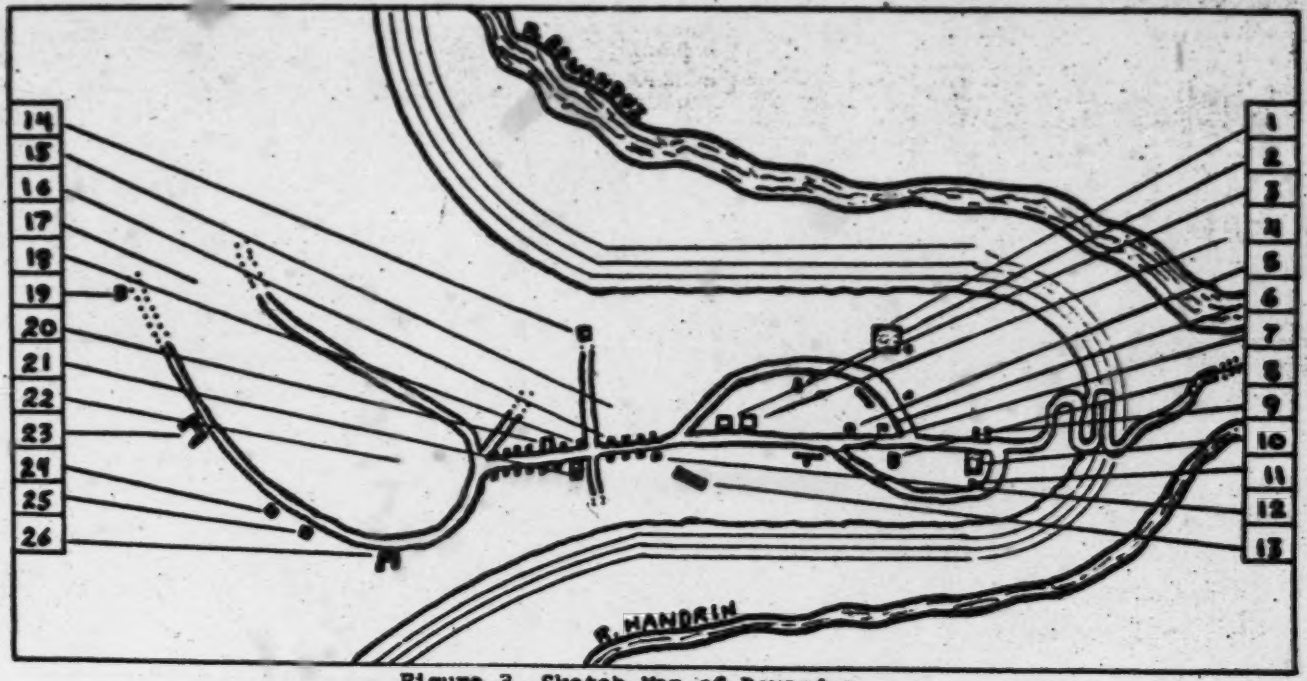

Figure 3. Sketch Map of Rowanduz
1. Isma'il Beg. 2. Court House. 3. Police Post. 4. Tobacco Monopoly. 5. Girl's School. 6. House of Qaimmaqam. 7. Sayyid Heusni. 8. Primary School. 9. Veterinarian. 10. Serai. 11. Communications Office. 12. Sadiq Agha. 13. Hospital. 14. Ra'uf Effendi. 15. Lower Residential Area. 16. Bazar. 17. Cemetery. 18. Garage. 19. Ashi Shaykhi. 20. Garage. 21. Great Mosque. 22. Upper Residential Area. 23. Shakir Effendi. 24. Nuri Bawil Agha. 25. Women's Mosque. 26. Club.

CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowanduz region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide, level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Batas or Dyana, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowanduz itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Ibex, the long-horned mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong-smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local huntsmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

CHAPTER IV

HOUSE, DRESS, AND DIET

The town of Rowandus, aside from its government 361
buildings and bazar, contains some 800 houses. The four mosques, and the club, the only remaining specialized constructions, will be discussed in later sections, and the house itself, with other material features of daily life, such as diet and clothing, may be treated here. The town has three general divisions, the first largely unoccupied, the second containing both shops and dwellings, and the third almost wholly residential. It would be incorrect to say that building has been completely without reference to any overall plan, for, although there has certainly been no conscious attempt to build according to any preconceived design, Rowanduz, with its specialized [366]
bazar surrounding the principal mosque and its lanes of houses, some of them cut at right angles to the main thoroughfare, follows certain very generalized notions of the constitution of towns elsewhere. Any construction, [133]
however, has been greatly conditioned by the land, because beneath the scanty topsoil there are hard, irregular crags of rock, and both houses and streets have out of necessity adapted themselves to their contours. There has been little attempt, particularly in the absence of any but the most burdensome means, to level or to build up the

Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Balkha and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used; hired cars, primitive local buses, mules and horses. If no private homes were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every forthnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshâra, I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May–5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connexion with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Topzawa-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Serkan, making a lengthy trip to Rowanduz via Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an elder brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

Lokal map of the area visited. The area is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

Fig. 4. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

13 The village scene

Fig. 1. View from to town of the mountains of Kamilaun.

The settlements and their

311 conditions

311 conditions the siting of the villages. Some steep hills—shown in a view of Tiqueera suggest the founder
294 ter of granite. Watercourses and springs are decisive in their location for the finding of water and
for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging
[412] these canals mattocks (S. 234) and iron ploughs, are used. The latter are worked by two men. The
[8] light plough was seen to use drawn by the Lower Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages
[139] of Tiqueera and Kalawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill plots have
245 scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for
wine and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sergalu, Bekhta and Tawella, which have simple
231 ruins, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are cows
and oxen, gt. fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, Pigs, donkeys, fds. and mules, fowls, with
ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, asp, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a cork [illegible]. There are also
big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds. At 5 a.m. the oxen
233 are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day
the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

Fig. 43. Threshing by means of wooden sticks round the fully-loaded corn. Tigrinya.

wooden forks grab the corn under the animal so it is gradually rotated until out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *jegjeg*, which can be called a threshing sledge[1], threshing cart[2] or threshing 243
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 403
of two kidney-shaped side planes joined above by a cross axle. Between the side planes, which are
studded with big bone nails giving the appearance of superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh,
two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of assorted, bar-shaped iron blades
whose edges are at right angles to each other[3]. These blades are so placed that the machine runs
alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at
right angles to them. By its pressure and the effects of the beam harnessed to it, the threshing machine
serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven
round alone on the corn heap, but the manoeuvre from blades at the same time cut up the straw into
chaff.

According to Eby[4] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [illegible]

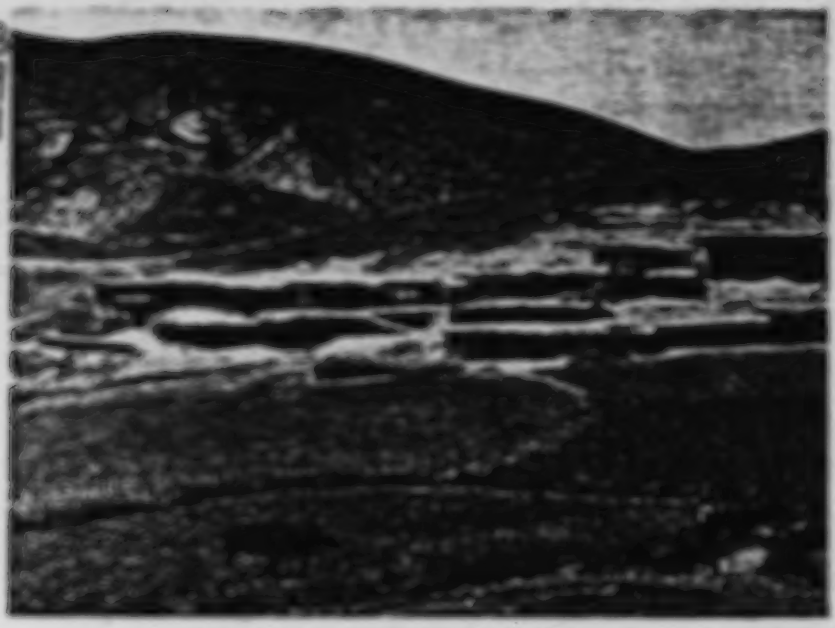

Fig. 43. The entrance hall to ploughland with cows, Tuguseva.

So far as I could discover the [illegible] is not homosexual. Polyandrous [illegible] cannot be ruled out

[illegible] is a pyramid by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the city in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is women's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2345).

Women's world, like men's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an [illegible] or equivalent. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sukhumi on the Southern plain[illegible]. Ordinarily the owner of a village would be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adile's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sukhumi. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had to the village, according to Lomiri[illegible], a manager "bubisi", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tuguseva, Kalvena, Bargula and Sachan the shekhis were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taiba's property. Tegawan.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[55]. A guest wing is typical of the finest houses in Kurdish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village to the squire. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Barton, Edmonds and Leach[56]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rakawa. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family house some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a loggia. The roof to this was supported by five columns of hacked, but variegated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hacked wooden blocks inserted as

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[55A]
[114]

[Text continues Top of P 32--Analyst]

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish territory was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Salim I., but retained considerable local autonomy, leading to adjustment rather than replacement of traditional Kurdish organization.

The area generally called Southern Kurdistan, where the present material was collected, may be delimited on ethnic and geographical grounds (cf. Map. No. 2). It is bounded on the north by the Lesser Zab, on the south by the Diyala river. To the east it stretches up into the Zagros mountains to the Persian frontier. A western border can only be drawn on ethnic, and rather arbitrary criteria, since Kurdish territory extends in part beyond the foothill area, into a a zone where Kurd and Arab villagers and villages mingle.

Physiographically, the area is characterized by a series of ridges running NW—SE, building up towards the Persian mountains. The drainage pattern is rather complex, partly leading to the Lesser Zab, partly to the Diyala, and some smaller rivers dissipating in the dry areas south and west of the city of Kirkuk.

In the lowlands, the «Garmian» (hotlands) of the Kurds, conditions approach semi-desert, and agriculture becomes increasingly difficult. Kurdish territory stretches in places to the edge of what has been called the rainfall zone (Warriner, 1948, p. 100), but generally falls somewhat short of this, leaving the remaining area to Arab agriculturalists with an identical economy.

Though predominantly Kurdish, the area shows some ethnic diversity. There is contact with permanent Arab settlements in a rather broad zone of mixture. Bedouin herdsmen in the summer graze their camels as far as the Chemchemal valley, and have at times remained in the area continuously for several years. The city of Kirkuk has a considerable Turkish-speaking population, and Turkish-speaking villages may still be found in a wide stretch of the lower districs. Some 100 years ago, Turkoman nomads occupied some of these areas (Rich, 1836). The town of Suleimani had till 1951 a considerable Jewish population, as well as the still persisting small Chaldaean Christian minority.

The Kurds themselves exhibit considerable diversity, ranging from tribally organized nomadic herdsmen to feudal peasants. The Garmian lowlands are mainly peopled by detribalized tenant farmers.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowanduz with subsidiary police posts at Rayat and Gelala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A[1] are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winter; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various valleys; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Rayat valley.

B. Foothill Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.M.Hamilton - Road through Kurdistan.

[1] [Rowanduz -- Analyst]

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Save at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

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The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, chikew) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

forbidden in the Rowanduz area and an investigation of their sources might prove embarrassing to the government itself. Most of the modern items, however, have an Iranian Army history. The adulation of weapons, common to the youth of many countries, is a prominent feature of Kurdish adolescence, and a lad who by diligence or a stroke of good fortune has obtained an elderly pistol or a rifle has a treasure indeed. The skill of the Kurds with arms is open to some question, in view of the high price of illicit ammunition, but several demonstrations were witnessed on vultures (whom it is strictly forbidden to shoot) which gave evidence of capability.

In treating the costume of the women of the town, it is important to remember that three different categories must be dealt with, the wives of the civil officials, Kurdish townswomen of the upper class, and those of humbler stations, although the difference in dress between the latter two groups is largely a matter of the quality of the material and the wearing of the veil. To describe first the garments of a Kurdish woman of the lower classes, the basic undergarment, as in the case of the men, is a pair of white cotton drawers falling below the knees, although in these the bottoms are more tightly bound about the calves. Above this a simple cotton shirt may appear. Over the drawers full trousers of dark-coloured cloth, drawn in at the ankles, may be worn, an invariable item in the attire of village women. To build up the outer garment a series of chemises and simple dresses with long,

of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a 276
long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of
a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little
more than curiosity value for the local people. European [439]
cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with [293]
the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every
adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of
these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen [372]
in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but
this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and
thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as
their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters.
Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical
distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them.
During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered im- [785]
polite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although [576]
tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, 136
insofar as their inroads are not too intensive, they are
not regarded as a particular nuisance. Homes of the lower
classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with
vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the
flea. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the
summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them
from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little
attention to them. Scorpions and snakes sometimes turn
up, and are killed with the greatest possible dispatch.

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 136
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognized. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 164
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 758
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 165
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re-
place the son who had died (at the age of eleven "of the [761]
evil eye"), and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a pleasant lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Juj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Save at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowanduz is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowanduz was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Kor Pasha, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1] Recounted in Hamilton, 1937.

irregularities of the slope, and the general process 361
has been one of building around or avoiding them. It
might also be remembered that this is a new town, built
up since the destruction of the old in the valley in 1917.

The streets and lanes are unpaved, their surfaces 363
the rough face of the rock, resembling in most cases a hard,
cobblestone pavement. As many of them are precipitous,
accidents, particularly at night, are not uncommon, and
in the winter of 1950 two persons suffered broken limbs
by losing their footing. There is a "main thoroughfare,"
a central artery of travel to which most lanes lead, corres-
ponding in part to the street leading through the bazar.
On reaching the top of the bluff by the steep, winding
automobile road from the valley, two streets branch out
around the serai and join together just before the bazar
to form the principal street and center. Where the bazar
merges with the upper residential section, two lanes, more
important than others, divide to skirt the hill which
dominates this upper area and join again above the town.
Along the streets, the open spaces between the houses 351
are often lined with fences, either of rubble or of inter- 361
woven branches, usually enclosing a garden. The lots left
vacant are either barren soil, such as the "brickyard"
noticed above, or covered with tough, long grass and scrub [137]
vegetation. A number of trees grow unattended along the
edges of the cliffs, but almost all others are confined
to the gardens and yards of private dwellings.

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required, and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh distributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes must often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals of women and children, depending on the status of their husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said that these memorial parties of both men and women visited the grave "as long as all shall live." 765 764 562 858

The cemetery of Rowanduz occupies the flat crest of the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the next. Only a few have inscriptions, some etched and others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn. Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble wall, indicating the grave of a sayyid, a descendant of 764 [137] [211] 766

Shaykh Muhammad at Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shepherd used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammad each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammad wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shepherd fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faroff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammad learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shepherd's grave before his own. A merchant in Rowanduz, one 'Abd al-Sattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine. 778 792 [773] [755]

Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been denuded of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowanduz were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or man who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power in the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed baraka 778 824 [137] 778

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kurdistan.

The watercourses and springs

condition the siting of the villages. Some deep hits—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former use of *qanāts*. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the fetching of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot plough[33], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The foot plough was seen in use down by the Lesser Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for must and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sargalu, Balkha and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are: cows and oxen, *gā*, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, *hēle*, donkeys, *kār*, and mules, *kerr*, with ducks, *fowh* and geese. Horses, *asp*, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[34]. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[35]. At 5 a.m. the cows are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

137 with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Vines grow in two areas only and chinars (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the older inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

K 181 The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

K 164 221 342 In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is favoured by the cultivation of rice with its invariable accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the Kurd-owners move to their "aleilan" or summer dwellings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

I 795 The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

I 795 467 583 648 162 Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their ancient history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term "Assyrian" now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church who were domiciled either within what is now the Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkari by the Turks during the Great War and refused

●141

[For comparative Anthropometry of Southwestern Asia see H Field, MAI Iran, category 116, pp. 436-489.]

36: Kappers D-6 (1929-30) 1932 MI Middle East
CHERKESS NH 6
KURD MA 11

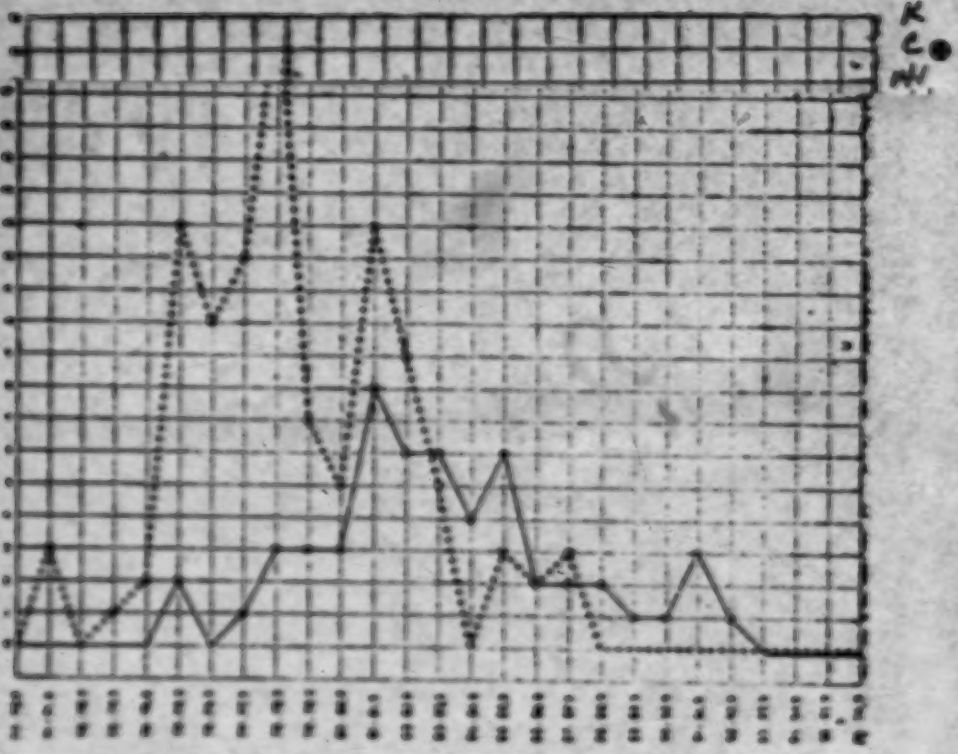

Fig. 14. Continuous line: frequency curve of 54 Caucasians superposed on the frequency curve (crossed line) of 106 Kurds.

If we consider my frequency curve of the Kurds (which is identical to Chantre's curve of 332 Kurds), it immediately appears that this is a mixed people, the majority of which is mesocephalic, to which a good deal of sub-brachycephalics is added (fig. 14).

Here the question arises to which race belong the mesocephalics, and to which the subbrachycephalics among the present Kurds?) For this we have to study the present races living near Kurdistan in the Western Caucasus, the Tschetschenzes, Mingrels, Georgians, Ossetes, all of which belong to the subbrachycephalic Caucasian race. These are studied by *Kraussloff*, Chantre, von *Eickstedt* and myself.

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1) It should be emphasized that the Armenoid hyperbrachycephalics are very rare among the Kurds, as clearly results from Chantre's and my measurements (still unfavourable). Both of us found only 8% of the Kurds having an index higher than 85.0.

26: Kappers D-5 (1929-30) 1932 MI Middle East
IRAN MA I
KURD MA II

I K 141 144

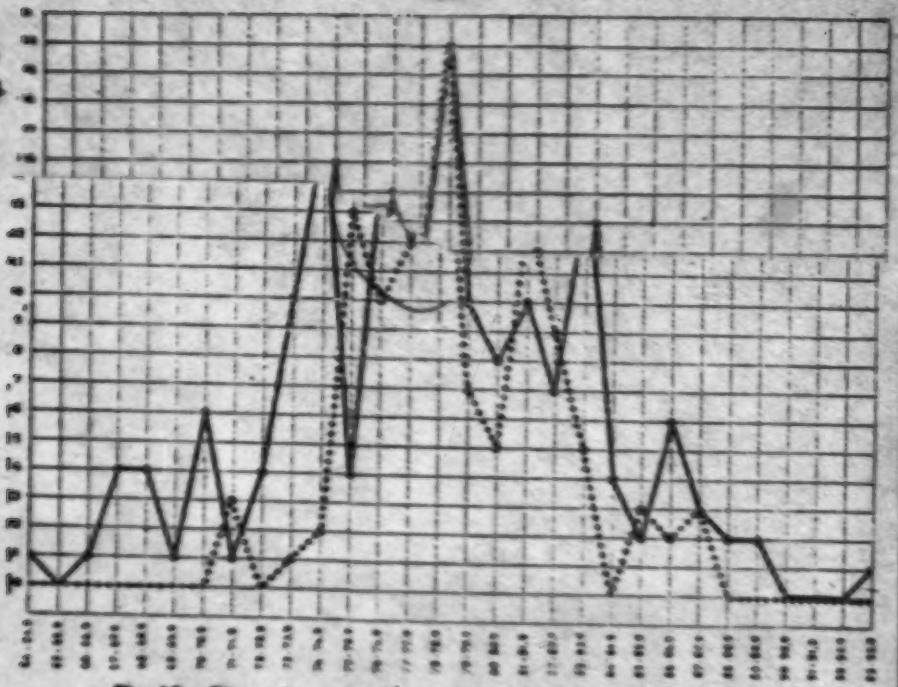

Fig. 15. Big continuous line: Persian indices (male and female together[1]); crossed line: Kurdish indices.

Personally I measured 54 Turkestanen and putting their frequency curve in that of the Kurds, it appears that the Caucasian curve coincides with the additional group in the Kurds and that most likely the present Kurds are an Iranian mesocephalic race, mixed with what is called the "brachycraph Caucasian race."

The mesocephalic Kurd—although their cephalic index is only slightly higher than that of the Achaia Arabs—no doubt are closely related to the Iranians in Persia, whose index peak coincides exactly with that of the mesocephalic Kurds (see the superposed Kurdish and Persian curves in fig. 15). These 78 index Iranians live in North Persia, where they seem to form a large part of the population.

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1) The purely male curve was so identical with the mixed male and female curve that I preferred to take the latter.

SS: Kappers D-5 (ca. 1933) 1934 M1 Middle East M1
KURD MAN

CHAPTER V.

Persia: Kurds, Circassians, Guebers and Turkomans.

The name Persia only indicates a geographical territory. If, and in how far, it is possible to disentangle the anthropology of its inhabitants will be discussed below.

For this purpose a study of the first-mentioned races may precede. According to SPEISER[1]) the Kurds are the descendants of the ancient Guti or Qurti. At the present time most of the Kurds live in Kurdistan, a territory belonging partly to Persia, partly to Turkey, lying approximately between 35° and 40° N. lat., including the Ararat slopes and extending west to the Antitaurus in Central Turkey, and east to Hamadan in Persia (i.e. approximately between 37° and 47° E. long.). Besides, a large Kurdish colony, originating from S.E. Turkey (the Kommagene, Diarbekr and Mardin) has settled in Damascus. It is this colony that I examined with Mr. MIRZO, a student of the American University of Beirut and a Kurd himself, to whom I wish to express my thanks for his help.

The literature concerning the Kurds is somewhat contradictory, as appears from the data concerning their cephalic index.

POLAK[2]) describes them as a Nordic race. DUHOUSSET[3]), who measured five Kurds, found them to be brachycephalic (86.2).

CHANTRE[4]) who examined 332 Kurds (272 males and 60 females) from Kurdistan and Caucasia, found an average index of 78.53 (with variations from 70.04 to 86.4) for the males. A similar male average (78.48) was found by NASSONOW[5]) with

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[1]) SPEISER. (Mesopotamian origins) supposes the Qurti or Guti to belong to the Proto-Zagrian or Hurrian brachycephalic race. Although with 48 Kurds measured at Mosul the KEESCHNERS found the prevailing index to be 84—85, the great majority of the present Kurds are mesocephalic.

[2]) POLAK. Persien. Das Land und seine Bewohner. Brockhaus. Leipzig. 1865. p. 18.

[3]) DUHOUSSET. Etudes sur les populations de la Perse. Paris 1863. Quoted from KHANIKOFF. The original not being at my disposal, I cannot say where the Kurds measured by DUHOUSSET lived.

[4]) CHANTRE. Recherches anthrop. en Asie occident. Arch d. Musée d'Hist. nat. de Lyon. Tome IV. 1895. See also CHANTRE: Aperçu sur les charactères ethniques des Assyriés et des Kurdes. Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Lyon. Tome I. 1881—1882. p. 165 and CHANTRE: Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans l'Asie occidentale et spécialement dans les régions de l'Ararat et du Caucase. Arch. des missions scientifiques et littéraires. 3ème série. Tome X. 1883. In this paper (p. 40) CHANTRE emphasizes the variations in the Kurdish index, according to the people amongst whom they live. I am greatly indebted to Dr. CLAUDE GAILLARD of the Museum des Sciences Naturelles de Lyon for the loan of these valuable papers.

[5]) NASSONOW. Table of Kurdish measurements. Reports of the Anthropol. Soc. of Moscow 1890. Résumé in the Arch. f. Anthropologie. Bnd. 24. 1897. p. 646.

55: Kappers D-5 (ca. 1933) 1934 M1 Middle East M1
KURD MAN

K 141 M 44x

25 Kurds from Transcaucasia (Airiga) and by DANILOW with 19 Kurds from Persia (77.68). IWANOWSKY [2]) also gave them an average l. w. index of 77.6.

VON LUSCHAN [3]) also stated a prevailing mesocephaly. With 115 adult males from Karakush he found an index varying from 71.3 to 78.5; with 28 females from Nemrud Dagh 72.3—78.3, and in Sendshirli the Kurdish index varied from 74.4—80.9. Whereas these authors, except DUHOUSSET, agree in giving the Kurds an average mesocephalic index, PITTARD [3]) gives them an index of 86.69. The Kurds he measured lived, however, in the Dobroudscha which is no Kurdish country at all, so that these Kurds were probably with 5 Kurds from Batoum (88.1) and 5 Kurds from Lake Urmiah (86.68). CHANTRE

In Damascus only 9 of the 106 Kurds I measured had an index higher than 84.

CHANTRE (1895) is the only author who expressed all his Kurdish [4]) indices in a frequency curve. In fig. 37 I give the separate curves of his male and female indices. In fig. 39 my own male Kurdish indices are arranged. Evidently our results agree.

In CHANTRE's Kurdish curve as well as in mine the highest peak is found at 78, but in both curves there is a large group, following on this typical top, between 81 and 83.9 (81—84 in CHANTRE's curve). We further agree that an index figure higher than 84 is an exception with this people [5]).

While the most typical top is at 78—78.9 in both curves, the character of the additional higher index group is more pronounced in my curve than in CHANTRE's the additional elevation in my curve lying between 81 and 82.9. As all the individuals registered in my curve were males, this extra top cannot be due to sexual difference.

It is evident that both curves — CHANTRE's as well as mine — indicate the presence of another race mixed with the Kurds, a subbrachycephalic race with an index varying in CHANTRE's curve between 80 and 84, in my curve chiefly between 81 and 82.9.

The index of this additional race suggests that the Kurds are mixed with the Western Caucasians [6]), GIUFFRIDA RUGGERI's [7]) Homo indo-europeaus brachymorphus, HADDON's Homo Georgianus [8]).

This Georgian (or Kartvelian) race is split up in various groups, but

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[1]) Quoted by R. MARTIN: Lehrbuch der Anthropologie. 1st Edition. p. 672.

[2]) VON LUSCHAN. Völker, Rassen, Sprachen. Berlin, 1923. p. 91.

[3]) PITTARD. Les peuples sporadiques de la Dobrodja III. Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des Kurdes. Bull. de la Soc. roumaine des Sciences. Bucarest 1911. Annul XX. p. 33.

[4]) For Kurdish tribal names see MARK SYKES. The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman empire. Journ. of the Roy. Anthrop. Institute Vol. 37. 1908 (no anthropological data).

[5]) The highest index was found by CHANTRE with the Bilikani Kurds, that live near Erivan, an Armenian centre.

[6]) In the Eastern Caucasus with the Tschetschenzes and Lesghians (see fig. 17) a higher index occurs (VON ERCKERT).

[7]) GIUFFRIDA RUGGERI. Schema di classificazione degli Hominidae attuali. Arch. per l'Anthrop. e. l'Etnol. Vol. 42. 1912. p. 136.

[8]) HADDON. The races of man. Cambridge Univ. Press. 1924. p. 86.

55: Kappers D-5 (ca. 1933) 1934 M1 Middle East M1
KURD MAN

with all of them indices between 81 and 84 prevail. So with 17 Ossetes CHANTRE[1]) found an average index of 83.1; with 12 Georgian Mingreliana 83.2

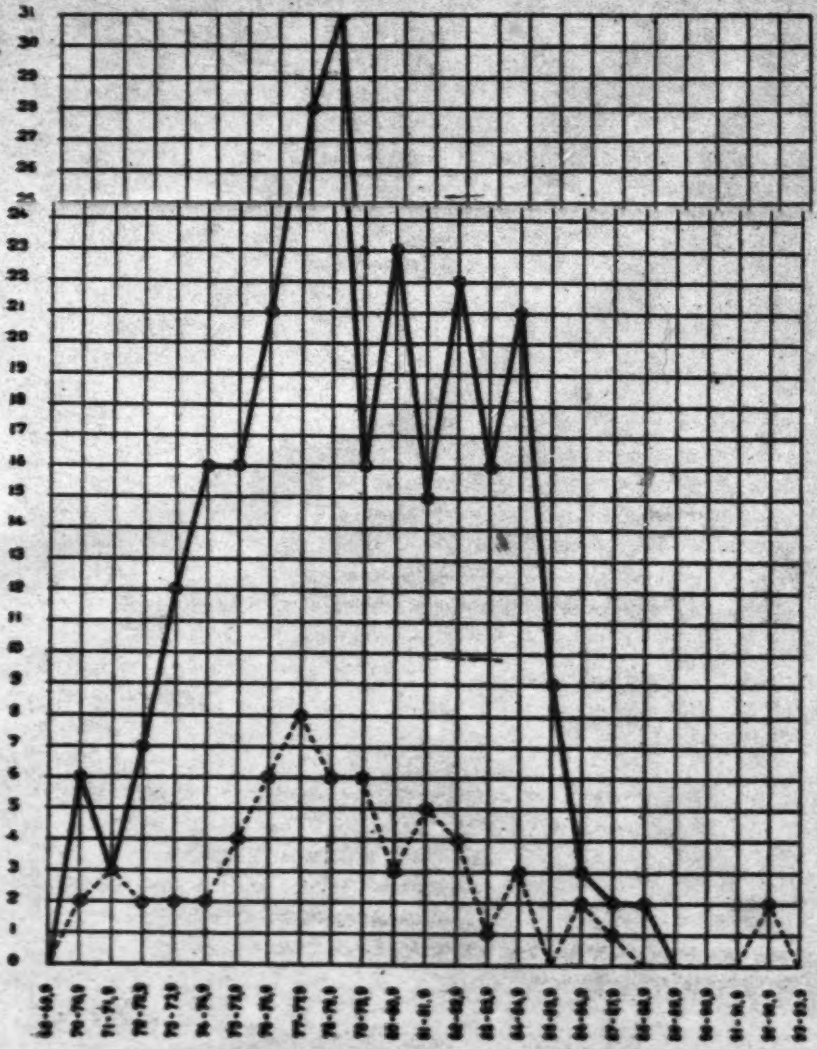

Fig. 37. Continuous line: cephalic indices of 272 male Kurds, dotted line of 60 female Kurds, measured in the Caucasus by CHANTRE.

[1]) CHANTRE. Mission scientifique dans l'Asie occidentale et spécialement dans les régions de l'Ararat et du Caucase (l.c. p. 49 and 50).

58: Kappers D-5 (ca. 1923) 1924 M1 Middle East M1
KURD MAII
CHERKESS. RH5

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83.2. Similar indices prevail with the Circassians or Tscherkesses of which I measured 54 adult males.

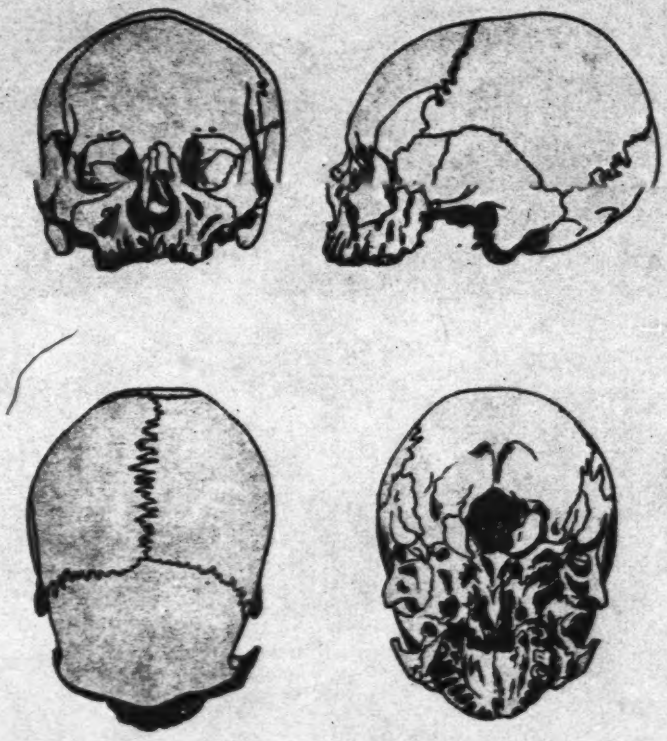

Fig. 38. Male Kurdish skull after CHANTRE (L. Br. ind. 77.3; L. H. ind. 74.02; Br. H. ind. 95.71).

Fig. 38a. Skull of a Circassian woman 18 years old, in the collection of the Academy of Natural Sciences Philadelphia (founded 1812) L. Br. ind. 79.24. . L. H. ind. 61.3, Br. H. ind. = 77.5.

K 141 M 144 C 141

Excluding some whose index (87 or more[1])) was apparently influenced by mixed marriages the average measurements and indices are:

Group	length	breadth	height	l. br. i.	br. h. i.	l. h. i.
Male Circassians	18.83	15.45	13.07	82.05	14.6	69.41

A similar average l. br. index (slightly lower) is found with the 30 Circassians registered by VON ERCKERT (inserted in the curve fig. 39).

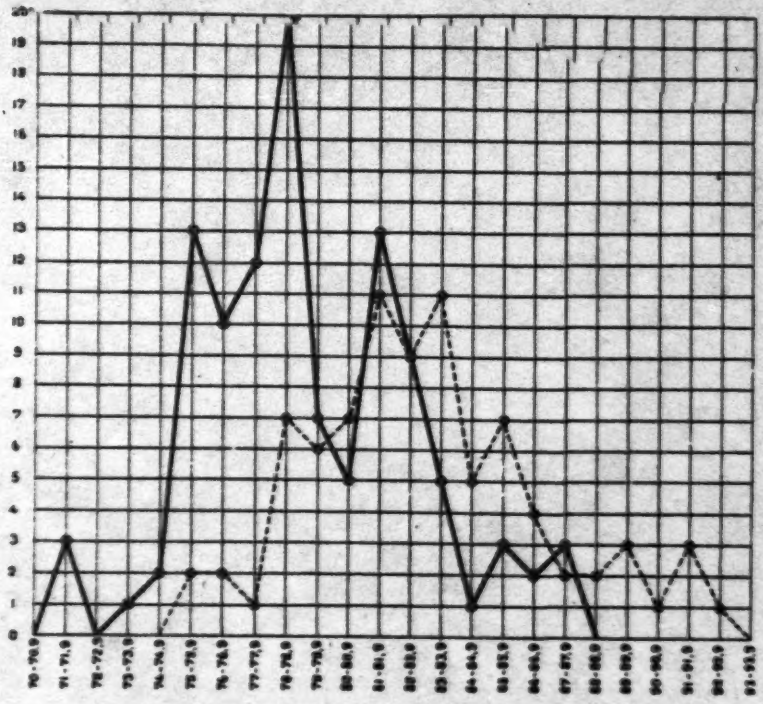

Fig. 39. Continuous curve: cephalic indices of 106 male Kurds measured at Damascus by the author. Dotted curve: cephalic indices of 84 male Circassians 30 measured in the Caucasus by VON ERCKERT, 54 by the author in Syria and in Constantinople.

The curve of all my Circassians and those measured by VON ERCKERT superposed on my Kurdish frequency curve, shows that the greatest

[1]) I found these high indices only with ten men of the Circassian colony at Jeni-Chehr near Aleppo and suspect Turkish admixture.

frequency of the index with the Circassians coincides with the additional group in the Kurdish curves and makes it probable that the present Kurds contain a large admixture of this or of an other related subbrachycephalic Caucasian race. This may explain the controversies in literature concerning the l. br. index of the Kurds, whose original stock — as was rightly pointed out by CHANTRE and by VON LUSCHAN — has to be considered as a mesocephalic race. They usually have dark hair and brown eyes.

The Circassians (or Tscherkesses), however, belonging to the subbrachycephalic Caucasian race, frequently have fair hair and blue eyes, two features also more often found with my subbrachycephalic "Kurds".

Approaching with these data the anthropology of Persia, I may start by mentioning that the blood index of the Persians examined by PARR was 1.17. These Persians probably came for the greater part from North Persia. Similarly the majority of the 165 Persians whose indices I measured came from a region that lies north of the 34th parallel, i.e. north of Isphahan.

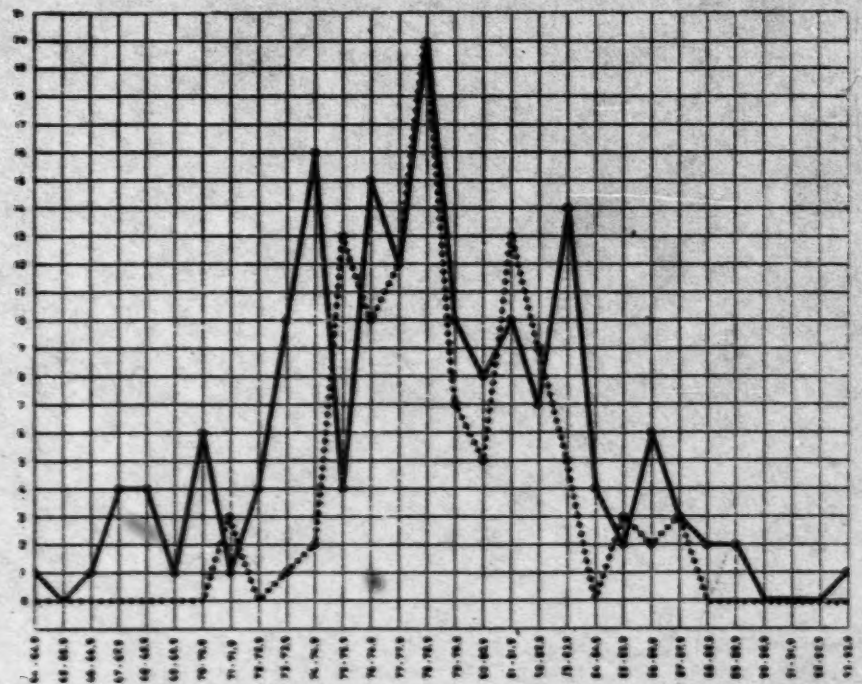

Fig. 40. Continous curve: cephalic indices of 162 Persians from N. Persia chiefly. Crossed curve: cephalic indices of 106 Kurds, measured by the author.

Of the 165 Persians enlisted in my dossier, 9 males and 41 females

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I.

KÜRDISH WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

THE Kürds are to be found scattered all over the Eastern Highlands of Asia Minor, from the Taurus to the Caucasus, as well as in Kürdistan proper, where the population is equally mixed. Under the name of Kürd, however, two distinct races are included, who form as great a contrast to each other in physiognomy as in character and manner of life. The one race is nomad, warlike, and full of vivacity, the other is agricultural, pacific, and not remarkable for intelligence.[1] The features of the peasantry are much softer and less pronounced than those of the tribesmen, who have long and rather aquiline noses, prominent foreheads, keen, deep set eyes, generally black, but sometimes grey, or even blue, small mouths, and pointed chins. Their step is firm, their bearing proud and dignified, and at the first glance one sees that they are the lords of the country.

The Kürds generally are strong, healthy, well-built people, and in spite of the inequalities of climate of the country they inhabit, live to a good old age. The children are clear-skinned, rosy-

[1] The Turkish proverb, "Stupid as a Kürd," applies only to the peasants of this nation.

[Page 113]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

172 164 181 cheeked, hardy, lithe and active little creatures, and the young women—in the Taurus especially—are said to be models of physical beauty. Mr. Millingen gives the following glowing description of one among the many handsome girls he saw during his residence among these freebooting highlanders: "Her complexion gave me an idea of what must have been the bloom of the forbidden apple of the terrestrial Paradise. Her eyes, of a dark chestnut, shone like brilliants through the veil of her thick, long eyelashes, while nose and mouth were perfect in their delicacy of shape. Though the garments she wore were not of a superior sort, yet through their folds her graceful form could be detected. But what above all contributed to make her really charming was the calm, simple, and, so to say, infantine air which distinguished her countenance and the whole of her demeanour."[1]

173 Some Kūrdish families in Boktan and Hakkari claim descent from the Ommeyīde Khalifs, and some travellers are of opinion that the tribe of the Rowadi, to which Saladin belonged, may possibly be the same as the modern Revendi, or Rewendi. The chiefs of the Bebbeh clan confidently affirm that they have in their veins English blood from an ancestress called Keighan, the legend concerning whom will be found in a subsequent chapter.[2] Less mythical, perhaps, is the story of the company belonging to the Second Crusade (1147-49), who wandered in a north-easterly direction from Syria, and not being

[1] *Wild Life among the Kūrds*.
[2] See p. 174.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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302
142

Fig. 1. Village aristocracy. Married women fetching wine leaves. Serkan.

and chins ..."[18]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"[19]. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[20], in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

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[123]

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bleibtreu, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und geniessen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten andern morgenländischen Völkern"[21]. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947; "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[22]. Soane maintains that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds[23], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the bazaar"[24]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a manlier treatment ... than is seen among Musulman races"[25]. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chiefs

56

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian [595] sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other [834] Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] [581] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted con- 195 cerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the 562 prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan 565 Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qa'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

142 291 301 252 516 415

Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 45).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[32], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Abebaile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *malik* (king) of Kurdistan.

195 562 565 [693]

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

175 562 565

responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

[622]

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fätima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

562 114

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 5. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Tegawra.

142 516 252 291 412 415 302

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nân*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hawê*, is prepared from wheat flour, *dirê*, sifted through a round sieve, *mêzer*, water, *âw*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xûr-dân*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gwêk*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

Fig. 42. Village aristocracy. Married women's dress, front and back. Tegunna.

The clothing elements connected with taboo (the black lace veil and the black silk), do not occur over the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Sukkasaari or places further distant like Kirkuk and Mosul.

The ordinary peasant environment. Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the ceremonial occasion and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja as turban, but the whole shift top covered with silver coins (E. 2002) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant women did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of domestic cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Tegunna and Kalasan are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Serbun is vermilion, and in Mirza Rassam black, navy oil, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheet[9]. During work in Tegunna the female

[illegible]

[illegible] and right there were elements. To a Kabiri, wealth in an urbanized village belonged to cattle herds and to sightgivers (mundiri ceiri) for one at night, which promptgivers welcoming. In the village were also found travellers and many artificial houses of town culture, plus European type goodies, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the urbanized urban environment:

The urban geometric compared with Urban are the most important town elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used ceremonial types. Dreams are representing to regard to ownership and also appeared to be to source of classification to regard to their composition. Conditions has been abolished and the folk recruitment. Of European elements both Urban and also have been adopted, also western and wedding dresses. In one instance I am to Sokoto in their European dwellings two men of the village to mutual together and placed like a bundle over the tube. This way of carrying is

[illegible] drinking glasses distributed over the four [illegible] walls.

[illegible] drinking game being [illegible] by a Swedish lady on afternoon tea. It is typical that Europeans [illegible] the Siberian research world within the occasion for which it was designed to fulfilling.

The [illegible] urban environment. In the cellar also the Islamic showers, four wall and bowl stools, are the most important, obligatory [illegible] the core of the house. Under this dome, and in the home, a cushion is more compared as usually the same [illegible] as their room in the two village environments. As regards the [illegible] is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village [illegible] and the cotton materials of the plain village women. In the [illegible] urban environment mainly [illegible] by the elderly. In this [illegible], as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are [illegible] for the married women, while the [illegible] only wears a band veil.

Fig. 41. [illegible] present environment, drawing.
Fig. 42. Contemporary urban environment, [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. 10. Left: man's dress of Sorranian type. Right: man's dress of Soleimani type.
Fig. 11. Man's dress of Soleimani type. The funnel-shaped cuffs of his shirt are rarely worn by men.

The elements of men's dress familiar as I had an opportunity to study it, men's dress in Southern Kurdistan presents a less complicated picture than women's. However, men's dress also contains special Kurdish and foreign elements. The genuine Kurdish male dress is a known contingent. Two types can be distinguished, each connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the Soleimani region, the other of the district around Sorranian.

Kurdish dimension. Short, wide, (S. 2/4) is made of plain, white cotton material. Its cut is a rectangle, a shortened pseudo-caftan, 0.90 m. long and a span of 1.30 m. Open in the front, it is fitted with a low collar. The shirt's breadth over the shoulders is 0.47 m. Two sleeves, 0.24 m. long and 0.18 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at acute angle. These sleeves terminate in funnel-shaped cuffs, like those known in Syrian male dress[4]. The cuffs prolong the arm by 0.14 m. and hang down 1.10 m. like long gloves covering the arms as the sleeves of a woman's tunic. Just as with the woman's dress, these funnel-shaped cuffs are drawn over through the garment worn above the shirt, and rolled around

192

[illegible], an old Kurdish woman.

Sheikh Mahmud.

Kurdish Woman.

[opposite p. 114 -- Ausleih?]

10x3thesis G-3 (no date) 1960 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflexions to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from those in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khorasan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

From the time when groups of Aryan-speaking families settled in secluded valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primeval ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

Intermarriage within the tribe has enhanced physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

I have an occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a horse and

[p 387 (A)]

10cJohnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 142
291

A Kurdish agha, or chieftain, from Barde-zhin. Short and stocky, he has the gait of a man who was able to ride before he could walk

[A 387 (C)]

28: Kappen D-S (1929-30) 1822 MI Middle East MI
GREECE EHI
EGYPT MR1
KURDS MA11

G E 1924 1929 1941

alen origin.—This 73 index people may be represented in ancient Hellas by the 73 index peak. They may have been more numerous in Crete than in the mainland of Greece, as the average index with the ancient Cretans according to *Duckworth* is no more than 73.4[1]) (65% of the Minoan skulls being dolichocephalic, 26% mesocephalic and the rest brachycephalic).—

The mesocephalic (76) skull index group—more numerous in ancient Greece?) than in Crete—, may have been a different race, the more so, as according to *Furst* their burial places were also different. It is, however, very difficult to say what race this was, as on one hand the 76 skull index peak is also very outstanding with the Phoenicians (and Syrian Bedouins) and on the other the living head index corresponding with this index (between 77 and 78) occurs with the mesocephalic group of the Kurds and the corresponding North Persian Iranians.—

Looking for pictures of old Minoans Dr. *Frankfort* called my attention to a similarity between the Minoan "Amazons" (c.f. *Hall's* Aegean Archeology Pl. 14) and one of *Von Luschan's* Kurds. *Zalmoxis* compared the Minoan Cup bearer to Philistine pictures. On the other hand the profile of this cup bearer resembles still more pictures of Syrian Bedouin types in my possession.—

So the Iranian (Aryan) and Phoenician relations with the mesocephalic old Cretans and old Hellenic population is still an open question?).—

As far as concerns the subbrachycephalic invasion in Greece (and Crete) which, according to Archeologists started with the Achaean invasion, but since has continually increased, there seems to exist little doubt that it brought chiefly subbrachycephalic Caucasians to this country. This may also explain Homer's frequent allusion to fair hair and blue eyes with the Achaeans. They may have entered Greece both from the North (Danube district) and via the Ionian islands.

M 1924 1929

According to *Eff. Smith*[3]) and *Gunther*[3]) the Achaeans formed part of a larger Iranian stock.

A later invasion was the Dorian (± 1200 B.C). *Pridgeony, Hazzard* and *Cannon* agree that the Dorians came from the North, probably from Illyria or further North (Caucasus) from the Halstatt regions. *Hazzard* is inclined to

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1) According to *Hawes* a little higher.

2) As far as concerns Iranian elements in Greece we also have to think of the manifold historical relations with Persia.—

3) The question may even arise if there is any racial relation between the mesocephalic Kurds and Phoenician-Armenoid Semites. The prevailing blondness of the mesocephalic Kurds is a myth and among the mesocephalic Kurdish skulls photographed by *Chantre* there is at least one that closely resembles the Phoenician type. Besides, North Syria and Kurdistan are not so far apart and difference of language does not necessarily mean difference of race.—

4) *G. Elliot Smith* Human History, 1930.

5) *Günther* Rassengeschichte des Hellenischen und Römischen Volkes, 1929.

IK 1932

frequency of the index with the Circassians coincides with the additional group in the Kurdish curves and makes it probable that the present Kurds contain a large admixture of this or of an other related subbrachycephalic Caucasian race. This may explain the controversies in literature concerning the l. br. index of the Kurds, whose original stock — as was rightly pointed out by CHANTRE and by VON LUSCHAN — has to be considered as a mesocephalic race. They usually have dark hair and brown eyes.

The Circassians (or Tscherkessen), however, belonging to the subbrachycephalic Caucasian race, frequently have fair hair and blue eyes, two features also more often found with my subbrachycephalic "Kurds".

Approaching with these data the anthropology of Persia, I may start by mentioning that the blood index of the Persians examined by PARR was 1.17. These Persians probably came for the greater part from North Persia. Similarly the majority of the 165 Persians whose indices I measured came from a region that lies north of the 34th parallel, i.e. north of Isphahan.

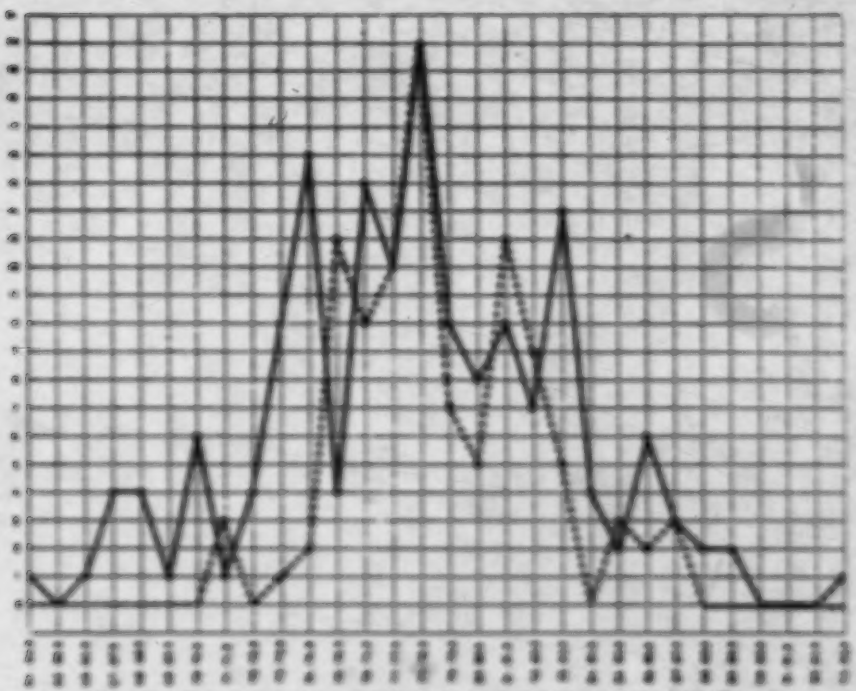

Fig. 45. Continuous curve: cephalic indices of 165 Persians from N. Persia chiefly. Crossed curve: cephalic indices of 106 Kurds, measured by the author.

Of the 165 Persians enlisted in my division, 9 males and 41 females

14: Ivanov B-6 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd MAI
Baluchi MAI

This division[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not so high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal [illegible] and predatory way of life.—Ivanov]

* The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be outshone by Europeans.

language is Indo-European, closely related to Persian, and they were probably a part of that same movement which brought others of the Indo-European linguistic group, such as the Armenians, Hittites, and Persians, into the Middle East. Racially it is difficult to give an opinion, because little work of a modern nature has been undertaken among them. In the older parlance of physical anthropology, however, they exhibit traits considered much more characteristic of the races of Europe and Central Asia than of the Arabs to the south, such as blond hair, blue eyes, fair pigmentation, and round heads. They give immediate evidence, by these older criteria, of being a mixture. In religion they are Sunnite Muslims and are thus set off from the Shiite Iranians to the east. Whether this is the result of their original conversion or the continued influence of the Sunnite Turks and Turkomans is unknown.

Ethnologically almost no systematic investigations have been made among the Kurds, although a few brief, but accurate, generalized descriptions are to be found.[1] These last, however, have been written by persons, administrators, missionaries, travelers, and the like, who are not ethnologists. This, in itself, need not constitute a deterrent, but their primary purpose in publication was not the portrayal of a culture. It is unnecessary to review here the large number of other types of references to the Kurds, extending from ancient times to the present, except to remark that their most distinctive characteristic is their prejudice

[1]For example, May, 1951.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the *shafi'i* rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line, drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Sanna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Kasind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakks and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Türkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 5 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by Art. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

26: Kappers D-5 (1929-30) 1932 MI Middle East
LEVANTINE JEWS NF4
IRAQ NH1
— 18 — CHERKESS NN5
KURD MA11

ed in the empire of Saul, David and Solomon) is strongly mixed with Hebrew elements. Although their facial expression nowadays is different from the Jewish, the more hereditary—and in this case (brachycephaly)—even dominant head index has remained. That this people has also influenced the population of Mesopotamia appears from the Irakian curve in which the 80—80.9 peak characteristic of this desert border group is still outstanding (fig. 5).—

Fig. 13. Jewish types of the 9th century B.C., Jewish men bearing tribute from King Jehu to Shalmaneser II (taken from Soloman).

With the Irakians also the fleshy, curved nose seems to be more frequent (*Dr. H. Frankfort* called my attention to this). This might be due to Hittite influence, that may have affected also the aspect of the Jewish type. Hittite marriages especially in prexilic times were quite frequent (cf. *Zedekia*). That this influence has become more pronounced with the Aschkenasim than with the Sephardim is not strange.

Whereas the Sephardim migrated away from Hittite centres, the Aschkenasim, on their Northern migration through Anatolia and the Balkans, have mixed with Armenoid blood, which explains the fact first emphasized by von *Luschan* that so many Aschkenasim have Armenoid features[1]).

I now come to a totally different sample of the Near East, the Kurds, the Caucasians and Persians.—

Here again the frequency curves bring light in many obscurities caused by the old system of using averages, which instead of emphasizing the differences between various components of a people obscures their analyses.

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1) A striking example of Armenoid influence on the Northern Jews is the fact that near lake Urumiah the Jewish head index is the same as the Armenians, as first stated by *Chantre* and confirmed by *Weissenberg*. This is one stronge argue we know that brachycephalie with great anatomical characters is predominant in Israel, as was proved by *Fawcett*.

26: Kappers D-5 (1929-30) 1932 MI Middle East
CHERKESS NH 6
KURD MA 11

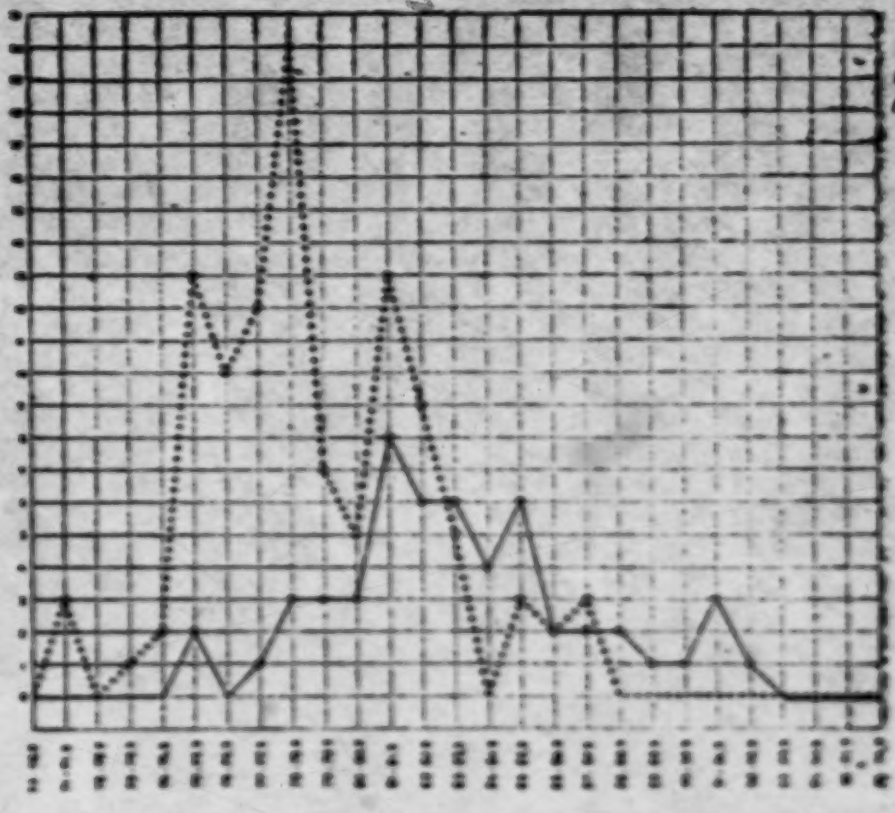

Fig. 14. Continuous line: frequency curve of 54 Caucasians superposed on the frequency curve (crossed line) of 106 Kurds.

If we consider my frequency curve of the Kurds (which is identical to Chantre's curve of 332 Kurds), it immediately appears that this is a mixed people, the majority of which is mesocephalic, to which a good deal of sub-brachycephalics is added (fig. 14).

Here the question arises to which race belong the mesocephalics, and to which the subbrachycephalics among the present Kurds? For this we have to study the present races living near Kurdistan in the Western Caucasus, the Turkestanese, Mingrali, Georgians, Chantre, all of which belong to the subbrachycephalic Caucasian race. These are studied by *Kraushoff*, Chantre, von *Erckert* and myself.

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1) It should be emphasized that the Armenoid hyperbrachycephalics are very rare among the Kurds, as clearly results from Chantre's and my measurements (428 individuals). Both of us found only 9% of the Kurds having an index higher than 85.0.

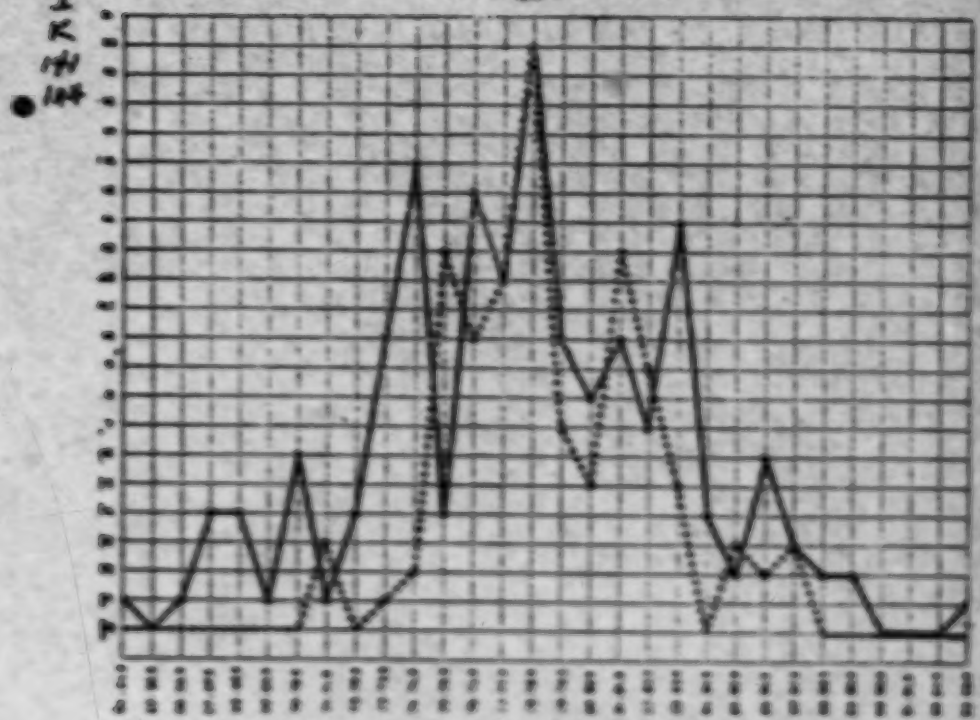

Fig. 15. [illegible] between Persian-Indian (male and female combined) and Kurdish indices.

Personally I measured 54 Turkestanes and getting their frequency curve is that of the Kurds, it appears that the Caucasian curve coincides with that of dolichocephalic Kurds and that most likely the present Kurds are an Iranian mesocephalic race, mixed with what is called the "brachycephalic Caucasian race."

The mesocephalic Kurds although their cephalic index is only slightly higher than that of the Persian Azerbaijan Turks are closely related to the Iranians in Persia, whose index peak coincides exactly with that of the mesocephalic Kurds (see the superposed Kurdish and Persian curves in fig. 15). These 70 million Iranians live in North Persia, where they seem to form a large part of the population.

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a) The gravity male curve runs so identical with the mixed male and female curve that I preferred to omit the latter.

4x Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI

a severe slump in the camel market. Slowly and very reluctantly the bedouin are turning to cultivation and feel themselves immeasurably lowered in the process. Strangely enough, they are also to be found in greasy overalls, working on the rigs of the Mosul Oil Companies. In this work they do not lose caste as they do if they become cultivators.

Shaikh Ajil al Yawar is the paramount Shaikh of the 'Iraqi Shammar. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular astuteness he has managed to control his tribesmen, keep on the right side of successive governments and at the same time amass a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab steed or liver-shaking "dhilkol" (trotting camel).

Turkomans

Leaving the Arabs, we come to the Turkomans. They are the remnants of ancient immigration and are to be found in Tel Afar town between Mosul and Sinjar and in a string of villages across to Altun Kuupri and Kirkuk. Arbil is also largely a Turkoman town. The village of Nainawa, the ancient Nineveh, just across the Tigris from Mosul, is Turkoman. In a mosque built on uncovered Assyrian remains it contains the reputed tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the vertebra of the whale!

Kurds

Next we come to the Kurds, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages well south of the mountains. The Kurds are Aryan in origin and Sunni Muslims by religion. The mountain Kurds and in fact all the mountaineers of Kurdistan bear a close resemblance to the Scottish clans of two hundred years ago. They are still organized on a tribal or clan basis, though the increase in government control and influence is naturally tending to destroy this organization and undermine the power of the chiefs, or Aghas as they are called. Aghas may, however, still be seen proceeding to town or market with a "tail" of armed henchmen and even a pipebearer. The Kurdish pipebearer is, however, concerned with the Agha's tobacco pipe and not with music. Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe

to its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's position could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance. [859]

Nursing. According to the Quran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sura 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to [853] wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ....". In Southern [863] Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's house in Sulaimani the sick [864] child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat, but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A [865] certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[P].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortions. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 2½ and two daughters aged 10 (my interpreter) and 13. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 10 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (18, 17, 16, 10 and 7 years of age) and four sons (13, 9, 5 and 4 months). [849] [874]

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to see even while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[P]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion while changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room. [853] [854]

A boy, then, is more desired than a girl, but Mohammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, likes several times in the Quran that male children are more desirable than females[P]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to [842] [849] [850]

of the back which gives an extraordinary radius of action. In the squatting position the body is suspended from the knee joints, in this posture also women have a big radius of action, and the flexibility of the knee joint is retained to a high age. I once saw a 70 year old woman whose body, seen in outline, was that of a young girl.

Working positions on the floor with extraverted legs are only used exceptionally, when the feet are to be used to retain coal and of a rope to be plaited or a tape for the waistband.

I saw the squatting working posture transformed to an ordinary chair when my interpreter sat on her haunches on the seat of the chair with her inside work resting on her drawn up knees.

The tailor posture is often used by men when resting in the large, shining cafés, the lower extremities of which furnish clear evidence of the many naked feet that have been placed on them. When sitting on the floor furniture is often used as a back rest instead of a wall.

The great suppleness of the hip joint on the knee ligaments are the reason why, when resting, European women dismiss, the Kurdish women in Sulaimani sitting on chairs in Western fashion often forget command of their legs, which fall out to the side in a straddle.

Pains in the back women and attempts are made to get rid of it by massage, as in Swedish manner, by treading on each other. The woman suffering from the complaint lies stretched out on the floor and another steps over her back. This complaint may be due to long hours of work, the example taking on a tailor's posture.

The tailor posture. On the other hand an idea of still lower rest was seen as a result of a common resting working position, was did women suffer from thick legs, swollen or "without" feet.

The Kurds possess great plasticity of body. Resting positions are adopted in a completely relaxed manner and are of great static beauty.

Fig. 31. Working position.

[illegible] habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflections to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the gibbonous.

[illegible] There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race. Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least two million. In the last-named country a [illegible] existence is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by [illegible] watering wells. Apart from those in the north-west, the [illegible] western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-western province of Khorasan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan are also of Kurdish origin.

From the time when groups of Aryan speaking families settled in [illegible] valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and [illegible] by [illegible] mountains, which each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any one [illegible] as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When men began to keep flocks and herds for domestic use, the tribal enclosure was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

Intermarriage within the tribe has increased physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his clothes. But there is no sign of the close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

I have on occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a long

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF KURDISTAN

The division [illegible] will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1870-1871 have greatly reduced the numbers of Kurds, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khoi-nosed Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen to the West, i.e. to the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khoi-nose differs from a western. The Khoi-nosed Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not as finely cut, and the facial angle is not so high as the one seen to the west. The Khoi-nosed Kurds resemble Lurs more than the Western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much more common there.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where cholera and other scourings are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the Kurds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local tribes, and intercourse between tribes is very common, even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khoi-nosed Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of Ako, Rowanduz spoken from Arbil very much further south. It has, however, is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khoi-nosed Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and in other regions with Persian towns to the south, or with Turkish to the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Bakhtiaris.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khoi-nose. They are nomads. Very many isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Bakhtiaris and become assimilated with the Persians. The Bakhtiaris who inhabit their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Jumalan, Khalkayan, Tiredan, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their tribes resemble the original region, i.e. the Khoi-nosed district of Bakhtiari. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Bakhtiaris differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an energetic, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their personal [illegible]

* The impression concerning the race can be altered, because the Lurds are fair-haired with a long and almost Nose like head-crowned. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper are not more numerous fair-haired children than in Khoi-nose, as the first men was to emphasize the European.

there are many milliganaires. The legal remedy for creditors, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many stories of nimble and ingenious debtors who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, reject the job assignment and bureaucratic career of an army officer.

But the people of the districts the event, with the important exception of officialdom, the banking event during [illegible] cause of business, the gentle, and the long-cultured antipathy flickering above from a fingertip, to the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The event gestures this," or "the event would never permit that," is heard in popular speech. But for many it is a given, neither of prestige nor yet of oppression, but [illegible] system, for in barrios down up before the gateway began [illegible] a stream of recruits and prisoners bound for Subic, and the people knew that many still never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the event, old and young, mothers and wives, forward in the station, dark clerk of the commissaries, and often one will raise her voice in a long-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Barrioties has set up an antique counter at the corner, and the prisoners and recruits often exchange photographs with their wives, the photographs prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation.

On one side of the event, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building

wealthy Cyrenaic is a room outfitted with beds and settees on which they are told to rest. Their mothers and other female relatives sometimes come, and have a gathering of their own in one of the sleeping rooms. In the guest-room a large congregation of men, the fathers, relatives, and friends assemble. The child is removed, and recline from the times. Another room is appointed for the operation itself, and in it the mother or [illegible] servant of the sex, and the father of the boy being circumcised at the time take their stations. It might be noted that the boys, segregated in their room, are in a state of considerable trepidation, for they have not been informed what this function and, at the same time, solemn ceremonies pertain for them. A boy is led alone into the room of the operation and seated on a chair, his father standing next to him. The mother or [illegible] kneels before him, unsheathing the knife, and the forceps is set, theoretically before the child is aware of what has happened. At the same time a lump of sugar is placed in his mouth to prevent an outcry. The wound is quickly bound with a cloth bandage, and the boy is returned to his fellows. The mother or [illegible] usually accompanies his movements by muttering religious formulae of his own choosing or invention.

When all have been circumcised, they are allowed to rest and are visited by their fathers and members who congratulate them on their bravery. Meanwhile a great celebration ensues for the adults, separate banquets for

197 climbed on foot up the steep hillsides with an agility quite equal to my own. On another occasion I saw a villager alleged to be 120 years old, whose age must certainly have exceeded 100 years. He had a son aged 100 by a wife whom he had married in later life. This healthy longevity is the result of simple and clean living, which is common in Kurdistan.

• 167 To the stranger the Kurd may appear
181 dour and surly—like the lion—but within his exclusive circle he is smiling and welcoming with a childlike lack of discretion: the greatest asset is common knowledge within the tribe. The Kurd has learned

[text continued on p 198(B)]

[illegible]

[illegible] he is running in action because his preservation has always required action. On the other hand, until suitably he [illegible] concerned with those who were not of his tribe or family, and therefore the keyness of his speech is simplicity; the real 'savage' Kurd scarcely knows how to lie, and when he does he lies badly.

When a Kurd becomes riled up with words, or the running past into words which is the mainspring of humourous civilisation', he may momentarily feel that he is being tricked by something he does not understand, then, as we say, he 'runs red'. He suddenly realises the futility of words, and leaps to action behind the sharp edge of a dagger or the trigger of his rifle. Thus through a purely natural evolution caused by his environment the Kurd has acquired concepts which are understood him, as commonly experienced by forestry, treachery and lack of balance.

The Kurdish salesman has a childlike

The Kurdish fisherman has a childlike

sense of humour. Like a child, too, he unconsciously appreciates sympathy and an understanding of his psychology. It is partly because ruling races were indifferent to such considerations until the evolution of British colonial policy in backward countries that the Kurd has been accustomed to regard every foreign power as an enemy to be driven off or exterminated before he himself suffers a similar fate.

Like other mountain peoples the Kurds are a martial race, but owing to their separate communities and 'classifiers' they have never featured as such in modern history. The only Kurdish kingdom known to Europe is the ancient kingdom of the Medes. Nevertheless the Kurds have produced many great individual soldiers. Five and fourteen years Cyrus the Great, who united the Medes and Persians and in 538 B.C. conquered Babylon. Others have found fame as

[p. 38(c)]
[last words read on p 38(c)]

imprisoned with normal routine and customs of prestige, attach themselves to the distribution or shining or body-guards. It follows, in addition, that among the commoners there are a number of men whose attainments have brought them little or far as wealth and social standing are concerned. With such dissatisfied persons are others, the usual aberrant members of any community whose eccentricities have been adjudged harmless to others. Such as these are absorbed into the Seruka movement, because, on the one hand, it offers social status of an extraordinary sort and, on the other, a channelled expression for personal peculiarities which might otherwise prove dangerous. It would be useless to apply a Seruka of the lower classes without first having dealt with the individual in question, for he might prove up to be a hair-raising nuisance in one case and a person mentally deficient in another. To become a Seruka is almost identical to joining an [illegible] "secret" by the elder members, and becomes a party to its machinations. Like the lodge member, the Seruka believes himself to be set apart from the mass of men by virtue of the superior knowledge with which he has been invested. The secret of almost all Seruka orders is the same, although deliberately planned, a personal relationship to God which bypasses the usual conventions of the faith. This relationship, when translated into the combination of song and dance, can produce that form

of hypnosis conventionally described as religious ecstasy. A Bwiserian guide said that one day he had encountered Bajji Mutefa and twenty or thirty of his fellows marching along a lonely road, beating tambourines and singing, in a state of complete frenzy. "I am a good friend of Bajji Mutefa," the Bwiserian said, "and have known him for years, but he did not seem to see me." Bajji Mutefa was present at this conversation, and confirmed his detachment with an little pride.

The parishes can be organized into regular groups. For example, there are some villages in which the entire adult male population belong to an order, or one specific class. One informant pointed out as a parish visited Rwanda from time to time dressed in a ragged brown cassock tied at the waist with a piece of rope and detailed enemy from assumed patrons in the low-slung by swallowing large pebbles. The same time pretend to speak no food nor drink. This person was generally considered [illegible] and was consequently treated as to the saints for his entrance. The chief exhibition of their power by most parishes, however, is snake-charming. The detection and handling of poisonous reptiles is considered the best evidence of a parish's supernatural abilities and is subject to loud display. It is commonplace in Rwanda to see some parish, bent from a snake-hunt, wandering among the guests in a low-slung with a squirming specimen clutched in each hand. These snake-charmers often seem to be in a trance-like state, their eyes

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and affect their cure. They will or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their tongue in various ways without experiencing pain. Bajji Sharafo exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultuous meetings, the dervishes commonly practice white magic for those who need their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Bajji Sharafo wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but discarded the coat. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound first about it as in the case of the Mullas. On formal occasions, for example, when he was called to the court in connection with fixing the Ramadan season, Bajji Sharafo wears a [illegible] walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists with the remnants of 50 wooden beads. The waist of Bajji Sharafo's dervish exhibitions, observed in his house, consisted of a fine, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a hugging bowl (the traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a string for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattooed copy of the Shahada (creed, "creed") of [illegible]

[54] [55] knowing that the child was outside adult society. Children were obedient, unobtrusive, polite and industrious. They were never put to bed in the evening (apart from infants), but fell asleep where and when it suited them. If they had been taken by the mother on a visit, they fell asleep in the early of the evening, and when the mother left the child was put on her shoulders, hip or arm and clung there. The children of the house left to the floor when tired, and were covered with whatever happened to be nearest at hand, often a prayer rug of good's wool. Later, when the adults arranged their rug upstairs for the night, the children were carried to the mattress on which they were to spend the night. Everybody rose very early, the children when they awoke. Undressing at night was just as ordinary to the children as to the adults, and the same applied in regard to the evening or morning way. During the day the children were caught, given clean clothes, if necessary, and washed. When they was plenty of warm water in the home their hair was washed.

[54] As the children always stayed among the adults they obtained all the social instructions they very unobtrusively, and became aware of all phases of life. In regard to conditions with Egyptian Arab about 100 years ago, Lane[1] says that however, much children were accused and troubled, they let the deepest and most admirable respect for their parents. He adds that disobedience shown to parents is regarded by Muslims as one of the major sins. To round off the picture of the child's life among Egypt, which in the main agrees with Lane's account of conditions in Egypt, a few examples can be cited of children I met who suffered from difficulties of adjustment. This may serve to demonstrate what I have attempted to describe above as the reasons why a child with the Kwoki had to exhibit a quite unfortunate amount of psychic strain. Within the village environment, Ibrahim Tadhir's youngest, a year old, was very timid in the small tasks he carried round in the gardens, he feared the fire and tried to maintain his distance. When able to do so he also took blame from the household were she father treated him unequivocally gently and affectionately, which unconsciously reassured his fathers that this child, the youngest male offspring, the mother tried to keep at the baby stage, while he was attempted to compete with the 10 and 12 year old brothers. He appeared to be quite an irritation, created by various unfortunate unsatisfactory circumstances. Then the children of the village have formerly adopted one, tried to live off with several communities, and showed to the highest, an unpleasantness themselves, even be attributed to the mutual complaints also entered by their spirit when the European engineers arrived some years earlier to plan the building of the Dokan dam. It was said that from the village of Tepsarra, where I came to live and from which numbers managed employed for the construction work, the Europeans had been fired upon. The same hostile attitude expressed by the children I met with in the mountains were an isolated form, where some little girls and [illegible] were here on the very lower with quite of glass on their necks, threatening me in the other edition I met a man whom a schoolmaster [illegible] with all as an [illegible] reported it with, reported to the Kurd environment in Sulaimani, Kurdish that her boys had not the sincerity to the children of the environment, began hysterically as the her children who were [illegible] innocent of the alleged offence. It was said that this same woman, who appeared to be very unfriendly, got her children locked in at home for certain periods.

[56] My companion and I had her 12 year old half-brother living with her at Tepsarra, and then

[57]

ni-ijaite ni-ffimi. It might be noted that Mr.[illegible] Masters was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public.

In Illustrata further the character of the Scotch, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Mr.[illegible] Masters, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Hawaiian. The story was recounted in the garden of Shakir Effendi with the latter present to verify some of the episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iowa displayed as a lie, which sounds distinctly sensational, Mr.[illegible] Masters's tale shows credible at most points, aside from the exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology.

My real name is Masters only, but my name as a foreign is always Mr.[illegible] Masters. I am [illegible] about forty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Haolian, one Hawaiian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Hawaiian and ten years of age. I have five children living, and all them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is with his wife in my shop and the other is on [illegible].

I was born in Hawaiian and the name of my father was [illegible] Masters [illegible], a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the [illegible] of the island children used boys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Masters, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade already," I said to him, "I am a seaman on ship." I [illegible] fifty children of the town and we [illegible] ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I pointed the ship into harbor, one sailor myself and the other sailor my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and how many there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had

here but went to the Turkish police, and I was taken to the court. The policeman was a Turk named 'Ali Khan. He asked me what I was doing and what this "gun" was. He swore that if I told the truth he would not hurt me. I explained that my gun was only a gun. He asked to see how this gun operated, so I performed the skilful drill before the court. We stood in straight lines with our wooden rifles and swords. When 'Ali Khan saw this drill, he was amazed and let me go free.

By this time I was becoming a man, and was perhaps fifteen years of age. I went to a barber in the town and told him I wanted to learn the trade. He was afraid of me, however, because I always joked with him, telling him that I was going to kill the policeman, and I was feared to learn. There existed certain posts, under Ali, some which offered hundred soldiers. I took service with him, becoming a postman and a spy for the Turks. I went to carry the mail to Lake Van, a long journey on foot during which I was glad to get there. I also accomplished successes to distribute as a salutary. With one such success there was a Jew. One day he took me aside, and asked me to slaughter myself as a Jew so that my small children might escape from the Turks commanding to Jews. To go this I shaved my head, leaving only a lock over one ear, and took the name Hassan Ibrahim Bakir. When we arrived at our destination to Amerellie, we went to the synagogue. The Jew placed the rabbi's hand and spoke with him in Hebrew. He told him that I had threatened to become a Muslim. The rabbi came to me and said, "Hassan, my son, why do you want to become a Muslim?" I here an enemy and some of the Jews help me." I said, "I want protect my two sisters." The Jews collected fifty liranes and gave it to me. They also brought meat and bread to the synagogue for a banquet. While they were dining, I asked to see the letter. I looked the letter over on the inside and judged from the window. Then I walked around to front of the building where the rabbi and others [illegible] to a big window. I [illegible] "Are there in on not not God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God?" Then I walked away, leaving because they dared not touch a Muslim. When they heard this they started beating the first Jew, the one who had asked me to slaughter myself and had interviewed me, the one who had hoped to gain half of the fifty liranes. Once the Commander arrived and they asked him why he was being beaten. He said, "I am only a poor Jew of Amerellie who came here to buy grain, and these people here demanded my money.

[205]

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." 152 ●
"How much did they take?" the Denmark officer asked. 192
"Fifty rupees," he answered, and the officers ordered the other Arab to pay the man whom they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Europeans came to Ruwenzori, my family fled to Kabili. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Aziz. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Aziz asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Eventually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a seat and filled it with coloured seat. I went through [751] the streets of Kabili crying, "Buttons! Buttons! I am sure all Europeans!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my seat on the floor of the first man, smiling from the fun. I gave these seat to my father, but the Turks arrested him and my brother and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march. [757]

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a private named Haji Hamza in Zanzibar. There was a major day in the district who spoke Turkish, and when he heard from Haji Hamza what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Ruwenzori. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Ruwenzori I had known in my childhood. While I was waiting for the British, all of the Turks revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Kabili again. On my return to Ruwenzori, I [449] then I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an American merchant named Jagmar, and he entrusted me with goods worth 3000 rupees to sell in the villages around Ruwenzori. When I returned, I found I had 500 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmar, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmar, always profitable, but I found travelling for this purpose unbearable. I took my money and opened a shop in Ruwenzori to sell groceries. When 443 459 792

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. [159] [192] [443]

There was a man in Rowandiz who had great influence, Sayyid Mewsul Effendi Zakriani. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'ruf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowandiz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ma'ruf Effendi was given the post again. [622] [574]

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Belediye, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowandiz was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Azis any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowandiz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowandiz, Khwakan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [624] [687] [964]

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowandiz. I became a dervish and a khelifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [305] [785] [76]

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I was cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers.

Sayyid Hesani, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hesani was not directly concerned in the feud between Muri Jamil Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hesani for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hesani was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time but there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, soldier, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop,

perhaps, quack doctor, creator of work, servant, and ego, illustrates the personality of many of the Kawandisa, as well as the diversity of occupations which a woman can participate in the Kawandisa area. A shrewd operator, he discovered marketing in the Kawandisa economy which allowed the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavour. In spite of his statement above, he is generally acknowledged to be the worst father in the Kawandisa, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are barely supported by the income of Kawandisa Ointment while "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly unsavoury, the townspeople are fond of Dr.Jil Mentore, who adds colour and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many misconceptions beliefs to be recorded in the town, some with obvious religious importance and others not. As in the case of folklore, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of various beliefs and practices. Several of the interesting examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a drought which has resulted alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make preparations out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a storm on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of sticks and go from house to house. The intelligence of

6453 1952 powers, fudgers, war dodgers, even others have to separate him from men's (Ibid., p. 343-4).

A separate reconstruction of the formal organization of the Bolom Dukuth suggested by this is schematically represented below, diagram No. 6.

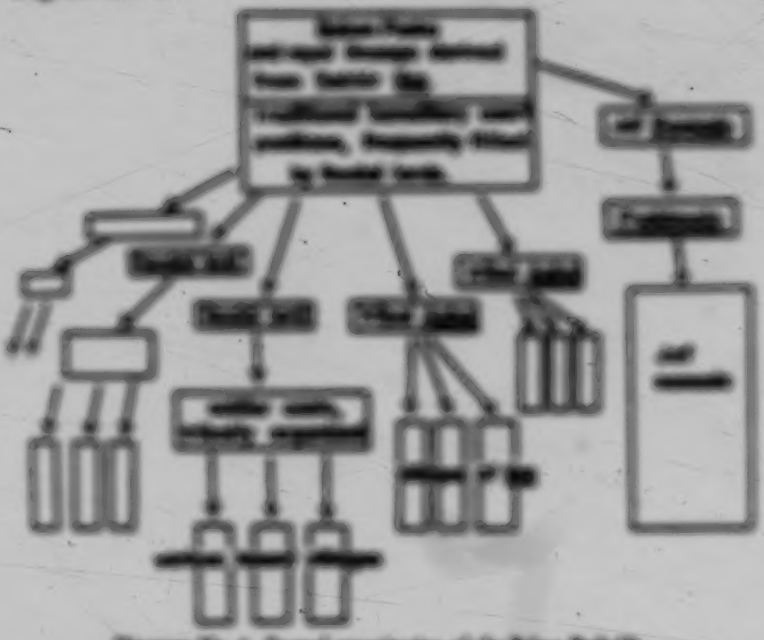

Diagram No. 6. Formal organization of the Bolom Dukuth.

6453 1952 • THE CHARISMA OF THE LEADER

In the formal political organization, principles and social segments derived both from the lineage system and the feudal system can thus be combined, and a more complex structure created. This is made all the more possible because of the similar organizations attached to the persons of the leader in both these systems. The qualifications and impediments to leadership will be discussed more fully in a later section, p. 119, however, some of the characteristics of the formal organization derive from the nature of leadership in Kurdish culture,

and can not be understood or divorced from the real power of the leader.

The interplay of structural and personal factors in defining the position and power of the leader, and thus the specific form of the political organization, may best be illustrated by the history of Shaikh Mahmud[1], a leader of considerable importance. His emergence as Shaikh or King of Sorāniyeh after the First World War, frequently misrepresented or given a biased account in English sources, is the most outstanding feature of political development in Northern Kurdistan in the present century. He constitutes the charismatic leader scheduled by Max Weber (op. cit.) and others to appear upon the breakdown of an established order. The history of the sources of political power, as well as the importance of the person and the responses to the definition of the office in the Kurdish system, are here clearly exemplified.

The family of Shaikh Mahmud owes its origin from two learned brothers, theologians who arrived in Sorāniyeh from Persia some 170 years ago. One to descend from Mohammed and a tradition of sanctity, the family enjoyed a spiritually leading position. The immediate founder of the present lineage is Saiyid Khaidar, revered as a saint in Sulaimani. During the supremacy of Baban rule, the Shaikhs remained divorced from politics, their wealth grew slowly from occasional gifts of land and villages, especially from the Baban themselves.

With the political instability and disorganization following the end of Baban rule, Shaikh Said, the father of Shaikh Mahmud, succeeded severely into the conflicts, and secured his secular power in the area through a successful combination of violence and diplomacy. Competing factions attempted to have him deposed by arranging for him to be called to Istanbul by Baban Abdul Khamid. The Baban, being extremely wary of such designs, frequently gathered as much his support among councillors, and the meeting was a great success from Shaikh Said's point of view, effectually smothering his enemies. Shaikh Said was murdered in Mosul in 1908, and succeeded by his son Shaikh Mahmud.

[1] It should be noted that the term Shaikh in Kurdish is not a political title, but merely indicates descent from the Prophet.

[47] protect the house from bullets and harms. The smaller versions of
[48] a number of Barrett charisma, it is tested up as a triangle of cloth of specified value, and carried pinned to the shoulder, in the hair, or suspended by a string around the neck or under one arm. Eventually the bearer of such an amulet is killed by bullet or bullet, did not really be explained, since the protective power is not spectacular while the person is shielding bad thoughts or if he loses his weapon in battle. Besides granting the efficacy of the amulets as valid, a list have long around the neck of a woman, and as women have hard they used, weaponless swordsmen were unable to draw the sword.

Charisma. The personal charisma ascribed to Sheikh Mahmud a rather difficult to separate from his semi-sacred powers, and to give coverage directly from them. He is proficient with the ability to read a person's thoughts and characters; he knows before a word is spoken for what purpose a person has come to him. A certain delight in other people's weaknesses and a keen for words and practical jokes further contribute to his extraordinary, semi-sacred reputation. Last but not least, he also possess a Western status by his extraordinary personality and force of character.

The failure of his charismatic aureole to succeed must be ascribed primarily to personal rather than local factors. Towards the end of the First World War, contact was established between Sheikh Mahmud and the Indian Army in Mesopotamia, and, after being given informal promises of Kurdish independence, Sheikh Mahmud chose to shift his loyalties from the Turks to the British. He proclaimed himself King, due to a more re-establishing the town of the Baban Dynasty, and perhaps hoping to emerge as the leader of all of Kurdistan. By the courts of Commons, Allied plans were presented, and commissions, conflicts over the question of Kurdish independence commenced by the year till 1931. Some of these conflicts derived from overcoming developments, others were rather unnecessary. It is indeed surprising that the British administration should show it. It knew at their agent to the area, and the person to cooperate with Sheikh Mahmud — those who, due to personal experiences and culture the way endow the most highly emotional attitude on Sheikh

obligations are commonly owned by liberal gifts (-Ole mwalu kwas the pass and gives to the elder in the words of one writer).

Such institutionalized or regularized means of exercise and mobilizing relations of dependence are very parallel to those used by the leaders in the traditional tribal political organization, and illustrate how the charismatic leader attempts to utilize traditional symbols and institutions. It is also striking how the importance of the charismatic leader extends to the limits of the province, disorganized unit — here the Nakuru Prohibit — and no further. It is very doubtful that Shabbi Mohamed ever had any appreciable following outside the districts of Southern Kavirondo.

Personal charisma being important even in the traditional system, it plays a commendable role in a situation of disorganization, and may survive a series of defeats. Characteristic is the comment by someone (Nyamwanda, whose name in fact was mentioned in the Shabbi's defeat: «We will support the Shabbi, and if he loses an eglo, we will serve him again.»

[illegible]

Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Muhammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality and easily understood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalism overnight. A short man of fifty, trimmed to an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, warrior face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. His native smoked out French and was very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Accounting of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not have the same civil liberties as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

[illegible] It would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Sulaimaniya, to remain at the present time. Great efforts were being made to get Kurdish education on a sound footing. At the Kurdish teachers' [illegible] sessions from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Dawn* and *Hiwa*.[1] All of these were printed on a press presented by the Soviet Army to

[1] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]; A [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

by [illegible]

[illegible] This study had two purposes, the first of which [illegible] an analysis and interpretation of the writers of Jerusalem, a Turkish administrative and economic town of northern Iraq. In carrying out this purpose, it is necessary to make reference to other cultural territories in Iraq and the Middle East. On the other hand, inasmuch as primitive, localized communities of the Kurds have not been positively integrated, this study of Jerusalem is also to contribute to the knowledge of the Middle East. The Kurds are a Semitic people [illegible] nomadic villagers, who inhabit the mountainous regions where the frontiers of Iraq, Iran, Russia, Syria, and Turkey meet. The second purpose of this study is the delineation of the impact of the society upon the structure of the society of the town and the direction which it takes. The secondary but important [illegible] "social" interactions [illegible] to the extent of 50%.

An analysis and interpretation of the writers of Jerusalem are presented in nine areas of interaction: [illegible] the administrative center, [illegible] the economic center, [illegible] towns, tribes, and clans, [illegible] the society, [illegible] the family, [illegible] neighbor life. The exploration of the two cultural areas [illegible] and its technical basis by [illegible] of landmarks,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (1)

[illegible]

characteristic of it was the intense development. The Serbian branch of Orthodoxy has now evidently discovered that it will be a witness, and the Serbian obstinate to be witness its former monastic or patriarchal power. A new vision, that of orthodoxy and witness, has been introduced with an unheralded sphere of ministry, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the practice has been linked with European ecclesiastical values in the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this conflict, and a consideration of the alternatives to Serbian life which Princess chose. The recognition that orthodoxy, commonly mentioned in the Middle East as a European ideology to one shares, may be pointed to more intimate which commands real mental sphere of a different order for a number of great importance to the analysis of the area.

The Serbian population of Iraq has been estimated at about 100,000, although figures vary considerably, and comprises the ecclesiastical world of Basra, northwest of Amara, and much of Kirkuk. In many Christian Arab villages here settled not as the first exposure of Syrian Europeanism, a small portion of this population to consider, observing their friends in the town pitches area, and seeking the patronage of the schools in the cities. Serbian Iraq provides a stabilizing environment for the well-heeled Arabs and Kurdish of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

33

The lore of Sumeria, as has been noted, has a population of over 5,000 persons, the overtones of which shall be dealt with later. A lore of this size qualifies as a sociological [illegible], including the [illegible] of Sumerian society, its existence in its own milieu, that of [illegible], a position similar to that of an American negro, save that it is oppositive rather than alienative. Normally the [illegible] in Grey has a headquarters, comparable to the American ship [illegible], and a chief of the sea, including a lieutenant and other officials. In Sumeria, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "seringitches" administrative negotiations are sent through [illegible] or diplomat facilities.

The problems presented by lore sociolinguistics appear to be very slight. Points which be encountered by the [illegible] and other historians of the child rate (See of the newspapers have reference to "Hatted (HAT) as well as legal grievances are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the lores be extraordinarily law-abiding, which does a certain amount of [illegible] pilfering. Sporadic seamy events are quite frequent, the most such often a fight between rival children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("Grandchild" be a favorite), and beginning to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with [illegible] be evident which a barefoot strategy be beaten, kicked or [illegible]. The religious sanctity [illegible], and morals, of what, does exist a thing negative attributed otherwise. Fighting between men be infrequent, but can become

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds or a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal administrative boundary has approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus encompassed in the four Liwas (Provinces) of Dohuk, Arbil, Kirkuk and Sulaymani. Dohuk Liwa contains the whole of Dohuk (100% of the rural population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (10%) and Sulaymani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two Liwas of Mosul and Kirkuk. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Christian Christians near Mosul city to the north and west, and about 10,000 partisans mainly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region; there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Kupri, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jaaf tribes, west of Mosul, whose men of the Jaaf [illegible] are Yezidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy on the basis of the census of 1947, as about 1,000,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. The statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a supportable guess. The Turkish census of 1940 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half millions; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds is all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaymani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Another township in which Kurds form the whole or the large

[illegible]

the nomads in the South Kurdish area. Their traditions place their origins in the Zibaree area of Persian Kurdistan, where in fact some 10—12 Jaf tribes still live. About 210 years ago, the tensions between the Shi'i Persian government and the Sunni Jaf precipitated conflict, and the tribes which refused subjection were unable to defend themselves, and fled across the border to the Sunni Ottoman Empire. This group of migrants is said to have consisted some 100 families. They were given pastures close to the Persian frontier, which they in turn served as protectors. As a result of natural growth, and by assimilation of small outlandish tribes into their organization, the group grew to the present total of some 40,000 persons. Up till 11—40 years ago, they had exercised nomadism. At the present time the nomadic sections make up only a small fraction of the total, numbering some 1—1000 individuals.

The annual migration of the nomadic Jaf carries them ca. 210 km. from their winter camps on the *Jiyan* to the summer pastures in the high mountains. Unlike the otherwise similar Caucasian Kurdish nomads, the Jaf have no permanent homes for winter use, but live in their black tents all year. Agricultural pursuits are rare, and practically only consist in being a man to raise a crop of grain, or owning the soil to the farmers. More typically, the economy is purely pastoral.

ASSIMILATION. There is some vagueness as to the Kurdish classification of the Jaf unit. If one asks a settled Jaf to what tribe, clan, or lineage, he will tend to answer Jaf. On the other hand, Jaf informants outlining the political structure were unwilling to see the term Jaf for the whole group, and preferred to reserve it for the more smaller units: the various sections making up the Jaf group (usually the Arabic term *fakhiz*) was preferred, having reference both to a people and to an area (cf. Leach, op.cit., p. 111). Obviously, this is a slight misapplication, considering that the nomadic Jaf share their area with a number of other groups. Due to the above mentioned historical process of growth by assimilation, the Jaf today constitute a federation of groups of diverse origin. They themselves make the distinction between certain Jaf and later assimilated groups, but have no special term or organization for the former Jaf.

For lack of a better term, the Jaf confederacy as a whole should

claim the right of wintering in the Christian villages of Armenia, and, as fanatical Moslems, they indulged on occasion in massacres of their unwilling Christian hosts—this often with the connivance or tacit approval of the Turks, who were not reluctant to see the Christian communities of Asia Minor decrease in numbers.

For obvious reasons, detailed figures as to the number of the Kurds are not available,[1] but estimates, some of them much out of date, give a total of some 3 millions, distributed as follows:

Turkey	1,250,000
Iraq (1962)	650,000
Iran	700,000
Baluchistan	150,000
Transcaucasian Russia (1926)	115,000
Syria	100,000
Afghanistan	80,000

The Kurds cannot be said to have any advanced political feeling, and, even less than the Bedouin Arabs, have rarely been able to combine for long in a stable, large-scale political organization. Individualism and local tribal feeling are the chief characteristics. Kurdish political activity has been negative: that is, strongly against any other group that has tried to rule them, and their proliferation tends to be anti-governmental, whatever the composition of the latter may be, rather than for pro-Kurdish aims. Since 1925 there have been ten serious revolts by the Kurds against various national governments—two against Turkey, four in Iran, and four in Iraq. One of these, in 1927, made use of weapons looted from Iranian military depots. Such revolts lend themselves to intervention by outside powers; and an American view[2] is that a Kurdish revolt against Iran in 1945 had Soviet support from Russia, with the aim of embarrassing the Iranian government. Little was finally achieved, however: one factor may have been the importance to the time of American lend-lend supplies to Russia, as the result of which the U.S. was able to exert some moderating influence on Russian policy.

Since 1927, a Kurdish independence movement, the "Khoibun", has been in existence, but its activities have hitherto had little success, the main obstacle being jealousy, division, and lack of co-operation among the Kurds themselves. An attempt was made to enlist

[1] In modern Turkish statistics the Kurds are described as "Mountain Turks".
[2] That of Professor W. L. Westermann.

The Future [illegible] (Jan–June) 1953 RI Soviet Union RI
Caucasia Div.
Translations Ref. Asia

was 'translated' and in the end the Russian alphabet was re-introduced.

Many 'Soviet Assyrians' disliked the anti-religious policy of the Bolsheviks, the continuous experiments which the Soviet authorities made with Assyrian cultural life, as well as the entire communist social system. A large number of Assyrians therefore left Russia for Iraq in the period between the wars to join the Assyrian levies under British command.

During and after the Second World War Soviet Russian power politics made use of the Assyrians of Northern Persia. Although their number was small Soviet occupation authorities mobilized them, together with local Armenians, in support of the pro-Russian autonomous régime established in Tabriz. After the withdrawal of the Red Army troops the Persian Assyrians suffered together with all other groups of the population in whom the Russians had shown particular interest.

RUSSIA AND THE KURDISH PROBLEM

The small number of Assyrians in Middle Eastern countries (30,000 in Iraq, 5,000 in Syria, 25,000 in Persia) indicates that Russia could use them only for very limited purposes. The Kurds may become a more redoubtable instrument in Russian hands. They are one of the most important factors in the Middle East. How many Kurds are there altogether? This purely statistical question is in itself part of the 'Kurdish problem'. In Turkey, for instance, official data referring to 1945 say that their number in that country does not exceed 1,300,000, but sources more favourable to the Kurdish national point of view speak of 4,300,000 Turkish Kurds. It is significant that this latter figure is approvingly quoted in a Russian monograph on Turkey.[9] In addition, there are 600,000 Kurds in Iraq, 700,000 in Persia and 200,000 in Syria.

The four States with a Kurdish population are bound to draw closer to each other for military, geographical, political and economic reasons. The Kurdish question common to all of them to a greater or lesser degree may prove to cement their unity. Russia's interests are the exact opposite of those of the four Middle Eastern countries with Kurdish minorities. Russia is a bitter opponent of any kind of federation on her borders. What she wants is not Kurdish cement but Kurdish dynamite.

For a long time Soviet Russia had had no real Kurdish policy. The strength of Britain in the Middle East prevented both the Soviet Government and the Communists from playing the Kurdish card. In Russian communist eyes the Kurds were but a 'counter-revolutionary force', a tool of British imperialism intended to embarrass Turkey, the Arab world and even the Soviet Union itself.

But even at the time when leading Soviet quarters still held this negative view on the Kurds, they envisaged the possibility of a change in the

21½ Rickers J-4 (no date) 1982 R1 Soviet Union R1
Kurd MA11

evaluation of the Kurdish factor. From the cultural point of view the Kurds were still an unwritten sheet of paper. Soviet Russia, so the communist strategists may have argued, thus stood the chance of exercising a paramount influence on the development and the character of a future Kurdish culture, if she only tried.

The raw material for such a Soviet experiment was the small Kurdish minority in Transcaucasia. The exact number of the Kurds in Soviet Russia is as difficult to ascertain as their number in any other country. Officially Russia had only 54,700 Kurds in 1926 and 45,800 in 1939, but unofficial pre-war data recorded as many as 80,000, of whom 40,000 were in Azerbaidzhan, 23,000 in Armenia and the rest in Georgia and Turkmenistan. Only in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan were the Kurds a political problem.

For a long time neither Azerbaidzhani nor Armenian communists seemed to have grasped the importance of the Kurds within the framework of a far-sighted Soviet policy in the Middle East.[1] They either neglected the Kurdish minorities living in their respective republics or even tried to deprive them of their national character.

The Armenian communists disliked the Kurds in view of the role which the latter had played in the Armenian massacres, and thus showed not the slightest interest in their well-being and their mobilization for the Soviet State. Kurds in Armenia were not entrusted with political and social work, no skilled workers were recruited from among them and Kurdish peasants were not even organized into collective farms.[84] In 1936, the Soviet central Government strongly reprimanded the Armenian communists for letting national animosities interfere with their Kurdish policy.

All the mistakes which local Transcaucasian authorities committed in handling the Kurdish question in the inter-war period proved to be unimportant at a moment when Russia was able to use the Kurdish issue on a big scale. Her success in handling the problem was then indisputable. Colonel W. G. Elphinston, who was in charge of Kurdish affairs as a British Middle East Intelligence Officer, said that the effects of propaganda in the Kurdish language originating in the Kurdish community in the U.S.S.R. made themselves felt as far away as Syria, and communist pamphlets in Kurdish penetrated as far as Cairo.[85]

The Kurdish group outside the U.S.S.R. most directly affected by Russian policy and propaganda were the Persian Kurds whose country was occupied by the Red Army between 1941 and 1946. The Soviet occupation authorities did not spread communist ideas among the Kurds; they did not propagate collectivization and nationalization. All they aimed at was to make the Kurds respectful to Soviet Russia, the Russian Army and Stalin. The Kurdish Republic set up with Russian help in 1946 under Quazi Mohammed as Prime Minister was a national

[1] [illegible], pp. 450-457, Kh. Soviet Union — Analysis]

1: Garnett B-6, 9 (an. 1888) 1991
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able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kitellaina.'

§ 15 The two above described classes of Kitela are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Ringeka*).

§ 16 The present Kitela are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom two thousand are nomad, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages.

§ 17 All these warrior Kitela are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *enkiri* (great tribes), *pashili* (medium tribes), and *shiffi* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *pashili* and *shiffi*, or merely into *shiffi*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *enkiri* are called isolated *shiffi*.

§ 18 The tribes, or clans, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it.

§ 19 In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised.

§ 20 Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people.

§ 21 The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voice of the

[1] Bleeker, *Les Kawkasiens, ou Montagnards*, &c., p. 110.

At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the Ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines, the country is divided into fourteen liwas, each under a mutasarrif. The liwa is subdivided into qadas, each under a qaimmaqam. The qada is in turn subdivided into a number of nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a sulta nizamiya appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the introduction of metropolitan administration. The people have a mukhtar, selected from the local landowners, who, while in no sense a public official, acts as liaison between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the Sheikh in contemporary Egypt.[1]

The qada or district of Kawandun belongs to the Arbil liwa, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Kawandun. In spite of this official's efforts in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the villages here referred to may vary from a few isolated

[1] Ayrout, 1945, pp. 47-48.

● 60 become to a much larger number, which explains what may at
94 first appear an abnormally high number. No items have been added the figures for cereals, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villagers
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	4,047	3,748	7,812	76
[illegible]	3,193	3,761	6,954	0
[illegible]	0	0	3,478	33
[illegible]	3,773	3,178	[illegible] [illegible]	84
[illegible]	4,477	3,173	[illegible] [illegible]	

The numbers given for cereals may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less reasonable than the villager to the science-hater, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the herpetologist or practising artisan.

293 The matter of the cereal—[illegible] in Scottish, as
94 opposed to [illegible], the villager—must give no pause. The term "cereal" has a variety of applications, and, in the Middle East, is given its classical sense in those arid wanderings of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman barrenness of the northern marches, "true" cereals in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flanks

and lands. The Scottish shepherds and herdsmen of northern [193]
Iraq consent to exist to belong to this group. Although the [167]
actual employment were much study, they live in symbiotic
relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary
farmers with whom they have definite economic and social
ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common
nationality. It seems very much as though a real division
of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted
to serve the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons,
but the historical background of this interdependence is
more complex. It is, for example, questionable whether or [174]
not the Scottish people as a whole were ever sensible in some
restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" [101]
(Kurdî was in Medieval days not a generic term for rude
mountaineers.[1] However the development may have taken place, [69]
there is abundant evidence that the hillfolk, with their
mobility and firepower (the arms of the Middle East
nightmare weapon to a much greater extent than the agri-
culturists), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance
over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in
numbers. The Scottish chieftains, the old powers of the
land, are in many cases associated with hillfolk groups, par- [421]
ticipating belonging directly among them, although as landowners
they need not follow the migrations. It should further be [193]
remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for [62]

[1] Rawlinson, 1915, p. 254.

great number not suicide, thus partially explaining the [255]
[42]
overlarge until figure for "normal" sized clans.

In spring the females are on the move, leaving their [251]
[253]
herds of sheep and goats from winter pastures around Kandi
to Natal to whatever grazing is the little and available. The
women and children are filled with their animals, as young
boys begin to watch responsibilities, and their flocks begin
into the mid-afternoons and tonight. An elder approaches
boy herder there again from the opposite, ending the search
of the female flocks. In former days their passage would
them to habitation. Because of the flocks, the females
are put through, and new movement to fight a way of
the peaceful route to travel. Each of this two lonely boys [225]
weighed, for pillow matches with automatic weapons and
strong arguments against violence, and the construction of [49]
other male boys greatly facilitated movement, although the
road still has the right of way after dark, and serious
matches through the use of schools blinding to the boys-
ghire to difficult. Even then the females sometimes use
the most difficult administrative problems of a [241]
with no that why because. So much activities their journals
passage (normally a sharp slowing from the east, or
nearest Florida to a villager's field) as well as those
may account matches among themselves. Lastly, as many across
a national border into Zambia southside, the [245]
females detail arrange their transfer twice each year
to the establishment of that country.

a sitzbad, the ends of the bowl then resting on wooden bar rests. The population of this community was estimated at about 120 adults. The individual houses is simple, the floor of hewed earth, the windows glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an indoor firepit save doors and windows, and the fireplaces meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This village bears no specialized characteristics and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Sutai or Ipsam, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, the police post and the Restorium church in Ipsam, and a definite mercantile section. Fixing as well as house-goods of the villagers are often marked out with schematic figures of horizontal lozenges and chevrons or zig-zagging. In the smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some houses in the area serve as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. The "agricultural" village patterns of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Samoyed district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of as many than one or two houses. The Ostyaks, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a birch pent-dwelling tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique design.

[illegible]

strive to avoid their employers.

Customers make up class-basis on many of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although there are few disagreeing, and almost everyone commands a few words of English. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and citizens are much more extensive than those of the artisanate, because many are employed by the government, and are, on the whole, valuable, depending on the partiality of the official in question. It has been seen that the owner and two of the police officers were hostilely disposed. It is interesting that officials are referred to such as the local aristocracy. Colonel Sheikh Seyidkandi, an aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Sheikh Seg," a connotation of the "governing class."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mullahs, Sa'id Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the former town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Suleymaniye, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no tendency communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather agricultural neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

1

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and no boundaries do not coincide with any recognized frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraq Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the reserved tribesmen of the uplands mostly along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Khanikin on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are then encountered in the liwa Sulaimaniyah in Diyalah liwa encircling the villages of Mandali, Khanikin (1947, 21 of the total population), Kifri (1947), Kirkuk (1957) and Sulaimaniyah (1957). Kurds also form a majority in the two adjacent qadhaas of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Christian Chaldeans near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians recently settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region; there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Kirkuk, Altun Kupri, Kifri and Kizil Robat towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy on the basis of the census of 1947, as about 800,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan, but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds is all three countries is Sunni Muslim, the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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majority of the population are Shiaspiks, Kirkuk, Dar Sarkeu, Sulaymaniya, Kifri, Kerendiz, Khanaqin and Qizilrabat, while Kirkuk city is more mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The predominant and undisputed Arabic region as well as the larger land-owners, need, as would be expected, no culture to [illegible] the towns, and there is always a wealthy class of them now at Kerbela as at Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers, the [illegible] nomads, semi-nomadic, and here and there with a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact cultivators, the organization of society [illegible] outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owning a kind of feudal allegiance to [illegible] a Sheikh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal fight who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to rebel in subtle to the regulations, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable in law, by which their farms, especially the fallow having no title to the land, were apportioned to cultivators their positions. In many parts of the country the old tribal organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraq Kurdistan runs for most of its [illegible] length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a series of foothills, and then as a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern mountains of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Kerkuk (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old highway road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris into Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the modern towns are now easily accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

[illegible] The southern province around Qal'eh-ye Now are formed by settled members of the Jat tribe, resulting in tensions on their old tribal land. Here we see the classic range of the nomadic Jat. The Bakhtiari are plains around the town of Khalaj on the eastern rainy grounds of the same group, and support a large population of nomadic Jat. The western grazing grounds of the nomads lie in the high mountains around Bandar.

The Chaharbagh valley is the territory of the Khamseh tribe of freeholding farmers, partly co-habiting the area with an aggressive tribal nomadic sub group. In the broad valley around Sabzevar are non-tribal peasant farmers, in the high area of Pishabo, further north, are tribally organized farmers. The Khamseh-area in the Zagros range by Khalaj are distinctively and ethnically tribal farmers, tribally organized, usually freeholding garden farmers or cultivators.

[illegible] Some historical explanation is necessary. The city of Sabzevar was for centuries the capital of a tribal independent Pishabi region of the Qavanos Empire, ruled by Padas of the Bahar family. The Pishabi included most if not all the territory described above. A strong feudal system became established, and centralized government was moderately effective, leading to a breakdown of most tribal political organizations and the development of a large group of serfs and peasant farmers. Conditions during Bahar rule are well described by Claudius James Rich (1836), a very observant traveller in the early 19th century. Due to complex intrigue in Baghdad and Istanbul, Bahar rule was suddenly brought to an end in 1811, and considerable instability resulted. The Jat tribe, on the one hand, became powerful and assimilated peasant groups of other tribes in their organization; the Jat leaders consolidated their position in landowners and took on the appearance more of feudal lords than tribal chiefs. On the other hand, the Khamseh tribe entered on a period of economic brigandage and war, and, though a very small tribe, became quite powerful. Sabzevar became the scene of a tug of war between these various interests and the efforts of a saintly family of the Barzinja to consolidate some form of Pishabi. After the end of the First World War, conditions slowly became more

[illegible]

[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											
[illegible]											

[illegible]

cond crop. Much reliance is based on the general fitness of the crop [illegible] to the area. Consequently, the yield is low, and a large area [illegible] must be brought under the plow.

To preserve, in some measure, the fertility of the soil, the fields are left fallow alternate years. These fallow fields should [illegible] be plowed at regular intervals, obviously at considerable labor cost. (cf. Appendix I). The plow itself is made of wood, with a [illegible] iron cover over the point. It has a very low level of efficiency, and it is generally necessary to cross-plow all fields. In the hilly areas, the draw moving oxen are the only draft animals, which further extends the period of labor. The outcome of this is that the Kurdish farmer spends a very great amount of time plowing, but which rather meagre results. Average returns in wheat and barley seem to be c. 6:1 on an equally seeded field.

Reaping takes place, according to estimate, between May and July. The grain is cut with a short, curved sickle, and heaped on [illegible] of hard-trodden clay by or in the field. Threshing is done by [illegible] the oxen trampling the heaped grain, winnowing with a simple [illegible] fork.

The rural family ... of his wife or the family ... 85.2
a day the privilege of looking after the home. The other animals are tended by the women, who do the milking and preparing of food, and other household duties, including wool gleaning of the home [illegible] every fall. The work on the other land is kept in repair by the men. In the busy season the women also work in the fields, especially during the grain harvest and in tobacco picking. The smaller children share in these home tasks, and, among the well-to-do people at least, serve as shepherds for the smaller herds. There is also a series of smaller jobs, such as collecting dung for fuel about the yards and corn cribs.

Table 6.

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR KURDISH VILLAGES

	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	0	00	0	0	00
elementary family					
[illegible]	00	00	0	0	00
" " husband's mother	0	0	0	0	0
" " husband's mother and unmarried siblings	0	0	—	—	0
" " husband's unmarried siblings	—	0	0	0	0
" " husband's father and unmarried siblings	0	—	—	—	0
combined extended family	0	0	0	0	00
other incomplete families	—	0	0	0	00
Total number of families					000

The general form of the Kurdish village households may be seen in Table II. Only 10 % of the households would be called combined extended families, vs. 71 % consisting of an elementary family or a group of dependents maintained by an elementary family. Each household is an independent economic unit, except for a certain [illegible] in the form of the obligation to support survivors in

[illegible] each household to serve. The owner of the shepherd is called [illegible], and he is frequently a foreigner to the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated to the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be limited by the small size of the village — area of laborers — and the whole shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large herds.

The position as [illegible] (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other minor occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small eastern village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
eastern farmers (incl. one landlady)	27	135
laborers	2	10
shepherd	1	5
widows with no male kin	2	6
total	32	156

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Darwish, Sheikh, Seyyid, Mullah, and Kadi.

Darwishes. The darwish religious [illegible] fraternities, in their form and functions, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and here the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

6

563 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A. I Despite special pleading by Nigrum and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Batas, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 We distinguish area B therefore by the wildness of its climate; its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as now existing.

[402] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and scorched cinder dry for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillsmen. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years.
172 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the
• 162 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi-
528 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds
174 with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to Hay (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Dizai tribe. The evidence for this
101 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts,
189 the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this must be a very recent development but similar conditions are described by Hay writing in 1920.

1 [See map, cat. no. 6, p. 71 = Erbil]
A

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

8

102 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Suran group whose full tribal name is Surani Bagzeade (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Suran") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mullasherifi, Shevdini and Sukri, of which Mullasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mullasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Salash - Sheikh Muhammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Salash, Rust and Selala. The Sukri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Muhammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Salash.

794 162 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shiran i Sheikh require special mention. (See Map 39, 255 and 257 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman). The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Obeidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhschwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

609 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

197 habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflexions to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

162 There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from those in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khorasan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

619 From the time when groups of Aryan-
186 speaking families settled in secluded valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primeval ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

619 Intermarriage within the tribe has en-
142 hanced physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

147 I have on occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a horse and

Iran (Northeast)
Turcoman
Kurd

2; Field--5

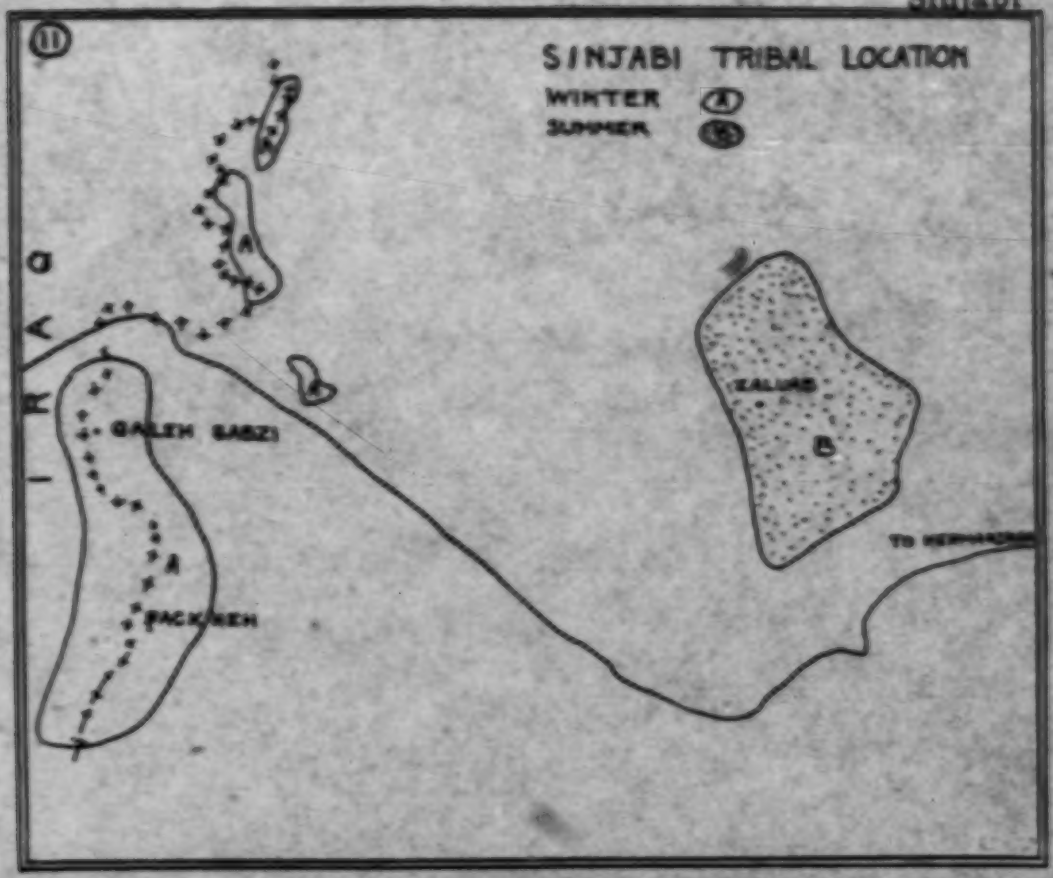
K 101, 162

I 101, 162

2: Field--11

Iran (West Central)
Kurd
Sinjabi

I
101
162
221
K
101
162
221



14: Ivanov B-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd MAII

The following list gives an approximate idea of the present principal sub-divisions of the Kurdish-speaking tribes; they are mentioned in order from north to south, and according to the area which they inhabit:

1. Melanlu, in Qushkhaneh, the northern part of the districts of Isfarain, Juwain, and the extreme north of Nishapur.
2. Bajgiranlu, a small sub-tribe, living near Bajgiran.
3. Aghanlu, near Aghach and along the frontier.
4. Hiwalanlu, near Quchan, and in Darreh Gaz.
5. Qasmanlu, near Nawukh, Dizawun, etc.
6. Shadillu, in Bujnurd, etc., mostly speaking Turkish only.
7. Za'faranlu, in Shirwan, have now lost their former importance; very few speak Kurdish.
8. Kuranlu, north of Quchan.*
9. Mashkanlu, near Mashkan, in the district of Quchan.
10. Burji, *ibid.*, near Radqan.
11. Kaiwanlu, *ibid.*, in Juwain and in the northern parts of the Nishapur district.
12. Mazhdakanlu, in northern part of Nishapur and the Quchan districts.

All these tribes represent forms of transition between pure nomads and the ordinary peasant. Many of them are half-nomads, *i.e.* they cultivate fields in the summer and are nomads in the winter, when they shift to some warmer district. It is specific that the transition from the nomadic to the settled life is very gradual, and that it is going on in every tribe.

Some other tribes consist chiefly of nomads, such as the following:

13. Rashanlu, in Khakistar, Lain, near Kaakhka.
14. Briwanlu, near Kaakhka, and in the summer in Kelat.
15. Hafshalanlu, Darreh Gaz in the winter and Quchan valley in the summer.
16. Badiwanlu, in the same places.
17. Jafkanlu, in the winter at Chamakalur and in the summer at Kuh-i-Daulat.†
18. Karamanlu, in the northern parts of the Nishapur districts.
19. Waranlu, a small tribe in the same place.
20. Tupkanlu, in the district of Juwain, partly in Nishapur; in the winter they migrate to the Dasht-i-Taqi.‡
21. 'Amarlu, north-west from Nishapur, in and around the village of Marushk (also called Marush).

* Their name resembles the Gurans of Kurdistan proper, and the connection is quite probable.

† These may be connected with a western Kurdish tribe of Jafs, who are very numerous along the Mesopotamian frontier.

‡ Their migrations extend over a very long distance, taking weeks for a journey with their live-stock. It is remarkable that their passage is never accompanied with any accident or robbery.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

The Kûrds are to be found scattered all over the Eastern Highlands of Asia Minor, from the Taurus to the Caucasus, as well as in Kûrdistan proper, where the population is equally mixed. Under the name of Kûrd, however, two distinct races are included, who form as great a contrast to each other in physiognomy as in character and manner of life. The one race is nomad, warlike, and full of vivacity, the other is agricultural, pacific, and not remarkable for intelligence.[1] The features of the peasantry are much softer and less pronounced than those of the tribesmen, who have long and rather aquiline noses, prominent foreheads, keen, deep set eyes, generally black, but sometimes grey, or even blue, small mouths, and pointed chins. Their step is firm, their bearing proud and dignified, and at the first glance one sees that they are the lords of the country.

The Kûrds generally are strong, healthy, well-built people, and in spite of the inequalities of climate of the country they inhabit, live to a good old age. The children are clear-skinned, rosy-

[1] The Turkish proverb, "Stupid as a Kûrd," applies only to the peasants of this nation.

[Page 113]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

cheeked, hardy, lithe and active little creatures, and the young women—in the Taurus especially—are said to be models of physical beauty. Mr. Milliagen gives the following glowing description of one among the many handsome girls he saw during his residence among these freebooting highlanders: "Her complexion gave me an idea of what must have been the bloom of the forbidden apple of the terrestrial Paradise. Her eyes, of a dark chestnut, shone like brilliants through the veil of her thick, long eyelashes, while nose and mouth were perfect in their delicacy of shape. Though the garments she wore were not of a superior sort, yet through their folds her graceful form could be detected. But what above all contributed to make her really charming was the calm, simple, and, so to say, infantine air which distinguished her countenance and the whole of her demeanour."[1]

173 Some Kürdish families in Boktan and Hakkari claim descent from the Ommeyide Khalifs, and some travellers are of opinion that the tribe of the Rowadi, to which Saladin belonged, may possibly be the same as the modern Revendi, or Rewendi. The chiefs of the Bebbeh clan confidently affirm that they have in their veins English blood from an ancestress called Keighan, the legend concerning whom will be found in a subsequent chapter.[2] Less mythical, perhaps, is the story of the company belonging to the Second Crusade (1147–49), who wandered in a north-easterly direction from Syria, and not being

[1] *Wild Life among the Kürds.*
[2] See p. 174.

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when undone in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and
is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a
reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being
purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some
houses, kuhl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony
moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of
the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most
of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their
lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna,
a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday
practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such
as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is
not found in this area, nor is the technique used to
prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial
infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstrua- 841
tion clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual [833]
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths
are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is
possible to observe daily female residents of the lower
classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces.
These are either transient servants or migrants from the
villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

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that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 136
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognised. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 164
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 758
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 165
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re- [761]
place the son who had died (at the age of eleven "of the
evil eye"), and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
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would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, naturally, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabja and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[77]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Topzawa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[78], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, reappearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[79]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resulting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Serkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Topzawa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[79].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the house.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirza Rustam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was lent out for three days to the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unsewn sindone and wrapped in the ceremonial, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[77]. The same type is found in Arabia[70] and Egypt[70].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country products more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 ($250 millions in 1953) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

14; Ivanov 8-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd 0041
Baluchi: 002

K 731 ● 164 This division[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916-1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

142 147 It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

619 628 186 There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

197 191 The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

B 221 177 162 197 I 162 563 *Balochis.*—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

B 142 157 Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal [between nomadic and sedentary way of life.—Analyst]

K 142 302 * The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.*

4c Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MSS Iraq M51

000 of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

K 137 Kurdistan is a beautiful country. It is in the main well wooded, with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Pines grow in two areas only and chinars (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the 'Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the oldest inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

K 181 The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

K 164 221 342 In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is fostered by the cultivation of rice with its invariable accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the flock-owners move to their "ziaktas" or summer shellings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

I 795 The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

I 795 167 563 648 162 Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their recent history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term "Assyrian" now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church who were domiciled either within what is now the 'Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkari by the Turks during the Great War and refused

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value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognised. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
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4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance. 854

Nursing. According to the Coran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sure 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ....". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[1].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortions. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 20 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 15 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (19, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to use scent whilst his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[2]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kič*. Muhammad, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Coran that male children are more desirable than female[3]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6–7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[28]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[29].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often keep our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was mainly an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the house. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Dr. Throop has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[30]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently convenient with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggression with subsequent punishment and the

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which are menial and those which are not. A successful kababchi or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the merchant's son would rarely become a kababchi. There is also some exchange of persons between town and villages, those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those, successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but migration from the town itself outside the district is very limited. This does not apply to the area as a whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent population of Rowanduz, however, with its core of older families from the days before the first World War, seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but

the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowanduz has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercantile competitor of Rowanduz, arose on lands owned by Lali Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowanduz, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often recontracted. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowanduz, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowanduz, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say.

Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowanduz and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

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although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowanduz freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil. [301]

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowanduz. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowanduz might have experienced certain decline.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
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enforced. Of the non-Muslims, the Jews might be mentioned first, and their own custom of marriage is like that of Islam. By long tradition, heightened by the recent Israeli war, the Jews are greatly despised, but most of them have already migrated to their new country. The departure of the Jewish craftsmen and shopkeepers from Rowanduz has already been noticed. Of the Christians, an unconscious distinction is made in the Muslim mind between those who come from the Western world, and those who are native to the area or the Eastern Mediterranean. The military prowess and advanced culture of Europe or America are recognized, and almost any male from these countries is ipso facto an effendi or gentleman. The Briton, because of the part of his country's imperialism in the Middle East, may be disliked, but he is usually respected. On the other hand, Christians such as the Armenians, Chaldaeans, Greeks, and Nestorians, who have been Islamic subjects in the past, are looked upon with some contempt. The Armenians and Greeks are largely urban minorities, engaged in commerce, and are generally vilified, as are Jews and certain Syrians in the cities, as cheats and thieves. The Chaldaeans and the Nestorians, most of the latter displaced from their homeland in Turkey after the first World War, were once exclusively engaged in agriculture, and, as a peaceful folk, were not considered particularly different from Muslim peasants. Kurdish chieftains and their men have been invited to Nestorian festivals and there has been

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considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186 563 571
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167] the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582] group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627 837 548
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553] them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771 commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578 "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11

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174 now remain; there are only a few degenerate and impoverished families
162 in the south of the province, constituting a starving nomad tribe.
167 The Turks are still numerous, and there are many invaders of quite recent origin, such as the Kurds, who came here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Timuris and the Baluchis, who extended their wanderings further and further north. The latest immigrants are Mongols, the so-called Barbaris, or Hazara, who are still continuing to come in numbers. It will be better to deal with each tribe separately.

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101 *Kurds.*—It is difficult to find if any Kurdish tribes were living in Khurasan before the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the surnames
● 167 of many different celebrities who are natives of this province the term "Kurt" is often met with. Even a dynasty of this name ruled south of Herat in the hill districts (643–791 A.H., or 1245–1389 A.D.). Kurd and Kurt are undoubtedly the same as they are to-day; but if there had been some Kurdish people in Khurasan, they must have mixed with
168 Persians. When under the Safawides the necessity arose of defending the northern frontier of Khurasan against the inroads of the powerful Uzbegs and Turkomans, local means were not sufficient, and the Shahs tried to institute a measure similar to that of the Cossacks in Russia, *i.e.* they settled some warlike and virile people in the threatened area. Therefore some tribes of Kurds from Kurdistan proper were transferred
167 as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the seventeenth century a new party had arrived; some of these tribes still
177 live there, like the Kaiwanlu, the Shadillu, etc. Some more of them arrived later on in the eighteenth century, under Nadir (like the 'Amarlu). At present there is no connection with the West, and the Khurasani Kurds are gradually undergoing "Turkomanization."

101 With regard to the racial and tribal names, it may be observed that
619 they are utterly unreliable for the purpose of establishing any conclusions
197 to ethnical connections. The tribe is usually called after the surname of the chief or of the place of settlement, and very soon the whole of the tribe, to which several sub-divisions belong, becomes named after the section which was most prominent and important among them. In practice there is nothing more difficult than obtaining exact information of the name of a tribe with its sub-divisions. In Khurasan the difficulty is still greater because there are no distinct sub-dialects, and the idiom of the Kurds appears practically uniform. Many sub-sections are closely connected with the Turks, and experience real difficulty in deciding whether they are of Kurdish or Turkish nationality.

These continual changes of names make it difficult to draw up a systematic table of sub-division. Of the four tribes which are traditionally regarded as the original, namely 'Amarlu, Za'faranlu, Shadillu and Kaiwanlu, the first and last appear to-day as small tribes, while the other two are mostly Turkish-speaking and have ceased to be regarded as Kurds.
000 The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principal

21; Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
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Kurdish State and not communist. It existed for only nine months, despite the Treaty of Alliance for twenty years which it had concluded with another Soviet-sponsored government, the autonomous administration of Persian Azerbaidzhan.

Even such short-lived experiments as the Kurdish Republic of 1946 can become an important factor in the national tradition of a people, who, like the Kurds, are living under foreign rule. Experiments of that kind are apt to create a myth which ultimately may have a greater impact on the national development of the people than the original event itself. From year to year the Kurdish Republic of Quazi Mohammed may appear to the Kurds more splendid and more powerful, particularly if Soviet propaganda does its share by reminding the Kurds of the downfall of 'their' republic and recalling the part which Russia played in its foundation. Soviet propaganda is indeed taking every opportunity of referring back to the glorious times when two pictures decorated the walls of the houses of many a Kurdish sheikh – that of Quazi Mohammed, the Kurdish leader, hanged by the Persians in March 1947, and that of Generalissimo Stalin.[56]

Despite the collapse of 'Free Kurdistan' Soviet Russia has nevertheless made great progress in mastering the Kurdish problem. Kurdish chieftains became acquainted with Soviet institutions and Soviet ideology while the Russian occupation of Persia's Kurdish territories lasted. Many Persian Kurds joined their countrymen already living in Soviet Transcaucasia and Kurdish culture 'national in form and socialist in content' developed: 200 Kurdish pamphlets and books had been published in the Soviet Union by 1949.[57] Nor was there any shortage of qualified Kurdish personnel in the Soviet Union after the war. On the contrary, Soviet propaganda was able to boast of Kurdish 'state dignitaries and outstanding workers in culture and science', who had sprung up among the Russian Kurds. A Kurdish Soviet poet, Amin Avdal, is the 'author of wonderful verses on the Soviet homeland'. Another Kurdish poet, Jasmeh Jalil, translated Russian classics into his native tongue. A Kurdish philologist, Nure Pulatova, a graduate of Leningrad University, became the only Kurdish woman scholar in the world.[58] And lastly, between 1946 and 1950 the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. included a Kurdish deputy, Samand Alievich Siabandov.

However important the recent Soviet experiments with the Russian Kurds may be, the latter represent not even 5 per cent of the entire Kurdish people. Soviet Russia must bring either the Turkish or the Persian Kurds within her orbit if she wants to make a success of her 'Kurdish policy'. It remains to be seen whether the political dynamic of the U.S.S.R. and the ideological power of Bolshevism will be sufficient to accomplish this aim.

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd MAII

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER IV.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY.—FOLK-TALES.

538 171 THE tales and legends told by the Kûrds are of an extremely varied character. Among them are many charming *märchen*, some of which closely resemble Greek or Teutonic favourites, and delightful fables, or stories of animals, which seem to be but Oriental variants of those contained in the collections of Æsop, La Fontaine, and other fabulists. There are also stories of buried treasure, guarded by *djins*, or genii, touching love tales, and innumerable legends describing tribal exploits and feuds, deeds of violence and reprisals. The latter class, though not strictly folk-tales in the accepted sense of the term, illustrate so much more graphically than any description could do the manners and sentiments of this wild and independent people, that I have ventured to include one or two of them in this chapter.

The first story is evidently a variant of the Tinote Greek folk-tale of "Constantes and the Drakos,"[1] the opening incident of reaping the field of corn being precisely identical. The *Dev* appears to be the Kûrdish equivalent of the English "Giant," Scandi-

[1] Κωνσταντῆς κ' ὁ Δράκος, Hahn (J. G. von). Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 196; and *Märchen*, ii. p. 182.

[Page 154]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

navian "Troll," Indian "Rakshasa," and Greek Δράκος (Drakos),[1] a ferocious but simple-minded monster, who is usually outwitted by a clever mortal, the youngest of three brothers, or a widow's son.

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The Three Brothers and the Dev.[2]

There once lived in a certain place three brothers. The name of the youngest was Hasanek, that of the second Qasim, and that of the eldest Shaban. Now it happened that each had a sickle, and Hasanek said to his brothers, "Come along, we will leave this country and go to that of another tribe where we can work and get good wages."

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So the three set off. They went to the uplands, and there they found a field of wheat. Said Hasanek to his brothers, "Come, let us set to work and cut this wheat, it has no doubt an owner who will pay us."

So the three went to the field, and they stooped down and began to cut the wheat. When they had been cutting for two days, Hasanek saw a cave; it was the cave of a Dev, who came out immediately, and shouted and said, "Who are you? Why do you cut my wheat? I will come and eat the heads of all three of you!"

Said Hasanek to his brothers, "Do not be frightened, there is a Dev; he is coming towards us, saying, 'Who are you, and why do you cut my wheat?' Do not speak either of you, but let me answer the Dev."

[1] Incorrectly translated by the late Mr. Geldart as "dragon." See vol. i. p. 355, *note*, and compare Dozon, *Chants Pop. Bulgares*, No. 8.

[2] Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, p. 49.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

eldest daughter of the Dev to his brother Shaban, and 539
the second to his brother Qasim, and they all three settled down and lived in peace ever after.[1]

The following pathetic little story recalls Grimm's 536
Brüderchen und Schwesterchen, and also the Epirote 171
Greek folk-tale of Ἀστρονὸς καὶ τὸ Πουλιῶ ("Starbright and Birdie"), although in the Kūrdish version the cannibalistic element is absent.

The Legend of the Owl (Gō'in).[2]

Once upon a time, there lived a man and his wife, 539
who had one son and one daughter. The wife died, and the man soon after married another. After two years had passed, and the second wife had a daughter of her own, she began to hate the children of the first wife.

The girl used to go out to tend the cattle. One evening when she returned home she missed her brother, and asked her stepmother where he was.

The woman replied, "Thy brother has gone to his uncle's house."

The girl went to sleep, and in her dream she saw that her brother had been killed and his body thrown into a pit. In the morning she rose and said to her father,

"Father, I dreamt last night that thy wife killed my brother, and threw his body into a pit. I will now go out with the cattle, and if I find my brother

[1] The story does not say what became of the Dev's wife, but most probably the Dev had killed her when he went home in a rage.

[2] Lerch, *Forschungen, &c.*, p. 80.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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him to the grave and buried him. He then returned 539
home, cut off the head of his wife, and threw her into a pit.

The murdered boy's sister came home in the evening. When she saw neither her brother nor her stepmother, she asked, "Father, where is thy wife?"

"I know not," he replied, "but thy brother is dead."

When the maiden heard this she wept, and went away. Going down to the brook side, she bathed and prayed twice.

"Oh, Allah! Change me into an owl!"

And she was at once transformed into that sad bird. She flew up and away and was seen there no more.

The following story will recall at once the wide- 538
spread nursery tale of "Puss in Boots. As in the 171
Sicilian version of this story, mentioned by Mr. Lang,[1] the Fox, from motives of gratitude, undertakes to make the Miller's fortune, but his endeavours are defeated by the cowardice of the pretended "Temtequ Pasha."

How the Fox Wooed for the Miller the Daughter of the Pasha of Egypt.[2]

There once lived a Miller in a certain country, and 539
plenty of grist came to his mill. One evening he stopped the mill, went into his house, and slept. In the morning, on going again into the mill, he found the trough empty. So on the following night, instead of sleeping, he kept watch, and about midnight

[1] *Perrault's Tales.* Introduction, p. lxxiii.
[2] Lerch, *Forschungen, &c.*, p. 83.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Pasha said, "Go, bring him in." 539

So the Fox brought in the Miller's body, washed it, and buried it.

The following fable is precisely similar in its commencement to the familiar one of "The Fox and the Stork." The incident of the Mollah's fur pelisse is, however, quite an Oriental feature, and the final catastrophe is familiar to me as occurring in another Eastern story, the nationality of which I do not, unfortunately, remember. 538 171

The Fox, the Eagle, and the Wolf.[1]

Once upon a time a Fox and an Eagle lived on brotherly terms. One day the Fox said to the Eagle, "I will prepare a feast for you." 539

So the Eagle went to the house of the Fox, whom he found preparing the meal. When it was ready, the Fox placed the meat on a shallow dish, and invited the Eagle to fall to, saying, "Brother, eat!" But, peck at the dish as he would, the Eagle could not secure a morsel, while his host ate with ease.

Then said the Eagle to the Fox, "Come with me; get on my back, and I will take you to my house."

So the Fox got on the Eagle's back, and the Eagle rose high into the air. Presently he saw a Mollah kneeling on his fur-lined pelisse, at his prayers, and threw the Fox down upon him. The Mollah, terrified, ran off, leaving his pelisse, which the Fox promptly put on, and went his way.

[1] Lerch, *Forschungen, &c.*, p. 46.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of his hole, he looks about for the Wolf, but, not 539
seeing him, he ventures forth, and seizes the gourd, which he ties to his tail. By-and-by he goes to the fountain, and, his tail hanging over the side, the gourd falls into the water, and the Fox, in his efforts to pull it out again, tumbles in himself.

The transcriber of the next story, M. Jaba, suggests 538
that "Sāri-Salté" must have been an old Crusader, who 171
knew of the existence of the treasure, and had come from Europe, disguised as a dervish, to secure it. I venture, however, to think it much more probable that he was the famous warrior-monk, Sāri-Saltík, one of the Moslem "Saints" who took part in the Ottoman Conquest, and of whom many extraordinary legends are related by the Turks.[1]

The Armenian and the Dervish.[2]

An Armenian named Sātir once lived in the town 539
of Begirīv, which is situated in one of the *kazas* 286
(districts) of Van. One day a wandering dervish was passing through the town, and received hospitality in the house of this Armenian. By the will of Allah, this dervish, whose name was Sāri-Salté, fell sick, and remained a long time confined to his bed in the house of his host, who, with his wife and all the people of his household, took the greatest care of him. Every possible attention was paid to the dervish Sāri-Salté.

[1] Some of these legends are to be found in the *Narrative* of Evliya Effendi, published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Among other feats the saint destroyed a seven-headed monster, and delivered a king's daughter whom he was about to devour. He is said to have travelled about from country to country, borne over the sea on his dervish's sheepskin mat.

[2] *Recueil de Notices et Recits Kourdes*, p. 94.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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538 altering it in any way. The incidents it describes are
114 totally unlike those of Kürdish stories generally, and are probably derived from real occurrences, but belonging to a date far anterior to that assigned by the story-
[17h] teller, who, with the supreme disregard for accuracy manifested by persons of his calling in the East, would refer any remarkable story to the immediate ancestors of the favourite Kürdish hero, Suleiman Baba, if he could not refer them to the hero himself without being convicted of a too glaring anachronism. It may possibly be a survival of some story of chivalry belonging to the crusading age of Saladin, whom the Kürds declare to have been a prince of their race.

A parallel to this legend may also be found in the
[17i] Greek folk-tale of Ἡ βασίλισσα ποὺ πάγαινε στὸν πόλεμο, "The Princess who went to the War."[1]

The Maiden Champion.

539 There lived once in Durishmana two brothers, Fakih Ahmed and Khidder, who had suffered much from the hostility of the Dullassis, the most powerful people of Pishder. Fakih Ahmed, who was of a bold and proud spirit, quitted his village in disgust, swearing never to return to it unless he should be in a position to avenge himself. He went to Constantinople, and entered the service of the Sultan.

It so happened that the Sultan was at that time at war with the English (or Franks). In those days battles were generally decided by single combat. A champion had come forth from the Frankish host

[1] Von Hahn, Griechische Märchen, p. 37; and Absolon, i. p. 114.

bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
of the government elite, not those of the town, but others
encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
can break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
the official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
commoners or aristocrats of Rowandus, that alcoholism and [565]
suicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowandus at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowandus is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowandus, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowandus district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1906.

It is believed that the displacement of the town's population during the first World War has acted to eliminate or submerge local differences which might once have been more striking. At the same time, however, the town, like the great city, levels off the divergent customs, such as that of tattooing, of the persons who migrate there from the countryside. 171 164

could scarcely support itself by robbery alone. It is interesting that the Arab Bedouins, among whom the vendetta and brigandage are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Bedouin, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticized rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of Medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been moulded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is mute testimony to the character of Islam and to the force of its protagonists in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11
Jordan MG1

FaBrDa	Total marriages within clans	Between unrelated co-villagers	With strangers	Total
35 13.3%	89 33.7%	62 23%	113 42.8%	264

There is some suggestion that clan endogamy has similar factional implications in this situation as lineage segment endogamy has in the Kurdish system, but that the emphasis centers on the opposition between co-resident clans—witness the discrepancy between 33 percent marriages within own clan vs. 23 percent with unrelated co-villager, in a village where four major and six smaller clans co-reside. Yet Granqvist prefers the standard explanation: " . . . marriage with the father's brother's son is preferred to any other marriage in order to prevent a stranger taking possession of the property and inheritance of the family."[12] This even though her argument is further weakened by the fact that her villagers do not observe the proper Koranic rule[13] of giving both male and female relatives of the same degree a share of inheritance, in the proportion 2:1— " . . . even if it be seldom that a man die without leaving any sons, yet the possibility affects it so far as to allow marriage between the children of brothers to appear specially desirable."[14]

Chapple and Coon offer a theoretical analysis of parallel cousin marriage, with special reference to the Bedouin[15] which, if I have understood their argument correctly, emphasizes the incompatibility of a subordinate son-in-law relation to a non-relative with a system of strong political and economic identification with the lineage segment—in this case seen as composed of father, son, and father's brother. This incompatibility is then resolved by a pattern of establishing the son-in-law relationship with the father's brother, through marriage with a father's brother's daughter. This appears as a rather round-about way of attacking the problem from the point of view developed here; but their discussion indicates that the present viewpoints are not inapplicable to this marriage pattern among the Bedouin.

The points of view expressed above might be summarized briefly. As contrasted to most African systems, marriage patterns among the Moslem peoples of the Middle East are liberated from their role in expressing the relations between segments of a larger lineage system. The potential relevance of these patterns to social structure may then theoretically be utilized in various ways.

12 *Idem*, p. 78, where further references to this view are given.
13 A. S. Tritton, *Islam, Belief and Practices* (London, 1951), p. 66.
14 Granqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
15 E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York, 1942), pp. 305-306.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

In many areas of the Middle East, a pattern of close family endogamy and preferential father's brother's daughter marriage has been assumed to be associated with a desire to maintain family property in the face of Koranic rules of inheritance. The apparently exceptionally high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage among the Kurdish tribes with lineage organization, and possibly among other groups with a similar organization, requires separate explanation. The thesis of this short discussion has been that such a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage plays a prominent role in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle. Marriages of this type thus serve to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system, *not*, as in most African systems, relative to the relations between whole lineages, but here, on the contrary, relative to the first potential lines of fusion and segmentation within the minimal lineage itself.

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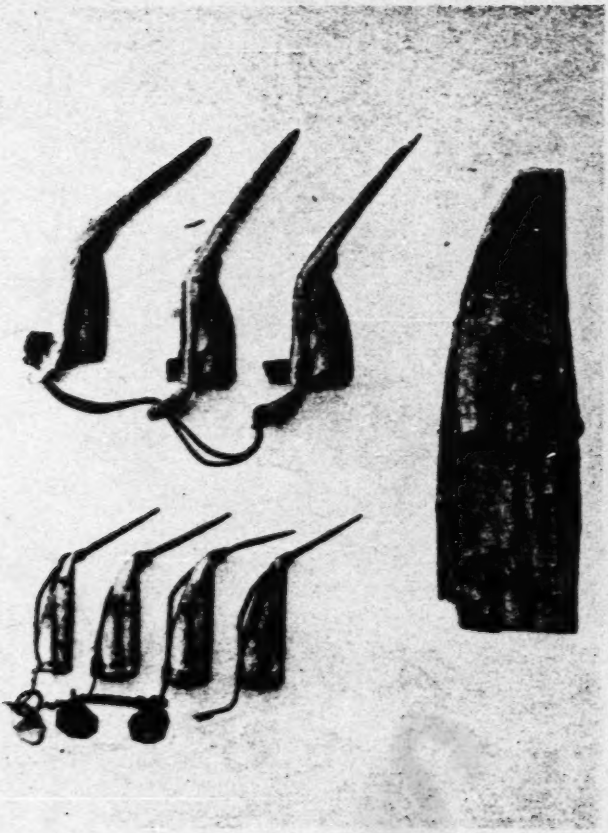

Fig. 9. Harvest claws from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark. Above, Turkish bone claws (M. 566). Below, Kurdish metal claws (E. 2242). To the right, a curved wooden board with rooms for three fingers; from the Luristan, Iran. (E. 527).

243 water from the clay roof of the house after rain. Threshing at the open threshing floors takes place from July to October[41]. It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the flatly-heaped corn[42] three to seven domestic animals, such as donkeys, cows, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was seen used up in the mountains and on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

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it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Feilberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifūr, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandū* or *amār*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jūt*, has a plough-share, *gāzin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kurjār*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Werth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Werth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

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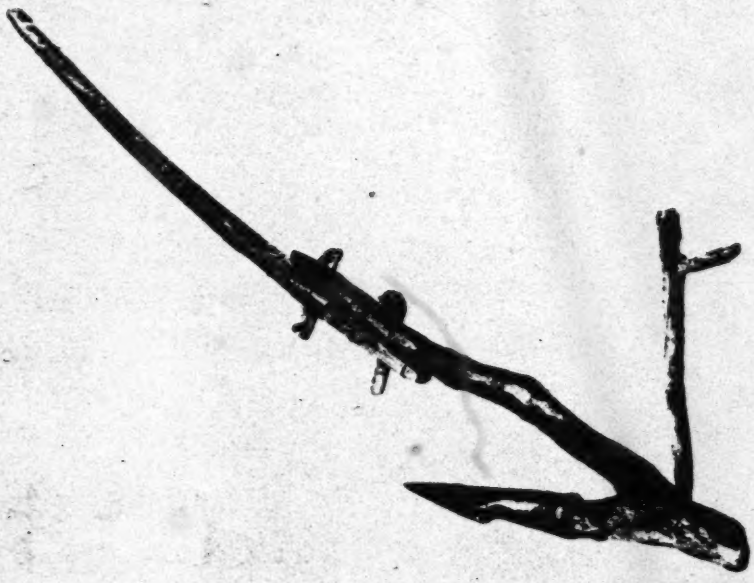

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Topzawa. Sole and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2240).

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is also stressed by Leach[60]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[61].

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The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-mouldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[62]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as is the case when transporting corn from the field to the home—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[63]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

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286 used with this type of weaving. The weft is beaten in with a hand-shaped iron comb fitted with a cylindrical wooden handle mounted at right angles, *kâlkit*[79].

[171] This vertical loom, known also from Armenia[80], is used for the making of the plain-woolle rugs that are used to cover the heaped bedclothes during the day. One such rug (E. 2253), measure 1.48 m. · 2.80 m., has a warp of sheep's wool, *xâri* (?), and a weft of goat's wool, *fôit*. This type o loom I only saw worked by women. So far as I could ascertain there is only one female weaver i each village. At Topzawa the loom was owned by a widow, who apparently possessed no family an [589] kept herself and her daughter by working the loom with the wool spun by the women of the village The loom in the twin village of Rakawa was worked by an elderly woman whose son, with whos she lived, was the village *muxtâr*.

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[171] The horizontal loom is a pit-treadle loom[81]. According to Ling Roth[82] it is the normal Hindu loom. Leach provides an excellently-drawn and thorough description of a loom of this kind in th Rowanduz district[83], though on a few points it differs from the example brought back from Tawell (E. 2249a–v). The loom type is a hand-treadle loom with finite warp. On being set up the floor form a horizontal plane through the loom's mechanism, as certain parts of the loom, such as the warp beam, the raddle-beam, a stand that swings back the sley-reed, and the cloth-beam rest on the ground whilst a pit under the loom houses the treadles and the weaver's legs which are thus below the surface of the floor. At the same time the heddle, counterheddle and sley reed hang from the ceiling over the loom. The cord that keeps the warp taut passes from the warp-beam, fastened to the floor, up to a hook in the ceiling. From there the cord runs down by the side, or rear, of the weaver where it is fastened so close to him that it easily can be loosened, thus prolonging the warp, as the work proceeds[84].

The individual parts of the loom are as follows: Nearest to the weaver is the square-sectioned cloth- or breast-beam, which, in an oblong groove, takes the approx. 0.43 m. long rod, hidden by the wound-up material, to which the warp is fastened. The cloth- or breast-beam, 0.735 m. in length, attached to a pair of small uprights, can be locked at each revolution. The suspended sley-reed can be swung towards the weaver. The sley[85] is a rectangular frame 0.89 m. × 0.29 m. that can be dismantled so that combs or reeds, *šâna*, of various degrees of fineness can be changed. The sley-reed is inserted between two split bamboo sticks, 0.595 m. long, connected with two forked uprights on an 0.83 m. long transverse stick, fastened to the ground, which serves to swing back the sley-reed when this is released by the weaver. The sley-reed is suspended from a rope 2.80 m. long that passes through a hook in the ceiling. The other end of the rope carries two pear-shaped pulley-blocks which again carry by a short rope the heddle and counter heddle, each consisting of two transverse sticks with threads between. In the middle of the heddles there is an eye through which passes the thread of the warp, which is led through a reed in the sley-reed, so that every other warp thread passes through an eye on the one shaft and every other one through an eye on the other. From the lowest transverse stick on the shafts hang two transverse wooden sticks round which leather straps are stretched which in turn carry the treadles, a pair of wooden blocks about 0.25 m. long connected by a transverse stick. By alternately depressing these treadles the warp is divided so that every other warp thread is raised

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the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with pulled sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dresses or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles: Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [77]

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, course silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 565 291 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 291 [513] [296] [171]

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The "Kurdish elements" of women's dress viewed in a larger context.

Area	Literature	Examples in the National Museum of Denmark	Trousers	Underskirt	Coat	Waistcoat	Jacket	Caftan	Belt	Headcloth	Veil
Egypt	Lane 1944, 42ff., 48ff.		+		+		+	+	+	+	
Arabia	Musil 1928, 122, 125				+		+		+		
	Dickson 1951, 154ff.	F. 543, 45–47 (Qatar)	+	+	+			+	+	+	
Syria and Palestine	Jouin 1934, 481ff., 501		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	Dalman 1937, figs. 42, 88, 89				+				+	+	
		F. 460a–h (Hama)	+	+	+		+		+		
		F. 453(Hama)			+						
Iraqi Kurdistan	Cf. Edmonds 1957, 87ff.	E. 2333–37, E. 2339–48	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Armenia	Bishop 1891, II, 242, 351		+	+			+	+			+
		M. 409a–d	+				+	+			+
Turkey	Pratzer 1936, 166ff.		+	+		+	+	+	+		
Turkish Kurds		M. 413a–d	+			+	+	+			
		M. 558a–c	+				+	+			
		M. 563a–f	+	+		+	+	+			+
Iran	Chardin 1711, IV, fig. facing p. 158, no. XXIII		+		+			+			
		E. 1474	+		+			+		+	
	Fowler 1841, I, 136. II, Title picture		+		+					+	
Iranian Kurds	Aristova 1958, fig. 1, 3, pag. 226, 235		+		+				+	+	
Bakhtiaris	Bishop 1891, II, 117		+		+						
Lurs	Feilberg 1952, 120ff., figs. 111, 112, 114	F. 346–51	+		+				+	+	

As appears from the table, where an attempt has been made to compare the main elements of Kurdish female costume with that of a similar nature in surrounding areas, the visible trousers of genuine Kurdish dress correspond to those worn in all adjacent territories. The same applies to the kirtle, with the exception of Turkey and Armenia. The long pointed sleeves characteristic of the Kurdish kirtle is paralleled by the costume worn by Arab bedouins and, particularly, in the Syrian-Palestinian dress, from which these sleeves can be presumed to have been derived. The waistcoat of Kurdish women is probably a loan from Turkish costume. The caftan is an accessory to female costume in all regions. The Kurdish tribes in Turkish and Armenian areas are influenced by the kirtle-less dress of

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Turkish women and the Armenian costume with apron, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most clearly paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1474). According to Bishop (1891, I, 216) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1800. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "ballet" skirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2235).

The Lurs in Iran, visited and described by Fellberg, have the same type of trousers-kirtel-caftan costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Fellberg 1952, 119, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Peasant women		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and caftan	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and brow cloth		×		×		(×)		×
III	Head cloth	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
IV	Sash or belt	(×)	(×)	(×)	(×)	×	×	(×)	(×)
V	Footwear	(×)	×			×	×	(×)	(×)
VI	Face veil *abd*	(×)	(×)	(×(	(×)	×	×	×	×
VII	Cotton material			×	×			×	×
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	×	×		(×)	×	×		
IX	Dress changes					×	×		
X	European garments					×	×		

×: The element appears constantly everywhere.
(×): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not constant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married woman in all environments. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married woman and constitutes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European frocks.

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Fig. 87. The stationary cradle: a box-shaped bed suspended from a frame. Sulaimani.
Fig. 88. The transportable cradle. A curtain is hung over the transverse beam. Topzawa.

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saw a cradle of this type in use at Balkha, near the Iranian border. On top of the vessel, under the mattress, was a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (E. 1968). This is used by the Uigurs, Ferghana[12]. A quite similar cradle from the Tartars of the Crimea is described and illustrated. This is fitted with a clay vessel and urine tube. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[13].

The two other patterns of cradles in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from its four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A rag is laid underneath the child which is taken up as soon as it wakes.

The stationary cradle is a hammock converted into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, box-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In the villages the box, which swings from side to side, contained straw, sacks or rags, in Sulaimani a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and cleaner children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress bed on the floor, just like an adult. A similar box-shaped bed (E. 773) has been brought back from Pushtu-speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan. It consists of a double wooden frame, 0.88 m. × 0.50 m. × 0.30 m. with base and sides of wickerwork and a coir rope for suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle in its Kurdish form is also found with the Ossetes[14] and Georgians[15] in the Caucasus. Plous[16] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia[17] and in Turkey[18]. Buschan mentions

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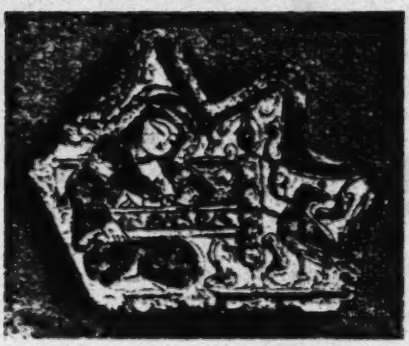

Fig. 89. Fragment of star-shaped tile painted in polychrome "Minai-ware". Found in Rayy. Early 13. century. (Ralph Pinder Wilson, Islamic Art, London 1957, fig. 28). Mother nursing child in a cradle like the Kurdish *byelka*.

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that they can be taken on horseback[19], a thing I also saw done by some passing nomads in Kurdistan. It is depicted by Bishop[20] as an Iranian-Bactrian cradle, and Ploss mentions its use in Iran[21]. Toy cradles made of clay and wood show that this type is also to be found with the Tajiks and Uzbeks[22]. It is met with in Bokhara[23], and the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition brought one back from Afghanistan (E. 1968). They are also in use with the Uigurs, Ferghana[24] and the Kirghiz[25].

Urine tubes of the Kurdish type have been brought back from Turkestan (Q. 72–73). The same type of tube is depicted by Le Coq[26]. Urine tubes (E. 2081–82) were brought back with the cradle from Afghanistan (E. 1968). Such "tubes à urine en bois et en os" are illustrated from Georgia by Pokrowski[27], are mentioned from Armenia by Virchow[28] and from the Crimea by Lorenz[29]. The Kirghiz[30] use them and make them out of the bones of sheep.

Ploss mentions Russian Armenia as the area in which this cradle type originated[31], though this can hardly be correct. It is more probable that its origin must be sought among peoples in Central Asia for whom its portability must have been a most important feature. In my opinion, the rockers are secondary, as with the Kirghiz that feature is lacking in this kind of cradle[32], and the heavy carrying pole, by which the cradle can be lifted, is primary. It is thus a form of portable cradle allied to the cradle trough characteristic of reindeer nomadism, extending from the Lapps in the west to the Indians of the North Pacific coast in the east[33], where it meets another pattern of carrying cradle, the cradle board, that is linked with the snowshoe culture widespread among Amerindians from the Algonkians in the north to the Araucanians in the south, with an offshoot to the Ainos in the northern islands of Japan[34]. Beside the cradle board, basin-shaped cradles of the "sitting type"[35] are found in northern California.

In north and central Asia there are also portable cradles with devices related to the urine tubes in the Kurdish *byelka*. Concerning the Ostyak Pokrowski says that in the oval, box-shaped, portable cradle made of pliable wooden or bark sheets, a box filled with sawdust is placed. If the child is a male, his penis is covered by a piece of bark designed to direct the flow of urine to the foot of the cradle, where it is quickly absorbed by the sawdust[36]. Similar pieces of bark form part of the

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equipment of a portable cradle brought back by Henning Haslund-Christensen from the Solon people in Manchuria[37]. With the Kalmuk a box-shaped cradle is used with a horizontal outlet tube "tsargo"[38] placed in the base. With the Yakut a cradle board on rockers, to which the child is fastened and which at the end is fitted with a tube intended to carry off the urine[39], a form of cradle the principle of which is clearly the same as that of the Kurdish *byeška*[40].

Parallels to the second type, the hammock cradle, consisting of a sack suspended from its four corners, seen in use in Balkha and Halabja, are found in Iran, made of leather with inserted poles[41]. It is also in use in Armenia. It is stated to be formed of a piece of material or garment hung temporarily in a field; this hammock type cradle is said to be more comfortable than the Armenian parallel to the Kurdish *byeška*, and is preferred when the child is ill[42]. In the Caucasus it is wrapped round with broad bands, so that the child is held fast[43], not lying free as in the Kurdish model. The Arab tribes in Syria have hammocks with transverse sticks inserted at both ends[44]. The Ruwalla bedouins in Arabia use as a hammock a shawl hung up in the tent[45]. In Yemen there are hammocks of precisely the same form as the Syrian for use in tents, whilst the leather portable cradle, also in use there, has a semi-circular piece of stiff leather inserted to keep the head of the cradle distended, and a carrying strap that draws the cradle together around the feet of the child[46]. Finally there is something between a hammock and a portable cradle in use among the Tuaregs west of the Niger. This type is produced like a vaulted wooden base with two circular pieces of wood inserted at each end of the cradle in which the child lies fastened[47]. It is hung up in the tent.

Whereas in Kurdistan I only saw a rag placed under the child in a hammock, it is said that Arab nomads in Syria use dried, crumbled camel dung to absorb urin and excrement[48]. With the Ruwalla bedouins the child is smeared or plastered with dry camel dung before being hung up in the tent in a shawl[49].

The third type of Kurdish cradle, the stationary, hanging cradle on a stand, is used in Iran[50]. An Indian cradle in the National Museum (D. 4176) consisting of a stand in which hung a frame, rec-

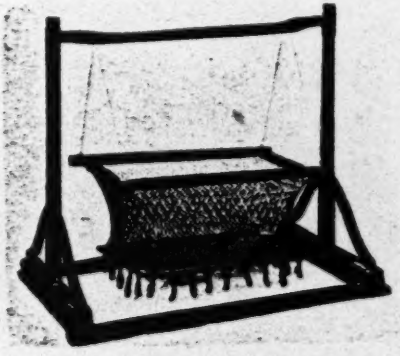

Fig. 90. Indian cradle (D. 4176) in the National Museum of Denmark evinces the same principles as the Kurdish stationary cradle, a box-shaped bed suspended from a wooden frame.

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tangular in form with a flat wooden base and trellised sides, so that a crate results[51], evinces the same principle as the Kurdish hanging cradle. In its simplest and most primitive form this stationary hanging cradle was brought back from the Lurs. It possesses features of both the transportable *byeška* and the stationary frame cradle. The Luristan cradle (E. 289) consists of a "rocking board" composed of two parallel pieces of bamboo to which the child must have been fastened in order to remain lying and particularly to retain the urine tube in position. The cradle has cords at each end and is suspended from a transverse pole resting on two forked sticks[52]. There are two examples of urine tubes, pipe-shaped for a male child (E. 291), and formed like an open canal for a female (E. 290). According to report they are not placed vertically as in the Kurdish *byeška*, but horizontally as in Kalmuk cradles.

[171]

Of the three types of cradles used in Kurdistan, all of which are also used in Iran, the portable one seems to be a nomadic element deriving from the nomad tribes of Central Asia, the hammock cradle seems to be an Iranian-Arab element, whilst the stationary hanging cradle in a frame points towards India.

854

In the Kurdish *byeška* the child was only kept in and fastened to it at night, and in the two other types of cradle only by day as long as it slept. The child awake was carried around by bigger sisters or lay in the arms of sitting women. Out in the villages one always saw the slightly larger girls with a smaller child on their backs. Even a sick child, in one case a very sick child, is considered better placed

Fig. 91. Mother and child. Evening in a home viewed through the eyes of a 13 years old boy. Sulaimani.

[532]

842 The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to
[595] neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[56], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[57],
[189] by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fasting ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

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304 *Circumcision*, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the
852 Coran. According to Juynboll[58] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Østrup[59], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

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852 *Naming ceremony*. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the
553 child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a *mulla*, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Havva (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'fer, Karim, Kemâl, Mahmud, Majid,*
[551] *Muhammad, Qâsim, Sa'id, Sardûr, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Afiya, Gulla, Maliha, Nâhid, Nâhila, Sahiha.*

551 In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[60]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifûr. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Sheikh Taifûr* and his brother, usually called "*Mâm(a)-Xâl(a)*", but whose real name was *Abdul Qâdir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert. There was also a third brother, *Kâkâ Rîzâ* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rîzâ*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Sheikh Taifûr was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardûr*. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[61] and Lees[62], both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[63] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[64]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[65].

[[11] Additions like those, used in Arabia and Iran:[66] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

551 Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame
561 Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[67]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Sheikh Taifûr's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Maliha Khan.

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858 *The Kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows
184 no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

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584 369 family select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[92], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

[671] The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have as *wali* the right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[93].

562 584 In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities persisted in holding out as a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. Whilst in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

582 In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[94]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Halabja I lived in a home where the then 25 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 25[95]. Her first child was born 6–7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around

[221] Tawella, to which many families moved out for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, that, failing the protection afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11–12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6–7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour expected of her in her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what

[171] Kaberry[96] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9–11 is fully trained in the pattern of behaviour expected of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her wifely duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

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585 *The marriage contract.* A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

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585 114 581 071 the deed is drawn up at the judge's residence and not in a mosque, which is a place of prayer and not (like Christian churches) a form of registration office. The same view is to be found in Blackman[106], who says that among Muslims no religious ceremony takes place—marriage is not a sacrament. Levy also states that "in Islām marriage is a secular contract and not a religious rite"[107]. This is not in accord with Kurdish conditions. That the drawing up of a marriage settlement here seems to be covered by religious precepts seems to be indicated by, for example, the presence of the *mulla*. According to Juynboll[108] matrimonial law and the rights of inheritance are generally considered more or less connected with religion, and within the dual legal system, spiritual and temporal, matrimonial and family rights fall to the spiritual judge. Islam is more than a religion, it is a whole system comprising all aspects of human life[109]. It would be highly remarkable if the drawing up of the marriage settlement should be a temporal act in view of the fact that the justification for the paying of a bride price is found in the Corsn[110]. Rather can it be said that the drawing up of a marriage settlement within the *shāfi'i* rite of Islām, which the Kurds follow, is an act connected with religion. What on the other hand is distinct from the drawing up of the marriage settlement is the consummation of the marriage, which failing a better expression, what can be termed "the wedding". It has nothing to do either with the secular or spiritual authorities, being a purely private affair that sooner or later, often years after the drawing up of the marriage settlement, takes place in the form of a family festival with friends. This occasion, as opposed to the drawing up of the marriage settlement, can be said to be a secular, and particularly a quite private, action.

581 771

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584 369 *The social intercourse of engaged couples* in the event of prospective spouses knowing each other.

In the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani I met one example of a couple who knew each other before marriage and had themselves chosen each other. This, of course, is the exception and was due entirely to their milieu.

The girl in the case was the 23 year old sister of my interpreter. Both she and the young man in question were primary schoolteachers who had met as colleagues and fallen in love. When the young man realised his interest in the girl he had applied to my interpreter, also a schoolteacher, as his family lived outside in one of the village areas from which no woman, mother or sister, was able to act as go-between. He told her that "he would like to be admitted to her family", and asked if she would act as his advocate and place the matter before her father. This had been done and the marriage settlement had been drawn up a year before my stay in Kurdistan. The wedding festival was imminent and took place whilst I lived with the family. In the months prior to the wedding I was able to study the pattern of behaviour applying to former colleagues now engaged, and the position of the prospective groom in the family he was to enter.

By the marriage settlement the young man became a member of the family to such an extent that he was able, with her 13 year old half-brother, to accompany my interpreter to the village of Topzawa where she was to live with me in the sheikh's house. The night he spent there in order to act as an important escort and to investigate whether conditions there were sufficiently re-assuring, he was able to sleep in the same room as her half-brother and herself. My interpreter explained that she might

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With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[131], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[132]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[133]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semicircle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[134]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[135] and from the Bakhtiari[136], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in this group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth stuck up under his waistband. The drum[137] hung on a cord round the druminer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[138] had a funnel-shaped head, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topzawa one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventeen tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

The wedding

Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new house with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Jabbūnah, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[48]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was partaken of by the women. This was carried in, on large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women gathered.

The women's rôle in the village milieu thus comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the house and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the fowl released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let it loose. In this connection it may be of interest that Granqvist reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[49] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's house.

Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, jinns and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[50]. In regard to Islamized Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Kruhe calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the preceremony measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grunzel, Kruhe writes: "Es handelt sich sich darauf vor den Hausdämon, die Furcht, davon Sippenkultverband ausschliessen sind in einen sorgen, den der Sippe den Hausen, entzunehmen"[51]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[52]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe his heavy stick.

The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost seriousness, an act that in the regard of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull but which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Kruhe's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the road's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Granqvist refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the head which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Granqvist quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolic act that are to secure

the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured bridegroom, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the women gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the seams of white cotton material that comprised the sexual, detachable, bridal shoes would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride shoes would be washed and included in the household linen.

In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting women, who roughly drive the bride's genital opening to widen to obtain as clear a stain on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a married bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

Hajo[1] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman .... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's whole or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[2] says that it was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une pratique contraire à notre but le fit des nouveaux mariés en Orge blanc ("cyrnik"), qu'on remarque souvent aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

The use of the bridal sheet with the broken Lore is mentioned by Fahlbeck[3]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not prove the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[4], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "..... the man being clandestine enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to rub the bed linen ....". To this can be put Shomier's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1703: that it is custom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "dans ces climats Eloignés"[5].

Polygamy and divorce. According to the Canon, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[6], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[7].

The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing policy "I renounce thee" or, better, "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the 'iddah-period[8] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[9]. By policy a man can revise divorce himself from his wife but, should he repeat his act, can without further

DEATH

Hospitals, naturally, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabja and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[757]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Tuganwa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous embraced by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[758], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, re-appearing later in the evening. During the influenzan epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[759]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resulting in wie-shaped limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Serkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Tuganwa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. Three letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[760].

Whether the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the home.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirin Rostam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was lent out for three days to the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this large wet table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unwove costume and wrapped in the ceremonial, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[761]. The same type is found in Arabia[762] and Egypt[763].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

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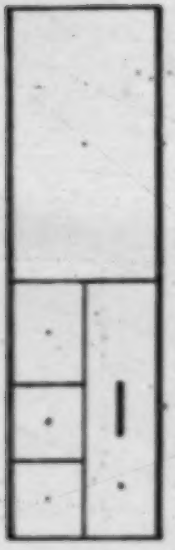

Fig. 94. Diagram. Ceremonies made out of one length of material: a: the outer wrapping; b: the unsewn shirt; c–d: the two head coverings; e: washing gloves; f: selvedges used for binding.

blessing given to the dead in accordance with Allāh's rite[194]. Thereafter, still only accompanied by men[195], the little girl was borne out to the burial ground, a bare hill outside Sakāwand.

In addition to the lament for the dead, another heathen feature was retained at this funeral. Whilst the child was being dressed in the poncho and swathed in the ceremonies and prayer rug, which in this case acted as bier, a fowl was caught in the yard. It seemed to me it was a cock, but I may have been mistaken and it was a large hen. Blackman[196] relates concerning the *fellāhīn* in Egypt that: "when a child dies, a hen is killed ....". The bird was decapitated, and it was said that the head was to be buried with the dead child in order to avert further deaths in the family, where, a fortnight earlier, the child's maternal uncle had died, for which reason the women in the house were wearing black and white chequered material in their costumes as a sign of mourning.

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966 The little boy died in my interpreter's house in Sakāwand between night and morning. He was immediately taken out of his cradle and placed on a mattress in the courtyard covered by his mother's black *abā*. The cradle was at once stowed away on a pile of firewood that bounded the cookhouse on the courtyard side. Despite the early hour a man was sent to the *bāzār* for some white cotton material for ceremonies. It was said that in cases of death the owner of the booth can be called out even in the middle of the night, as it is essential that new, unwashed and unused material is used for the ceremonies. As the child was a boy, the washing had to be performed by a man—in this case a mullā

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

summoned from the mosque. He was assisted by the child's maternal uncle, *xal*. The washing was done, as had been the case with the little girl, unseen by the mother and close female relatives. In this house it was performed in the bath room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the antechamber of the room on a bench there. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ceruments and washing glove was torn into pieces by a man, the uncle, though the washing glove was also here sewn by one of the women (half-sister of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other woman of the house broke into lamentation, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child glided out of its mother's world from the moment the corpse washer had lifted it up and carried it into the bathroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped, as the little girl had been, in a prayer rug outside the ceruments. In the grave the body lies on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mekka. The dead are covered with stones, and then with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs—one at the head and one at the feet[191]—are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and provincial towns were, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1894 Ehtrup[192] stressed the great difference between the dreary, naked burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab stones, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in respect of the children's deaths. After that the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning meal for friends and acquaintances referred to by Juynboll[193], customary in Islamic areas, was not given in the case of the two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and the only thing obtainable was bread and water melon. Nikitine mentions that among Kurds a special pastry[194] was issued three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death visits of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bathroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the cinema is not visited and picnics are not attended. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for two to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in cases of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man at Topzawa the day before a triple wedding resulted in the men's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq: They take place immediately after death. No death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The ceruments must be of new, white cotton material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the *sûq*, the owner of the booth being summoned for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men; in both

778 nerated ... the credulous ... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "être sans couture" is mentioned by Masuḥ[42].

789 778 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[43] writes: "... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Feilberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

[191] There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunsell[44], Østrup[45], Feilberg[46] and Soane[47], Østrup[48], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

755 782 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-cut leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

[369] [189] [565]

[illegible]	[illegible] village	[illegible] Village	[illegible] town	[illegible] town
Visible amulets	+	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy hand	+	+		
Saints' grave			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

turban, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured head veil. Nikitine refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil cast over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le visage de la fiancée est couvert avec une mouchoir rouge pour que ... les jours de sa vie familiale qui commencera soient rouges (c'est-à-dire heureux)"[6]. Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as is also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it must not be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[7], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that reach up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Granqvist in the case of Palestinian Arabs[8]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sash, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a caftan hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the ochre-coloured veil was used in the other feminine milieus.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent red-ochre "bridal" veil, used in the humble village milieu, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the escorting cars were closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[9].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's car is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficiency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil seen in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the woman's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an appurtenant over-garment, the Arab *abā* worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Bosnia in 1938 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the over-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognised by it[10].

Sure 24, verses 30-31[11] of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Topzawa this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sargalu and Serkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind *mulla*[16], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Halabja's first lady, Lady Adela, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my house is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[17]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellahin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womanfolk"[18]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[19] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Muhammadan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1956.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate how a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dokan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit ... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there ... it is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[29] says of the Egyptian *fellahin* woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practise they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands ... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of culture elements inside the four milieus.

Culture elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and *abd*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

198 271 562 particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 148). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dramatics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyer band system outside the home, religion- and the peace of mind that goes with it—will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

562 171 If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the woman's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children— there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even to-day in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[43], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

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583 562 114 The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—in this case in Egypt—is stressed by Granqvist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the *fellāhīn* women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

but respect. This and the above use of *nanna* is however in no real sense of the term a classificatory usage, any more than is 'sis' in colloquial American or *farbror* in Swedish, the latter having connotations very parallel to *mam*. As a potential father-in-law, ones *mam* is an important relative, and a friendly relationship will secure one's right to his daughter and release from brideprice obligations.

An interesting contrast to Kurdish intimacy with FaBr and his descendants is evident from Afghan usage, where the word for MoBr.'s children is synonymous with friends and FaBr.'s children with enemies, this in spite of a probably otherwise similar social structure.[1]) The general explanation for such strained relations with FaBr.'s relatives lies in the potential conflict connected with inheritance, where MoBr.'s children are less important as competitors. The prevalence of FaBrDa marriage in Kurdish villages undoubtedly serves to gloss over these tensions.

Affinal relations are, as far as the male is concerned, of secondary importance, and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult brother and adult sister suffice. The woman, except for these terms, adopts the kinship designations of her husband, usually with the given name of the person appended. Children are called by their given names. — The general nature of in-law relationships is indicated by the proverb: *Khoda bida mergim, zawa neka bergim* = God let me die, rather than be dependent on son-in-law (or brother-in-law).

Certain affinal relations are designated by suffixing *-zbin* (woman) to the term for their agnatically related husband. The resulting terms, *amoxbin* (= wife-of-FaBr) etc., seem to be used as actual kinship terms. The parallel usage of 'husband-of-so-and-so' is purely descriptive and does not constitute a term in itself. Son's wife is called «bride» and husband of sister and daughter is called «groom».

A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms, totalling only twelve. The group of relatives covered by these terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents

[1]) I am indebted to Prof. Morgenstierne for drawing my attention to this contrast.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Unless a certain sum of money is paid, all young male citizens of Iraq are liable to two years of military training and service. This is much resented by most villagers, and they attempt to avoid being called up. According to the *Meskjin*, the Hamawands have an arrangement with the police whereby they give the names of all *Meskjin* men in the two village who are liable for such service, in return for being left in peace themselves. Thus, it is said, the fighting strength of the *Meskjin* is constantly kept down.

The *Meskjin*, on the other hand, are accused of manipulating the religious brotherhood of Derwishes for political purpose, so as to organize all the *Meskjin* of the neighboring villages in a movement of resistance. To counteract this influence, the Hamawand *Agha* is at pains to expose the derwishes as fraudulent, and attempts to enhace the position of the local mullah, the recognized leader of the local mosque. — The final verdict, however, rests with the Land Settlement Comission, an institution the integrity of which few persons choose to question.

The rigidity of the Kurdish tribal system is here clearly illustrated, and might profitably be contrasted to that of the Nuer, as described by Evans-Pritchard (1940). The Nuer have, in spite of extensive conquests and various vicissitudes, retained a system of patrilineal *exo*gamous lineages as the basis of their political organization. These lineages however are *not* corporate localized groups, but are conceptually identified with certain areas, where they tend to form the organizing core of the local villages. Through a system of adoption of conquered Dinka tribesmen to specific lineages, and by reckoning descent through females, a larger community is built around this core, based on «sociological» kinship. Among the Kurds, on the other hand, the general practice of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy makes any initial *rapprochement* impossible between conqueror and conquered, and encourages caste separation. Furthermore, kinship through female links is given no political recognition. The principle of «sociological» kinship is unfamiliar and would be in conflict with Islamic doctrine — the kinship terminology describes actual, genealogical distance, and practices of adoption into lineages would be unacceptable. The only way two groups could fuse in the

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter VIII.

Conclusion

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The types of Kurdish social organization described above seem, even apart from their local cultural dress, somewhat different from those usually reported by anthropologists. Especially the combination in the «tribal» organization of a lineage system, close family endogamy, and a kinship terminology without unilineal emphasis poses some interesting problems.

It has been suggested (e. g. Murdock 1949, p. 234) that this Kurdish situation reflects the breakdown of a previous organization based on exogamous sib groups, following the introduction of Islam, with the Koranic permission, or even encouragement, to marry close kin. Clearly, this explanation is not sufficient, considering how fundamental the pattern seems in the Kurdish tribal organization, and the unusually high incidence of FaBrDa marriage as compared to other Moslem communities.

As far as the historical and comparative material goes, there is little reason to believe that the tendency towards close family endogamy is an Islamic innovation in the area. In appraising the historical material, it is important, as Luzbetak (1951) emphasizes, to distinguish between (a) classical centers of endogamy with examples of brother-sister marriage in royal lineages (Egypt, Sumer, Elam, Arabia, Persia), connected with a tremendous elaboration and emphasis on hereditary prestige, and (b) areas where close family endogamy was a basic feature of the social organization, and operated

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

on a village level. Eliminating the cases of type (a), there is still ample evidence of endogamous patterns of non-Islamic or pre-Islamic origin, especially in the Caucasus-Armenian area, of which the Kurdish mountains are geographically an extension. The customary law of Daghestan prescribes close kin marriage, and explicitly forbids the marriage with an outsider (ibid). The early ecclasiastical laws of Armenia attack next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence (ibid, p. 54), and such practices caused great concern among the early Christian missionaries, till they were eventually rooted out. Thus, rather than regard the Kurdish combination of patterns as a labile state produced by cross-cultural mixture, it would seem reasonable to grant the Kurdish «tribal» organization considerable antiquity as a stable variant or *type* of lineage organization, of some theoretical interest.

On a structural level, it can be argued that a pattern of FaBrDa marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system. Solidarity to the patrilineal descent group in abstracto is minimal. Close family endogamy results in a direct correspondance between lineage segments and local groups, giving the descent groups a clear territorial framework in which the lineage organization can function. On the individual level, a man's political position and power depends in the last instance on the number of riflemen he can muster. However, only co-lineage males can be expected to give such political support. A pattern of FaBrDa marriage contributes to prevent alienation of immediate collateral lines, and re-affirms the old man's leading position in relation to his agnatic nephews, thereby vesting him with control over a larger agnatic group of males.

Where the lineage is found in other areas as a corporate group, it is usually connected with a kinship terminology of the «lineage» type, which, through unilineal emphasis and classificatory extensions contributes in defining and delimiting these corporate groups. Kurdish kinship terms, on the other hand, are purely «descriptive» in that they measure geneological distance between near kin. Nor do they show any unilineal emphasis. In other words, they do not contribute in any way to the definition of unilineal corporate groups. However, when this terminology is seen in combination with the

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 1

Introductory

121 The following account is based upon a five weeks field survey carried out during the summer of 1938. It was intended to follow this up with an intensive study of one locality over a period of twelve months. Political developments in Europe made this project impracticable at the time and the scheme has now been abandoned.

For the facilities afforded me in Iraq I am particularly indebted to Mr.C.J.Edmonds, Adviser to the Iraq Government, Captain Vyvyan Holt, Oriental Secretary at the British Embassy Baghdad, and His Excellency Ahmad Beg i Tawfiq Beg, Mutasarrif of Erbil, in whose province this research was carried out.

The justification for publishing the somewhat superficial data contained in this monograph lies in the absence of any strictly comparable material elsewhere. The general form of Kurdish social organisation as here described is probably fairly typical of that of a large number of Mohammedan peoples scattered throughout the mountainous areas of western Asia. Concerning such peoples there is at present available very little ethnographic material of any kind and the postulate that the Kurdish form of society is typical is put forward as an hypothesis open to correction in the light of further study.

121 Of more immediate relevance is the close correlation that undoubtedly exists between Kurdish social forms and those of Arabia in
• 171 general. This fact is of interest since linguistically the Kurds are of "aryan" rather than "semitic" stock. Concerning the "manners and customs" of various Bedouin and Semitic groups there is of course an enormous mass of literature available, some of it of the highest scientific quality, but the emphasis in every case has been to make an historical record of ethnographic fact rather than to study any particular group as a society in functioning existence at the present
114 time. The work of Jaussen, Musil, Lane, Drower and Murray to name but
113 a few, though admirably detailed, is by modern standards somewhat lifeless, since it describes the pattern of various cultural norms without, as a rule, showing their social significance or demonstrating the fundamental interrelationship between them. The earlier studies of Robertson-Smith, Frazer and Westermarck were entirely synthetic in character and gave no true picture of the functioning of any single

* A. Jaussen - Les Coutumes des Arabs au Pays de Moab
A. Musil - Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins
E.W.Lane - Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians
E.S.Drower - The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran
G.W.Murray - Sons of Ishmael

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 89. Fragment of star-shaped tile painted in polychrome "Minai-ware". Found in Rayy. Early 13. century. (Ralph Pinder Wilson, Islamic Art, London 1957, fig. 28). Mother nursing child in a cradle like the Kurdish *byeška*.

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171

that they can be taken on horseback[19], a thing I also saw done by some passing nomads in Kurdistan. It is depicted by Bishop[20] as an Iranian-Bactrian cradle, and Ploss mentions its use in Iran[21]. Toy cradles made of clay and wood show that this type is also to be found with the Tajiks and Uzbeks[22]. It is met with in Bokhara[23], and the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition brought one back from Afghanistan (E. 1968). They are also in use with the Uigurs, Ferghana[24] and the Kirghiz[25].

Urine tubes of the Kurdish type have been brought back from Turkestan (Q. 72–73). The same type of tube is depicted by Le Coq[26]. Urine tubes (E. 2081–82) were brought back with the cradle from Afghanistan (E. 1968). Such "tubes à urine en bois et en os" are illustrated from Georgia by Pokrowski[27], are mentioned from Armenia by Virchow[28] and from the Crimea by Lorenz[29]. The Kirghiz[30] use them and make them out of the bones of sheep.

Ploss mentions Russian Armenia as the area in which this cradle type originated[31], though this can hardly be correct. It is more probable that its origin must be sought among peoples in Central Asia for whom its portability must have been a most important feature. In my opinion, the rockers are secondary, as with the Kirghiz that feature is lacking in this kind of cradle[32], and the heavy carrying pole, by which the cradle can be lifted, is primary. It is thus a form of portable cradle allied to the cradle trough characteristic of reindeer nomadism, extending from the Lapps in the west to the Indians of the North Pacific coast in the east[33], where it meets another pattern of carrying cradle, the cradle board, that is linked with the snowshoe culture widespread among Amerindians from the Algonkians in the north to the Araucanians in the south, with an offshoot to the Ainos in the northern islands of Japan[34]. Beside the cradle board, basin-shaped cradles of the "sitting type"[35] are found in northern California.

In north and central Asia there are also portable cradles with devices related to the urine tubes in the Kurdish *byeška*. Concerning the Ostyak Pokrowski says that in the oval, box-shaped, portable cradle made of pliable wooden or bark sheets, a box filled with sawdust is placed. If the child is a male, his penis is covered by a piece of bark designed to direct the flow of urine to the foot of the cradle, where it is quickly absorbed by the sawdust[36]. Similar pieces of bark form part of the

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

563 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A.[1] Despite special pleading by Wigram and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Batas, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 We distinguish area B therefore by the mildness of its climate; its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as now existing.

[102] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and scorched cinder dry for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillsman. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years.
172 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the
162 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi-
563 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds
174 with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to May (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Dizai tribe. The evidence for this
101 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts,
184 the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this must be a very recent development but similar conditions are described by May writing in 1920.

1 [See map, cat. 116, p. 71 -- Analyst].

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

182 164 181 cheeked, hardy, lithe and active little creatures, and the young women—in the Taurus especially—are said to be models of physical beauty. Mr. Millingen gives the following glowing description of one among the many handsome girls he saw during his residence among these freebooting highlanders: "Her complexion gave me an idea of what must have been the bloom of the forbidden apple of the terrestrial Paradise. Her eyes, of a dark chestnut, shone like brilliants through the veil of her thick, long eyelashes, while nose and mouth were perfect in their delicacy of shape. Though the garments she wore were not of a superior sort, yet through their folds her graceful form could be detected. But what above all contributed to make her really charming was the calm, simple, and, so to say, infantine air which distinguished her countenance and the whole of her demeanour."[1]

●173 Some Kūrdish families in Boktan and Hakkari claim descent from the Ommeyīde Khalifs, and some travellers are of opinion that the tribe of the Rowadi, to which Saladin belonged, may possibly be the same as the modern Revendi, or Rewendi. The chiefs of the Bebbeh clan confidently affirm that they have in their veins English blood from an ancestress called Keighan, the legend concerning whom will be found in a subsequent chapter.[2] Less mythical, perhaps, is the story of the company belonging to the Second Crusade (1147-49), who wandered in a north-easterly direction from Syria, and not being

[1] *Wild Life among the Kúrds.*
[2] See p. 174.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kûrdistan.[1] 175

The two above described classes of Kûrds are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Reyahs*). 565

The peasant Kûrds are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom ten thousand are nomad, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages. All these warrior Kûrds are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *ashiré* (great tribes), *qushlé* (medium tribes), and *tháifé* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *qushlé* and *tháifé*, or merely into *tháifé*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *ashiré* are called isolated *tháifé*. 563 [62] 616

The tribes, or clans, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it. In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised. Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people. The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voices of the 616 621 622

[1] Binder, *Au Kurdistan, en Mésopotamie, &c.*, p. 120.

There is no electricity in Rowanduz, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or shebkhanes open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Asiā Sherīfī, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilise this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of its relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jindian, whose father's

tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the male family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character.

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is fellîya, parallel in its etymology to the Latin familia. The same noun is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only those households and sayyids, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (şejera, from Arabic shajara, "tree"). In the case of the sayyid the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowandus, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include beg, axha, and sir, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times paşa was also in use, and the grandfather of Ismā'il Beg was called "Abdullah Paşha." The Arabic shaykh, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha,

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Something of the divisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows.

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowanduz district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent

may be traced through either parent, and almost anyone, if genealogies were regularly kept by the commoners, could find some relative from whom the title might be claimed. The only sayyid in Rowanduz who made use of the green turban was a poor and elderly blacksmith, something of an extrovert, who also wore a beard to increase his appearance of saintliness. The chieftains, many of whom have the title, usually avoid these appearances, such as Sayyid Ahmad of Batas who dressed in the same fashion as the other aristocrats. Whether these pedigrees are genuine or bogus is impossible to say, for the Arab penetration of Kurdistan has gone on for many centuries, but one may suspect that, insofar as the title accords a little social distinction, many of these claims, at some point, are as valid as those of some pretentious Englishman who finds ancestors for himself who landed with the Conqueror or an American who discovers forebears on the Mayflower.

The religious phraseology of the townspeople is in the Arabic language. All of their prayers, pious utterances, and, indeed, their expletives are in Arabic, while everyday speech is Kurdish. Prayer will be dealt with below. The most common expletive, heard constantly in the conversation of the day, is simply Yilah, "God." It can be used in a variety of contexts, some of them pious and many quite otherwise. The tired merchant stretching himself on his cushions or bed may utter a long-drawn out Yilah, and the same is applied to a welcome glass of tea, a lovely woman, or the like. It should not be supposed, of course,

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the shafi'i rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, although the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to-day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nisaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Sanna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Kerind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the settled Kurds and the Lakis and Luri related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median Kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid Kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavid dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 3 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1638, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were placed by the Arab Basra, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was launched at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HAMAWAND.

• 173 178 According to their own traditions, the Hamawands entered Southern Kurdistan from Persia as nomadic herdsmen. Seeing the opportunities offered by the ineffectual nature of Ottoman governmental control, they entered on a career of brigandage, looting the caravans that passed between Persia and Iraq. The uneasy relations between the Persian and Ottoman empires made this all the more feasible, since any activity detrimental to one power had the covert support of the other. Though the Hamawands later settled in villages, they did not immediately take up agriculture, except for small garden patches of melons etc. As they proudly assert: «For more than a generation we reaped our daily bread with our gunbarrels». All accounts by early travellers describe how this small group terrorized the district by striking quickly and effectively in widely separated areas. Only after the First World War did their economy become truly based on farming. Through this turbulent history, tribal political organization retained its importance, and some features of the system may be seen very clearly.

618 619 642 The Hamawand group as a whole is regarded as one *tira* of the same magnitude as the various component Jaf *tiras*. Even in its greatest period of glory, the Hamawand *tira* could muster no more than 200-300 horsemen, implying a total population of 1,000-1,500 individuals. The process of branching has however been initiated; in fact, as compared to the Jaf, the Hamawand political structure seems to be based on a clearer political recognition of the segmentation into lineage sections which follows from the marriage pattern. The hierarchy of progressively more inclusive lineage segments, from the single village level (population 50—100) and up to the maximal lineage group, is given political significance.

642 There is no single leader of the whole Hamawand *tira*[1]); questions concerning the group as a whole are discussed and decided in a council made up of the *Aghas* (=headman) of the 4 primary branches. Each of these branches are again divided into sub-branches,

[1]) Actually, Mohammad Amin Agha of the Begzade claims paramount position.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalists everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, ascetic face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not form the same combination as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Sulcimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Hawar* and *Hilal*.[10] All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

[10] A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Komala period, such as *Kelaviz* and recently *Nishtiman*, official organ of the party, which have a picture of Stalin on the cover and circulated in Iraq as well as Iran.

4z Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Kurd MAN

I K. 438 439 173 782 539

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mowli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar [illegible],

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kūrdistan, the Kūrds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kūrdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and nugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

538 altering it in any way. The incidents it describes are
114 totally unlike those of Kūrdish stories generally, and are probably derived from real occurrences, but belonging to a date far anterior to that assigned by the story-
● [174] teller, who, with the supreme disregard for accuracy manifested by persons of his calling in the East, would refer any remarkable story to the immediate ancestors of the favourite Kūrdish hero, Sulieman Baba, if he could not refer them to the hero himself without being convicted of a too glaring anachronism. It may possibly be a survival of some story of chivalry belonging to the crusading age of Saladin, whom the Kūrds declare to have been a prince of their race.

A parallel to this legend may also be found in the
[171] Greek folk-tale of Ἡ βασίλοπούλα ποὺ πάγαι στὸν πόλεμο, "The Princess who went to the War."[1]

The Maiden Champion.

539 There lived once in Darishmana two brothers, Fakih Ahmed and Khidder, who had suffered much from the hostility of the Bulbassis, the most powerful people of Pizhder. Fakih Ahmed, who was of a bold and proud spirit, quitted his village in disgust, swearing never to return to it unless he should be in a position to avenge himself. He went to Constantinople, and entered the service of the Sultan.

It so happened that the Sultan was at that time at war with the English (or Franks). In those days battles were generally decided by single combat. A champion had come forth from the Frankish host

[1] Von Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 57; and Miscolas, i. p. 114.

Georgians and Muslim Circassians. In addition to being 101
inhabited by these noted for their tenacity, this country has been the meeting place of empires and cultural traditions, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The Kurds, because of their numerical strength, emphasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the upheavals of the first World War than some of their Christian neighbors.

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethic unit or nation whose most distinctive characteristics are its language and costume. Coupled with these are a large number of minor peculiarities which differentiate it from other Islamic peoples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam 105
in which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian, and Turk are easily discernable and many things, such as orthodox religious practices, may be assigned definite historical origins. Despite the abundance of foreign elements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. 114
History of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored, and those few treatments which have appeared are, for the most part, disappointing, for they have been written by persons whose aims were far from academic or whose scholarship is doubtful. Without entering the controversies which 175
surround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to appear first in classical literature as the Karduchi of Xenophon and the Cordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people occupying much the same area as they do today.[1] Their 174 197

[1]Driver, 1922, pp. 491-493.

language is Indo-European, closely related to Persian, and they were probably a part of that same movement which brought others of the Indo-European linguistic group, such as the Armenians, Hittites, and Persians, into the Middle East. Racially it is difficult to give an opinion, because little work of a modern nature has been undertaken among them. In the older parlance of physical anthropology, however, they exhibit traits considered much more characteristic of the races of Europe and Central Asia than of the Arabs to the south, such as blond hair, blue eyes, fair pigmentation, and round heads. They give immediate evidence, by these older criteria, of being a mixture. In religion they are Sunnite Muslims and are thus set off from the Shiite Iranians to the east. Whether this is the result of their original conversion or the continued influence of the Sunnite Turks and Turkomans is unknown.

Ethnologically almost no systematic investigations have been made among the Kurds, although a few brief, but accurate, generalized descriptions are to be found.[1] These last, however, have been written by persons, administrators, missionaries, travelers, and the like, who are not ethnologists. This, in itself, need not constitute a deterrent, but their primary purpose in publication was not the portrayal of a culture. It is unnecessary to review here the large number of other types of references to the Kurds, extending from ancient times to the present, except to remark that their most distinctive characteristic is their prejudice

[1] For example, May, 1921.

and herds. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the matter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted to move the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were once nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Medieval days but a generic term for such wanderers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the kotshir, with their mobility and firepower (the nomad of the Middle East emphasizes weapons to a much greater extent then the agriculturist), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with kotshir groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

[1] Nazaheri, 1951, p. 254.

the summer heat, these rooms have a height which seems ab- 342
normal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve
feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally
raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the
level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those
of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in
wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist
of bundles of poles and twigs, and are mostly left un-
finished, although a few have been plastered and pasted
with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed
with chaff laid down in a number of layers. [356]
Before cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by
copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a
little of the floor. The roofs are equipped with long, [413]
smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter
and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the
roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of
these homes are of two storeys, and, although there is
considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of
which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in
the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is
marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient
the house and its windows so that household life, specifi-
cally that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the
street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a [351]
"true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the deficiencies
are amended with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced
twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological [194]

information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

taggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the <u>shaykhanas</u>, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community. 792 735

Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the 565 1790 622 619 [648] 565 622 619 423

The heart of the matter is to be found in the distinction between a society governed by the state and one ruled by tribal or feudal chieftains. The state is no stranger to the area of the Middle East, for it was in this province that it probably made its first appearance and some of the more complex bureaucracies of history were evolved. Nevertheless, there are certain places, Kurdistan among them, where it is a newcomer, and others, such as Saudi Arabia, where it has yet to appear. Ottoman control in Kurdistan was rarely strong, and was characterized by a sort of daily contest between the scattered authorities, supported by their troops and gendarmes, and the local inhabitants in matters of tax-collection and recruitment for the army. Beyond the borders of Turkey and other well-organized districts, the Ottoman Empire was largely oriented for tribute, the enrichment of its officers and the Sublime Porte, and the Turks, aside from their inroads and the prestige attached to conquerors, did little to tamper with the economy and the social structure of their subjects. Rowanduz, before the first World War, was led by its aristocrats and its merchants, and the meager representation of Ottoman rule was regarded as an everyday annoyance which could be circumvented, bribed, or ambushed as the occasion demanded. Insofar as the Turks were satisfied with what little money and recruits they were able to collect, they were not considered greatly detrimental to life.

The rise of the modern state in Iraq provides in places such as Rowanduz, good examples of the impingement

5. [illegible]	-	Father's Brother
6. [illegible]	-	Mother's Brother
7. [illegible]	("Aunt")	Parent's Sister
8. [illegible]	("Brother")	Brother
9. [illegible]	("Sister")	Sister
10. [illegible]	("Boy")	Son
11. [illegible]	("Girl")	Daughter
12. [illegible]	("Grandchild")	Grandchild

601

Two of these have been borrowed from Arabic, [illegible] and khal, cognate with 'amm, "paternal uncle," and khal, "maternal uncle," respectively. On the other hand, the Arabic words for the paternal and maternal aunts, 'amma and khala, have not entered the Kurdish system. The reasons for the adoption of these two terms are difficult to discern. The two uncles are differentiated with respect to residence and their relationships with the individual to a much greater degree than the aunts. One might suspect that for these reasons, or the use of Arabic in religious and legal documents, such as wills, over the centuries, the displacement of the original Kurdish names took place. This, however, cannot immediately explain why a similar adoption of Arabic for such words as "father" or "brother" did not also occur. The mechanics of diffusion, then, must await further study. [174]

The second group of terms, six in number, indicate affinal relations, those created by marriage:

1. [illegible]	-	Father-in-law
2. [illegible]	-	Mother-in-law
3. [illegible]	("Man")	Husband
4. [illegible]	("Woman")	Wife
5. [illegible]	("Bridegroom")	Son-in-law
6. [illegible]	("Bride")	Daughter-in-law

As noticed above, a man may address his wife's relatives by

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the preceding pages a number of instances have 771
been encountered in which religious belief and practice enter into the routine of the town, and it now remains to add to them those which, albeit inextricably bound up in everyday life, can be treated of themselves. Primarily, the "official" faith of the townspeople will be spoken of, in the sense that it has been defined by Islamic priests themselves, to which may be subtended a secondary body of credences and observances, not necessarily "religious" in the usual sense of the term, conveniently dealt with in this connection. The faith of the townsman is undifferentiated from that of the aristocrat, but is not necessarily identical with that of the government official or officer, several of whom, as has been seen, are Shiite Arabs from southern Iraq or Christians.

It is necessary to place the people of Rowandus, 779
as well as the Kurds of northern Iraq, in some perspective with the rest of the believing world. First, their faith is that of Islam ("submission" to God or Allah) preached by the Arab prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and carried by his heirs into the Kurdish mountains as it was elsewhere in the world. This is a religion which, according to a generality [174]

of modern scholarly opinion, constitutes a syncretism of ancient Arabic, Judaic, and Christian beliefs, together with whatever elements of originality the Prophet himself had added. The sacred book of the Muslim ("one who submits"), the adherent of Islam, is the Quran ("recitation" from the command of its messenger to Muhammad, iqra, "recite!"), the revelation of God vouchsafed through the Angel Gabriel to Muhammad in suras (a word originally meaning a course of stones or bricks), or chapters, of a varying number of verses, a total of 114 such chapters making up the entire volume. The townspeople are now, without exception, Muslims, and the everyday import of this faith shall form the basis of the discussion to follow.

With the death of the Prophet, the Islamic world, from that day to this, has been torn by the continual divergence of schools and sects, most of them political in origin, many ephemeral, and a few achieving a dignity of a state religion. Amid the greater divisions of Islam, the people of Rowanduz belong to the party of the Sunna ("custom"), or orthodoxy, of which recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic. With other Sunnite peoples of northern Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, the Kurds are in sharp doctrinal opposition to the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali") of southern Iraq and Iran, a state religion in the latter country from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), which insists on the primacy of

and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them to outsiders without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the consentic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Hawraman district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the nomad, because of his mobility and firepower, has a military advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

gradual increase of their holdings, have reached a position of dominance over their neighbours. In Kurdish feudalism the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants and levies a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Nestorian Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and wear its traditional garb. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are interwined in the Rowanduz district. There are men who are the landers of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and those others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesmen or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to arrange them. The commoners identify their house with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural interest, the mixture of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is normally decentralised, segmented into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Nestorian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

6

548 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A. 1. Despite special pleading by Rignon and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly-isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Seire, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of intensive cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

501 The distinction made in Rowanduz by the existence of the climatic (the comparative fertility) and the looseness of the tribal organization as now existing.

[502] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and overlaid almost for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the Kilisanu. Yet the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years.
571 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the
A-2 population consists of two distinct cultural groups; nomadic and semi-
528 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to
• 176 Hay (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Jirai tribe. The evidence for this
601 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts,
189 the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organization tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this was a very recent development but similar conditions are described by Hay writing in 1925.

[See map, cat. title, p. 71 -- Arabic]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

630
631 elders having great weight, and, as I shall subse-
632 quently point out, even the women are not excluded
from a share in the politics of the tribe.

● 175 Though more or less dominated by the numerous
184 conquerors who have successively, for three thousand
years, overrun those regions which are now called
Kurdistan, the Kurds have never ceased to own a
distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest
they have been constantly wavering between the two
rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as
represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively,
siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now
with one party and now with the other. Notwith-
720 standing their sufferings in the destructive wars of
649 conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian,
184 and the constant internal feuds fomented by both
those nations in order to weaken the power of the
Kurdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-
independence, preserving their nationality as distinct
from that of their neighbours as in earlier days,
though possessing no dynasty, political constitution,
ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to
bind them together.

667 Three times during the present century have
national aspirations incited them to throw off the
Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of
mountainous country over which they are scattered,
their successes have been but partial and ephemeral.
181 Representatives as they probably are of the ancient
179 Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long pre-
served its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

ountains and Khalifa Sirvanshan. In addition to being 101
inhabited by those noted for their toughness, this country
as been the meeting place of empires and cultural tradi-
ions, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians,
nd Turks. The Kurds, because of their numerical strength,
mphasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the
hanges of the First World War than some of their Christian
eighbors.

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethic unit or nation
hose most distinctive characteristics are its language and
ustoms. Coupled with these are a large number of minor
eculiarities which differentiate it from other Islamic
eoples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam 105
in which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian,
nd Turk are easily discernible and many things, such as
rthodox religious practices, may be assigned definite
istorical origins. Despite the abundance of foreign
lements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. 114
istory of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored,
nd those few treatments which have appeared are, for the
ost part, disappointing, for they have been written by
ersons whose aims were far from academic or whose scholar-
hip is doubtful. Without entering the controversies which 175
urround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to
ppear first in classical literature as the Kardouki of
enophon and the Gordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people
truggling much the same area as they do today.[1] Their 174
177

[1]Driver, 1922, pp. 481-483.

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Here at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowandus is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowandus was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Mar Isaha, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1]Recounted in Hamilton, 1937.

independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A ruined fortress of this leader is to be seen a short distance north of the town, and his descendants, the House of Isma'il Beg, still own much of its property. The Turks, who appreciated the strategic significance of Rowandus with relation to the trade route and the possibility of a military advance along this line from Russia, made it the seat of a _kaimmaqam_, an Ottoman governor, subject to the Kirkuk _sanjaq_ (district) of the _vilayet_ (province) of Mosul. Administratively it was equal in rank to Erbil, and immediately prior to the First World War had one or two battalions of infantry stationed nearby, as well as a police detachment. As a part of the monarchy of Iraq, it is now much more of an administrative than a commercial center and is still under a _kaimmaqam_, but denoted beneath the control of Erbil.

In Ottoman times Rowandus was a flourishing town of about a thousand houses and had a population estimated at 5000. It occupied a sloping tongue of land, running east and west along the Rowandus river. The river was joined just above the town, to the west, by another stream flowing through a gorge then called the Kalund, and above this juncture rose a great bluff, several hundred feet above the floor of the valley, termed Qala Tilek (Arabic, _qala'a_, "fortress"). The flat top of this bluff was occupied by the house of Isa'id Beg, a descendant of Ker Pasha, the villas of the Turkish officers, some summer residences of

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER

To give a description of Rowandus, its administrative and economic importance, as well as its social and religious life, demands a certain excursus above and beyond the actual physical limits of the town. To understand the role of the town, not only as a rural center, but in broader cultural horizons, one must have some understanding of the areas within which it lies. It is not intended to enter into an exhaustive discussion of either regional cultures or of a civilization, for that presupposes a much more extended survey than either the basis or the framework of this study can support, but rather to indicate the proper perspective in which the town must be viewed. The most convenient beginning to this task is not to be found in an economic or social background, but in the government, for in proceeding from its delineation, in many cases generalized with respect to district and to nation, an effective appreciation of later discussion can be formed. (2) 36

Thus a clearer definition of the position of Rowandus as an administrative center requires in some wise an appreciation of the constitution of Iraq itself, on whose northeastern border lies the district dominated by the town. A segment of the old Ottoman Empire, the territory of modern Iraq was 175 648

freed from the Turks during the First World War and thereafter recognized as an independent state, temporarily assigned as a mandate to Great Britain. The early organization of the country took place under British guidance, and was defined by an "Organic Law" of 1925 as a limited monarchy with a responsible government. The legislative bodies consist of a Chamber of Deputies (Majlis al-Nuwwab) of elected representatives and a Senate (Majlis al-A'yan) of nominated elder statesmen. One of the salient features of this government is that, aside from the deputies, no other public official is elected by popular suffrage, from the Prime Minister to the village postmaster. It is very much as if the citizens of the United States voted only on members to the House of Representatives, and all other officers connected with public life were appointed by a central government in Washington, D. C. In Iraq there are, to be sure, local "advisory councils" to the governors, but their membership is in practice selective. On the conduct of elections themselves there is much variation of opinion, and, without failing to one side or the other, it is possible to say quite fairly that neither the electorate or the Chamber itself have fully realized the possibilities of the democratic power within their hands. There is thus, not only among the Kurdish minority, but in many quarters in Iraq, a strong popular sentiment, correct or incorrect, that even their elected officials improperly or impotently represent the people.

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he is expected to maintain a divankhane (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowandoz itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rowandoz was the seat (a kaza) of a kaimmakam under the Kirkuk sanjak of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

today, a number of troops were garrisoned there. With respect to Erbil, the administrative equality has been changed, although a fifth nahiya added to the Ottoman four. It cannot be said that the Ottoman administration with its officers, judges, tax-collectors, and its serai was too different in outward form from that of today. The knowledge of bureaucratic government is nothing new to the district. In contrast to the present administration, however, the Turks were extremely venal, but it cannot be legitimately said, as it is with respect to other former Ottoman holdings, that they were vicious. While there were often skirmishes between segments of the population and the Ottoman gendarmes and troops, there is no particular recollection of Turkish "atrocities" in the area, for in the nineteenth century the Kurds, at home in their mountains, were the military equals of their opponents. The opening of new roads and the adoption of modern arms has changed much of this, and the Kurd has learned to respect automatic weapons, artillery, and aircraft. In a number of regards, such as education and public health, it can be seen that the new government enters much more completely into the interests of the people, and, according to popular opinion, has subverted many functions formerly reserved to the chieftains alone. In summary, it appears that the administration today is at once more rigorous and more enlightened than that of Ottoman times.

In conclusion certain observations on the present administration may be reinforced. It can be observed how

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowanduz had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jezire plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this pass trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowanduz households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. Even what was an item manufactured in the Soviet Union is the bazar of Rowanduz. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowanduz as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

[i.e. the town of Rowanduz.—Ed.]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus
Yezidis MH10

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but must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the curse in the name of religion, of which the full form is Le'anetu Yllahi 'ala dinek, "the damnation of God on your faith," is an invitation to certain catastrophe.

Y
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There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, the Yezidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Mandeans of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yezidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslim and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druse women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups.

Y
[142]

Y
[582]

The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("Custom") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), and today includes, in one form, the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural population of southern Iraq. In central and northern

K
795
779
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Iraq the Sunnis is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
most the same as that between Catholi and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little enmity in the type of
religious contest. The governing elas in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnis, and the dis-
cussion is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 795
against Arab and Persian. Certain fastions, such as 186
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds [302]
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
imagine circumcision, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
Ingrid, as Farsi, "Persian," despi: the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a
gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came fro the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from Kurdish officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Here on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The basis of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mullā can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, no matter how poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system.

Rowanduz is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the Bravo of Isma'il Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Persons of the lower classes, townsfolk or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain tribal affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowanduz enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called zhelebis, another Turkish term for "gentleman,"

gay fellow into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, 565
many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed 175
men and dissolutions open to the public, and one might com-
pare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for
example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in
fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town
during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this
class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although
it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi
in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example 565
of the manner in which the shaikhly and their modern 637
successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship
is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town,
detected in illicit relations with a young man, took
refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and
arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one
might add, the help of the police. One of the chief char- 565
acteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, (52)
for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself
to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose
its distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in 412
the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and 565
unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as
one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers.
This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters,
cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the Shafi'i rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do today. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Marash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Mosul, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Malte district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Sanna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Kermal, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakhs and Luri related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596. Since the Median Kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire had (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. Today this area, which is inhabited by about 7 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[2]. There, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the new Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern components were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of various negotiations, eventually [illegible] decided at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[3]. This was to comprise the area east of the Euphrates inhabited

by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[1], which, however, was never ratified. At the final conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shortened, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Sherif of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Brussels or Bowring line[2] by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. The justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had won their dream of an independent Kurdistan here at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had since their failings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[3], Iran[4] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[5], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1881, d. 1956)[6] Governor in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed autonomy. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government, proclaiming himself ruler, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[7], who as early as 1909 had accepted bribes and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[8] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1922 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the pro-Allied negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922-24, 1927 and in 1930-31, and under Ahmed al-Barzani in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrigg and Stoakes[9], and Edmonds[10].

My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I found with in 1957 can be summarized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan, look to the north, to Soviet Russia[11]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (about one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Orphan Committee[12] still existed, the Kurds, while I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realized from that quarter.

When two previously have written about Kurdish women scenes from the pens of men, Harding gives the following description of the Arab women in Baghdad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which also shroud in folds yellow boots, and which men are told are women," adding: "... in fact an better disguise than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to warn away prying eyes and damp the spirit of libertinism ...."[13] Frazer, 1948, says concerning the Kurdish women that "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, the utmost practised in this way being to bring the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

4: Hansen E-5 (1997) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ...."[6]. Aziz Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[7]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni mentioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Eagle[8] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[9] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ....".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish women of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning women's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[10]. Khanzen Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[11] of the Ardalan Wazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Bogzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the qa'im maqām in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had escaped Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village ornamentary. Married woman at the garden basin. Barkan.
Fig. 3. Village ornamentary. Married woman making cigarettes. Barkan. (See p. 14).

Fig. 4. Peasant women baking bread on circular iron sheet. Sulaim. (See p. 10).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[2], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1934 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Alwhalo, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and noble (king) of Kurdistan.

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The release of this was determined shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Iranian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life, which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fatma Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[4]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she appointed, although a woman, with the government authorities.

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogamic prevails. "Love marriages" are usual.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experiences as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 1: Female woman smoking water in a smoking ghalian. Tripoli.

b: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

tonne capacity of 110,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1959 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertised major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Derbend-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Bohtan of Soleimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, owes so much tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting therefore to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1911 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1891 Haiji Qadir of Koi (circa 1817–1894),

S. Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1943) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Baban principality was, in the words of another poet, "neither subject to the Persians, nor slave-driven by the House of Osman."

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Badr Khan and General Sharif Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the south of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression not only in Iraq but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which went on to the academy and staff-college at Constantinople, and so reached a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these were officers naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's "programme of the world's peace" enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be "assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." Sharif Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the north-eastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

IV.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Kupri. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] It was in fulfilment of this function that Kurdish was first made the official language of the administration; a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts have at some time been Sulaimani men.

S. Edmonds G-S (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

the idealistic spirit of the time, was at first to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Even before the armistice contract had been established with a certain Shaykh Mahmud, head of the leading Sayyid family of Southern Kurdistan, who was informed that any Kurdish groups or tribes in the three *liwa* of Sulaimani, Kirkuk and Arbil which might wish to accept his leadership would be allowed to do so. It soon became evident, however, that the Shaykh had overestimated his popularity, and his province was eventually restricted to little more than the *liwa* of Sulaimani. No similar initiative was taken in regard to the Kurdish districts in the *liwa* of Mosul, where there was no articulate Kurdish opinion.

This first experiment in Kurdish autonomy under modern conditions was not a success. Within six months the Shaykh, resenting the limitations placed on his freedom to do exactly as he liked, rebelled. After a short military operation he was captured and deported, and the *liwa* was brought under the direct administration of the Occupation Authority. But quite apart from Shaykh Mahmud's personal ambitions there was always present in Sulaimani, among all classes of the population, an abiding conviction, rooted in their history, that the place contained the germs of a revived and extensive Kurdish state of which it was the predestined capital. The belief had little justification either in its physical appearance and commercial importance or in the academic attainments and political experience of its citizens, but it was always in the air. The proposal that Sulaimani with the adjacent districts should once more become an autonomous territory, therefore, had not come to the people as anything strange.

For the other political leaders the fall of Mahmud was thus no reason for renouncing the glittering prize brought so near by the Treaty of Sèvres. Assurances had been given in the British Parliament that the Kurds would not be forced to come under an Arab government against their will, and when the Provisional National Government of Iraq was formed in November, 1920, Sulaimani remained under the direct control of the British High Commissioner. Kirkuk (which then included Arbil) did accept a *Mutasarrif* (Governor) nominated by the new government, but he, like all the other officials, was a local man, and Turkish, the language of the educated urban classes (but not of the majority of the inhabitants), continued to be used for official purposes. When in June, 1921, the Amir Faysal arrived in Iraq as the candidate sponsored by the British Government for the throne Sulaimani refused to participate in the referendum; Kirkuk did participate but announced for most of the

9: Edmonds C-5 (1923, 1941) 1957 MA11 Rev'd MA11

[175 142 148] negative were cast. No representative from either line attended the economic commission.

A difficult situation had been further complicated by the proclamation in January, 1930, by the Turkish Cabinet of a manifesto known as the 'National Pact' which, while conceding the right to self-determination of the Arabs south of the armistice line of 1918, refused to contemplate the surrender of the Mosul vilayet. The Treaty of Sèvres, signed by the representatives of the Sultan nine months later, was never ratified. For the next few years the Kurds were subjected to a campaign of intensive propaganda from Turkey; threats of invasion, clandestine correspondence with urban and tribal leaders, open incitements to rebellion, warnings to 'traitors,' and pervading all, the religious appeal for loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph (until the Caliphate was abolished in March 1924). Small bodies of uniformed Turkish troops actually crossed the border at various points in support of the restive tribes. The administrative boundary in Arbil and parts of Mosul was withdrawn to the edge of the plains, and in September, 1922, the whole of Sulaimani was evacuated. Shaykh Mahmud was brought back in return for an undertaking that he would secure the expulsion of the Turks from the Iraq and that he would refrain from interfering in the neighbouring lines of Kirkuk and Arbil. But in the intoxicating mountain air these promises were soon forgotten. In November the Shaykh proclaimed himself 'King of Kurdistan,' claimed the whole country down to the Jabal Hamrin as part of his 'Kingdom,' and so far from expelling the Turks sought to use their presence as a lever to press his ambitions. In December the British and Iraqi governments, hoping to rally the more moderate Kurds to resist the aggressor, made a joint communication to certain friendly leaders recognizing 'the right of the Kurds of Iraq to set up a Kurdish government' which should send responsible delegates as soon as possible to discuss boundaries and political and economic relations; but there was nobody capable of taking advantage of the offer, which lapsed.*

[148]

The prevailing uncertainty and unrest were actually aggravated by the signature at Lausanne in July, 1923, of a Treaty of Peace between the Allies and Turkey, for it specifically excluded the Mosul question from the settlement. In August, 1924, the dispute was referred to the League of Nations. A Commission was sent to examine the problem on the spot, and, in December, 1925, the Council awarded the vilayet to Iraq subject to guarantees that regard would be paid to the 'desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed

* The activities of Shaykh Mahmud constituted a series of on and off military operations in the years that followed. Sulaimani town itself was occupied by the Iraqi forces in July, 1924, but the Shaykh continued to harry the administration until June, 1931, when he submitted. He was in open revolt in 1930 in connexion with the impending settlement, and again in 1932, when he gave himself up in 1932.

9: Edmonds C-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MAII Kurd MAII

for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice and the teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the language of all these services.' The Turkish government at first refused to accept the decision but, by a tripartite treaty between the United Kingdom, Iraq and Turkey signed at Ankara in June, 1926, finally renounced its sovereignty over the Mosul vilayet. The administration of the three liwas was then assimilated to that of the rest of Iraq except in the matter of the official language and the race of the officials.

The Turkish menace was hardly out of the way when the approach of the end of the Mandate for Iraq roused misgivings among the leaders of Kurdish opinion as to the value of the guarantees. Petitions to the League were treated as treason, and in 1930 and 1931 many highly respected Kurdish intellectuals were imprisoned. When the application of Iraq for admission to the League came up for consideration in 1932 the Council received from the Iraqi government a written Declaration, which was to rank as part of the Constitution, reaffirming its undertakings in regard to the minorities. A special law was enacted defining the areas within which Kurdish and Turkish should be the language of the local administration, of the law courts, and of primary education.

For the next few years there was little manifestation of political nationalism in Iraq. The hard logic of facts seemed to have persuaded the leaders, some sooner, some later, that their hopes were impossible of realization; most of them settled down quietly, salving their patriotic consciences, perhaps, with the vague idea that one day another world conflagration might give their sons or grandsons their opportunity and that in the meantime any agitation would do more harm than good.

During the year preceding the outbreak of the Second World War there were indications that the German Legation in Baghdad was spreading propaganda, especially among young men of the official classes, that the Kurds had been grossly betrayed by Britain at the end of the last war but that a victorious Germany was ready to create an independent Kurdistan after the war. But after the actual outbreak of hostilities the older nationalists continued convinced that neither side was likely to alienate the Arabs for a small and inconsiderable unimportant people like the Kurds, and preferred to take no initiative. In the spring of 1941, when Rashid 'Ali staged his *coup d'état* against the Regent and the lawful government of Iraq, Shaykh Mahmud escaped from Baghdad, where he had been living in honourable exile, and did indeed obtain some support from the younger generation and among the tribes for the idea of a revolt based on the belief that, 'the combustibility of the Arabs' having now become excessive, the Allies would no longer hesitate to give the Kurds

9: Edmonds C-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Hard MA11

their 'rights'; but with the conversion of the Empire, a staunch friend of the Allies, the movement, such as it was, lost all momentum.

V.

'Do as you would be done by' is not a maxim that seems to have appealed very much to the various formerly subject peoples, in Europe or in Asia, who have been liberated since 1918, and it was hardly to be expected that the Arabs of Iraq would prove an exception. Even in Ottoman times the three vilayets had been considered as constituting a single unit, Turkish Arabia in British official parlance, and any scheme of partition on racial lines to meet the aspirations of a minority was as unpalatable as similar ideas have been to majorities elsewhere. Against any suggestion that the central government should make a special effort to conciliate the Kurds by recognizing their existence qua Kurds and not merely as individuals enjoying the ordinary civil liberties like anybody else, it was at first argued that since the greater part of Kurdistan lay outside Iraq any concession in this direction could only encourage the separatist tendencies of the Kurds of Iraq and that it would lead to demands for similar privileges from other racial or religious groups.

On the Kurdish side, quite apart from the initial unwillingness to accept subordination to the Arabs who had been a subject race like themselves, it was felt that the guarantees given to the League in 1925 and again in 1932 were being either ignored or at any rate grudgingly implemented. Statistics could be adduced to show that the Kurdish districts were not getting their fair share of the social services or development projects. Particularly bitter were complaints that the schools were inadequate in both quality and number, that failure to prepare and distribute school-books in Kurdish was making a mockery of the promises regarding the language instruction, and that Kurdish students were not being accepted for instruction of higher education or educational missions abroad. The big-spending Department of Irrigation was not represented in the north at all. In the sphere of Public Works there were complaints that all the emphasis was on police posts, and it was indeed the fact that even the construction of roads was for some years held back by the defensive strategy of a Ministry of Defence which regarded them as facilities for an invader rather than a means of consolidating the administration and benefiting the population. The claim, made at the League of Nations and elsewhere, that the Kurds were always adequately represented in the Cabinet was demonstrably disingenuous, since the Ministers in question, even if they could claim remote Kurdish origin, generally belonged to families long assimilated and were Arab rather than Kurdish in sentiment.

9: Edmonds G-S (1922, 1945) 1957. MA11 Kurd MA11

Insofar as these grievances had some foundation in fact enough has already been said to show that the prevailing state of affairs was due, in part at any rate, to political circumstances beyond the control of the government, and in part to the recalcitrance of the Kurds themselves which for long periods had brought the administration in a large part of Kurdistan to a standstill. Some of the neglect, too, was undoubtedly due not to malice but to a tendency, not unknown elsewhere, for the higher authorities to take more thought for the parts of the country near the centre than for the distant outposts.

However that may be, the result was that just when the earlier agitators were developing into elder statesmen who, schooled by experience, no longer regarded separation as feasible or desirable there was growing up a new generation nurtured on a sense of grievance and frustration. Resentment was further embittered by insulting references to the minorities now subsequently made by pan-Arab writers in moments of fanatical exaltation. In all the countries of the Middle East the western Powers are regarded as the supporters of the old reactionary Beys and Pashas who have retained most of the political power in their own hands (the charge is unfair but it would prolong this paper unduly to examine it here). It is only to be expected, then, that disgruntled youth (and especially young Kurds with a racial added to a social grievance) should look to Russia for its inspiration. The Russians have long been the neighbours of the Kurds through the Caucasian provinces, and, as we have seen, a small part of Kurdistan lies within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Even before 1918 Kurdish malcontents in Turkey and Persia were accustomed to seek support from the Russians. For the Russian exploitation of Kurdish unrest would be nothing new, indeed something of the kind has been unsuccessfully recently at the time of the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in Persian Kurdistan, and again in 1947 when Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a fugitive rebel from Iraq, was welcomed in Soviet Armenia, given high military rank, and encouraged to broadcast in Kurdish from Erivan.

But with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable. The mercantile classes, realizing as they do that economically the Kurdish north is bound hand and foot to Baghdad, have never shown any enthusiasm for anything but the mildest form of nationalism, and the programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before. The old loyalties to religious Shaykhs and tribal Aghas have been too deeply undermined for any self-appointed leader to command a serious measure of support in any violent adventure. The complexity of modern weapons has given the government an overwhelming advantage

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village; and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting type of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the *vertical*-, Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mountainous country stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this country is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 10 to 100 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exhibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds as an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1943), assuming them to be the Cardukhi who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Saladin at the time of the 1st Crusade). A major part of

[page continues on p. 2]

Kurdish territory was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I, 1515 but retained considerable local autonomy, leading to adjustment rather than replacement of traditional Kurdish organization.

The area generally called Southern Kurdistan, where the present material was collected, may be delimited on ethnic and geographical grounds (cf. Map. No. 2). It is bounded on the north by the Lower Zab, on the south by the Diyala river. To the east it stretches up into the Zagros mountains to the Persian frontier. A western border can only be drawn on ethnic, and rather arbitrary criteria, since Kurdish territory extends in part beyond the foothill area, into a zone where Kurd and Arab villagers and villages mingle.

Physiographically, the area is characterized by a series of ridges 1933 running NW—SE, building up towards the Persian mountains. The drainage pattern is rather complex, partly leading to the Lower Zab, partly to the Diyala, and some smaller rivers disappearing in the dry areas south and west of the city of Kirkuk.

In the lowlands, the «Garmian» (lowlands) of the Kurds, conditions approach semi-desert, and agriculture becomes increasingly difficult. Kurdish territory stretches in places to the edge of what has been called the rainfall zone (Wagner, 1949, p. 180), but generally falls somewhat short of this, leaving the remaining area to Arab agriculturalists with an identical economy.

Though predominantly Kurdish, the area shows some ethnic diver- 1913
sity. There is contact with permanent Arab settlements in a rather broad zone of mixture. Bedouin herdsmen in the summer graze their camels as far as the Chamchamal valley, and have at times remained in the area continuously for several years. The city of Kirkuk has a considerable Turkish-speaking population, and Turkish-speaking villages may still be found in a wide crescent of the lower districts. Some 100 years ago, Turkomans certainly occupied some of these areas (Rich, 1836). The town of Sulaimani had till 1951 a considerable Jewish population, as well as the still persisting small Chaldean Christian minority.

The Kurds themselves exhibit considerable diversity, ranging from tribally organized nomadic herdsmen to feudal peasants. The Garmian lowlands are mainly peopled by detribalized sedentary farmers

82 The southern sections around Qizil Robat are formed by settled members of the Jaf tribe, working as tenants on their old tribal land. Here are also the winter camps of the nomadic Jaf. The Shahr-i-zor plains around the town of Halabja are the summer camp grounds of the same group, and support a large population of nomad Jaf. The summer grazing grounds of the nomads lie in the high mountains around Penjwin.

The Chemchemal valley is the territory of the Hawrewazi tribe of freeholding farmers, partly co-habiting the area with an impoverished semi-tribal serf group. In the basal valley around Sulaimani are non-tribal tenant farmers, in the high area of Pushdh, further north, are tribally organized farmers. The Hawrewazian in the Zagros range by Halabja are dialectically and ethnically rather distinct, tribally organized, usually freeholding garden farmers or craftsmen.

• 175 Some historical orientation is necessary. The city of Sulaimani was for centuries the capital of a rather independent Pushdh segment of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by Pashas of the Baban family. This Pushdh included most if not all the territory described above. A strong feudal pattern became established, and centralized government was moderately effective, leading to a breakdown of most tribal political organizations and the development of a large group of serfs and tenant farmers. Conditions during Baban rule are well described by Claudius James Rich (1836). a very observant traveller in the early 19th century. Due to complex intrigue in Baghdad and Istanbul, Baban rule was suddenly brought to an end in 1851, and considerable instability resulted. The Jaf tribe, on the one hand, became powerful and assimilated numerous groups of other tribes in their organization; the Jaf leaders consolidated their positions as landowners and took on the appearance more of feudal lords than tribal chiefs. On the other hand, the Hawrewazi tribe entered on a career of opportunistic brigandage and war, and, though a very small tribe, became quite powerful. Sulaimani became the scene of a tug of war between these various interests and the efforts of a minor family of the Bamerne to re-establish some form of Pushdh. After the end of the First World War, conditions slowly became more

middle, and official administrators, dressed from Baghdad, grew in scope and progressively enlarged its area of effective control.

Such then is the background of the villages where the following material was collected. They are primarily tenant villages in the Sulaimani valley, or villages dominated by freeholding Hamawand farmers. However, certain aspects of local social structure become clear only by comparison with other situations — particularly those found in the *Jaf* areas — or by historical comparisons and deductions. The data on *Jaf* organization was obtained from a limited number of informants on short visits to various villages. For historical material, C. J. Rich's accounts (op.cit) have been found most useful.

I have tried to avoid bringing conditions and forces in the towns of Sulaimani, Chamchamal, Halabja, etc. into the picture. The enormous influence in these centers are extremely complicated and difficult to evaluate. In the institution of the clan and sub-clan system, differential contacts and reactions due to sub-cultures are indeed complex. The rural areas, on the other hand, show greater uniformity in patterns: the tribal areas are organized and separable, and the tenant villagers, in their small, endogamous communities, have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism. There is a popular story illustrating this localism: A donkey belonging to one of the tenant farmers in a village ran away; as the farmer followed it, so much it. The donkey climbed up the hillside, far away from the village, but the farmer did not want to lose it. So he followed it high up into the mountains, never turning, and finally close to the mountain top he caught it. On turning around he saw below him the whole beautiful Shahr-i-zor plain, in which his own village lay. The peasant gasped and exclaimed: «I never knew the world was so vast!»

What goes on in the towns belongs, as far as most villagers are concerned, to a quite separate world, and a second both in the field and in working up the notes valid to separate off the Kurdish countryside as the area of study. But due to diversity even in this area, any attempt at giving a conventional ethnographical description of «the culture of the society» must fail. Each of the compact, widely separated little villages shows characteristics of its own, local

the presumption that everything not legislated in terms of the order is outside its scope. The king or the succession of such a name does not act counter to the traditional order, . . . loyalty is due, not to 'the order', but to him personally.» (Pareto, op. cit., p. 121).

The main contrast between the Kurdish system and this «ruly ideal» type lies in the implication in the definition of the latter that concrete traditional prescriptions are indeed accepted and agreed upon by all. The cultural homogeneity of the South Kurdish area has been emphasized above; this homogeneity makes for a situation where a truly traditional system can not operate. Any single concrete traditional prescription tends to be questioned by all but a minority, and conflicting interpretations of what is in fact the traditional order are constantly advanced. As a result, the theme of power attains an overriding importance, following the line of reasoning that if you can get away with something, it can't be very wrong. The ultimate check on excesses in the use of power is the threat of murder. Though there is obviously much more control with this system, Kurds are rightly famous for being subject-happy, and a person who strongly feels that his rights have been infringed upon may go to great lengths to retaliate. Thus no institutional means exist, violence has become institutionalized as the only mechanism of final

It is tempting to see the present situation as the result of breakdown of a formerly functioning traditional system. There is considerable evidence indicating that Southern Kurdistan some 100 years ago was better integrated than today, in the form of a strongly feudal Pashalik centering around Sulaimani. The Baban Pashas of Sulaimani had frequent opportunities during conflicts with both the Persian and the Ottoman rulers to show that they had the unquestioning support of an overriding majority of the population, and through several centuries of rule they built up a traditional hierarchy of hereditary nurse positions, entitling persons to political offices (Rich op. cit., p. 111). The traditional nature of the rule is strikingly brought out in the following citation, where the Pasha of Sulaimani explains the solidarity that his subjects feel towards him by contrast-

ing his form of rule to that of the feudal usurper in Siraz, Persia: «You are not the lord of a tribe, nor are your men your tribesmen. You may clothe them, feed them, and make them rich, but they are not your cousins, they are but your servants» (*Ibid*, p. 84).

When Bahrs rule was broken in 1911, Ottoman legal practice as well as personal whim set a freeing in the sun. This contributed further to the breakdown of traditional principles, since it offered individuals the opportunity to manipulate the two different systems, traditional usage and Ottoman legal code, to their own advantage. The most profoundly affected land tenure. All land, unless otherwise registered, was deemed to belong to the Ottoman Sultan. Though the rule existed that no whole village should be registered as the property of any single person, this and other rules were generally overlooked. Thus leaders of *dera*, *Begs*, or in fact any other person who could bribe a few witnesses, registered large tracts of land as their personal property. Although actual power was of course necessary to make these formal connections effective so far as the collecting of tax was concerned, the result was that a category of landowner emerged for which there was no clear traditional precedents, and their claims, when supported by power and supported Ottoman land code, could not truly be disputed. As a result, the field was left open to individual exploitation on a much larger scale than in Bahrs times, and the only effective checks were the above mentioned closure to the personal salary of the exploiter.

COMPOSITE COMMUNITIES

In the Hamawand area, some local groups are found today where ethnically organized Hamawand exploit a non-tribal tenant population (*Mankijin*) as a serf group. Such situations have come about by recent military conquest, and show incipient developments of a caste system. Certain aspects of organization have been developed by the Hamawand as an adjustment to this situation.

The Hamawand formal political structure already outlined was also a military hierarchy of command. Each village was expected to muster a group of horsemen, usually 10—11, led by the village *Agha*, as a fighting unit in the Hamawand army. Each of these soldiers,

[illegible] tribal system would be by demonstrating (or assuming) genealogical connection. This can hardly be done on any grand scale where common residence is virtually impossible, except on based on a relationship of conqueror and conquered.

As a result, the Kurdish tribal village retains a high degree of lineage unity, reckoned entirely patrilineally, as compared to Nuer villages. The Kurd who leaves his tribal territory, or even village, can obtain no political power in his new environment, therefore has minimal prestige, and thus tends to remain with his lineage group. But because of this, the Kurdish lineage system has not the adaptability of the Nuer system, and tends drawn in a situation of conquest or external administration.

642 ORGANIZATION OF THE BABAN POLITICAL
175 STRUCTURE

In the light of these extensive examples from Homeward territory today, some of the characteristics of the old Baban rule become much clearer. The Baban themselves were not a tribe, but a complex lineage of the same type as the Jaf Begzade, ultimately derived from the ruling tribe of the Pushdir area. Their power, however was based on the tribally organized groups, and a majority of the villages seem to have been controlled in the fashion of the above Homeward villages, with a basic split between a ruling, tribally organized soldiery caste and a non-tribal peasant population. The separation was clearly recognized by Rich in 1820, and in his list of the population of the Pushdir, only the Pushdir area is described as wholly tribal, the earlier districts are mixed. Some inhabitants are of the peasant, some of the clannish race (= tribally organized), i. e., no village has inhabitants of one exclusive kind." (Rich op. cit., p. 280). The tribally organized minority was employed by the Baban to control the larger population: "... it would serve the Ser Sun (Omar Agha, one of the feudal lords under the Baban) to keep the citizen or peasant caste in his service. They never grow much attached, nor will they stand by you in any difficulties. The clansmen (= tribal Kurd), on the contrary, though not of your own clan (= tribe), grows warmly attached to you; and then neither hunger, thirst,

641 poverty, fatigue, war danger, over others him or separate him from
• 175 men's (ibid., p. 243-4).

A tentative reconstruction of the formal organization of the Balum Pukalik suggested by this is schematically represented below, diagram No. 4.

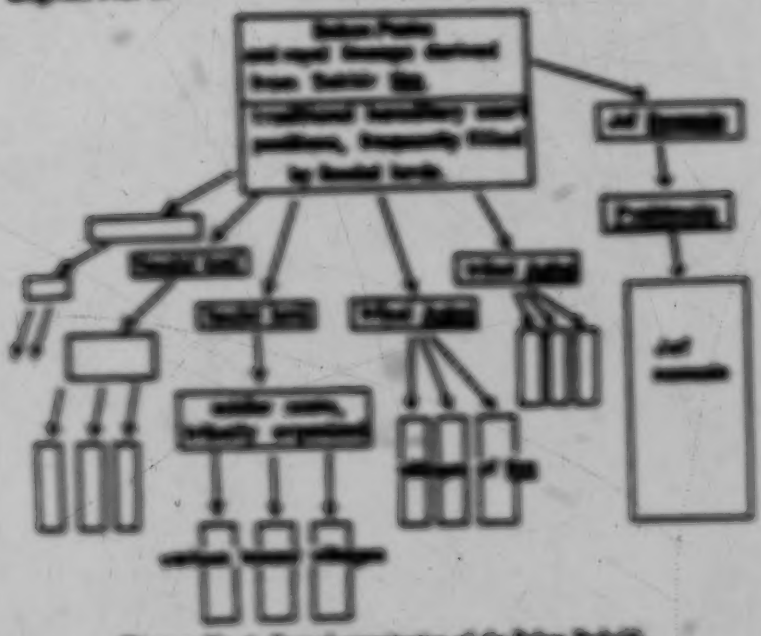

Diagram No. 4. Formal organization of the Balum Pukalik.

641 157

THE CHARISMA OF THE LEADER

In the formal political organization, principles and social sequence derived both from the lineage system and the feudal system can thus be combined, and a more complex structure created. This is made all the more possible because of the similar organizational structural in the person of the leader in both these systems. The qualifications and requirements for leadership will be discussed more fully in a later section, p. 119; however, some of the characteristics of the formal organization derive from the nature of leadership in Kurdish culture.

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Iraq

341 Sulaimaniya is the chief town in Iraqi
349 Kurdistan, in that it is the largest town in the Kurdish area whose population is entirely Kurdish. Other towns exist in Iraqi Kurdistan, but the larger ones—Kirkuk, Erbil and Kifri—are inhabited by as many Turcomans as Kurds, although the tribes around are Kurdish. Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains, and do not take easily to the life of a townsman.

175 In this they resemble their distant
178 relatives the Pathans of Afghanistan and north-western India, who, in the early migrations of Aryan-speaking peoples, penetrated into the highlands east of the Persian plateau while the Kurds spread westwards into what is now north-western Iran, eastern Turkey and north-eastern Iraq. There, in secluded mountain valleys, they preserved many ancient characteristics which their fellow migrants, settling

[p. 383(B)]

[illegible]

in the Persian plains, but through contact with the outside world. By the time recorded history begins, Kurds and Persians were already recognized as distinct peoples, the former being known as Medes.

Some five years before the birth of Christ and 1200 before the spread of Islam, a Kurdish prophet, Zerdusht (Zoroaster), grew up among the mountains of the Azerbaijan district near the Caspian Sea. The gospel that he preached, in its primitive and simple form, is to a greater extent the basis of Christianity and Islam than the adherents of those world religions usually admit. The Kurd of today, however, knows nothing of this. He is nominally a Muhammedan, and has even on occasions been stirred by the call of "Jihad"—the holy war—in the name of Islam. But beneath the surface there lurk some curious remnants of Zoroastrian tradition.

The Kurdish tribesman has a childlike
157 sense of humour. Like a child, too, he
609 unconsciously appreciates sympathy and
an understanding of his psychology. It is
partly because ruling races were in-
different to such considerations until the
evolution of British colonial policy in
backward countries that the Kurd has
been accustomed to regard every foreign
power as an enemy to be driven off or
excommunicated before he himself suffers a
similar fate.

181 Like other mountain peoples the Kurds
• 176 are a martial race, but owing to their
separate communities and 'clannishness'
they have never featured as such in
modern history. The only Kurdish king-
dom known to Europe is the ancient
kingdom of the Medes. Nevertheless the
Kurds have produced many great indi-
vidual soldiers. First and foremost comes
Cyrus the Great, who united the Medes
and Persians and in 538 B.C. conquered
Babylon. Others have found fame as

[p. 345(c)]
[last reads need on p 390(B)]

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Iraq

leaders in Moslem armies, from Saladin (Salah ad Din) in the hosts that opposed the Crusaders, to the late Bekr Sidqi in the army of Iraq; but they have never drawn attention to their Kurdish origin, as the name 'Kurd' implies a shepherd, which in the East is considered a lowly occupation not worthy of great men.

Some have carved for themselves small kingdoms among the tribes of their own race. But that very martial spirit which makes the Kurd proud and independent, and forbids him to acknowledge the sovereignty of anyone outside his tribe for long, has prevented the Kurds from becoming united under any one chief and thus imprinting their name on the history of the world.

In the history of the new state of Iraq individual Kurds have already made their impression. The best-known is Shaikh

[p 390 (B)]

of distance. In the presence of enterprising merchants, particularly the Ning or Ilisarat traders who will be discussed below, a cultivator in some outlying village need not undertake the arduous journey across broken country to Ruwenzori to retail his products and to purchase the materials required by his home. 443

The agricultural village can enjoy a certain amount of self-sufficiency insofar as its food supply is concerned, although the specialization in tobacco has transformed this to some extent, but there are a number of other requirements which only the merchant can satisfy, many of them "necessary luxuries" without which life is hardly bearable. For reasons which can only be speculated upon, the Kurdish villager is today far from being the master of his environment, and there are undoubtedly present a number of mineral, vegetable, and animal products which could be utilised to good advantage. He is no innovator and his knowledge of what we call woodcraft, the ingenious exploitation of the environment at a primitive level, is practically nothing. Once a young Ning exhibited as a trophy an iber skin, dried hard and stiff, which, if properly tanned, would have made an excellent rug or covering. An inquiry, and later investigation, revealed that only a few villagers knew the techniques of preparing skins; almost all of the leather which is locally produced and put into use is what is commonly called rawhide. The villager thus requires a great complex of things, of which only a few are cigarette papers, cloth, cooking utensils, iron or steel 483 [74] 281 432

the first World War, but they have been more in the substitution of the materials used and in the addition of new items rather than anything radical. Most of these are European, such as kerosene stoves and shoes, and have either displaced older manufactures, some of which survive, or have been readily accepted as new devices. The [74] ●
host is an innovator, but welcomes new things of a material sort, particularly if they appeal to him as ingenious, as the cigarette-lighter, and are integrated without difficulty into his daily life. It cannot be maintained that the increase of European imports has [439]
destroyed the self-sufficiency of the household or of the [433]
district, although it has certainly furthered the deterioration of native crafts, for this area has utilized trade from other localities for centuries. In general, it might be said that the last fifty years have seen the introduction of many new means to the same ends. An imported kerosene stove and cooking utensils are now used to prepare food, but the diet and the etiquette of dining have changed little. The sewing machine and fabrics from the mills of Great Britain now provide clothing, but the costume, save for European shoes, is much the same. A drastic reorientation has not been necessitated by the introduction of these new appearances, and household life in Rowanda can be said to have evolved, and to still be evolving, into something which daily makes increased use of the devices and products of European civilization with great stability.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (no. 1855) 1891
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grove and alleys, and celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. The women in their gayest and richest dresses, their necks and heads hung with strings of silver coins, and with either a scarlet feather or a posy of roses or anemones in their turbans, dance with the men in rings, sometimes to the number of two hundred. The young girls make the most of their holiday, dancing to their hearts' content with their admirers or affianced lovers.

The large Kurdish tribe of the Dooljiks, which is composed of several *thirjés*, forms another heretical sect, called Kizilbakhs. They regard Ali, the first Khalif, as the personified Deity, thus attributing to him, as do the Ali Ilahis of Persia, a much higher position than to the Prophet of Islam. And there is yet a third description of sectarians, called Bektáshi, who regard Ali as the latest manifestation of the Deity in human form. The more mystical among Moslems hold that all the great Prophets who have appeared from the creation of the world—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, Christ, and Mohammed—were successive incarnations of the Divine Spirit, and that the founder of Islam, because the last, was the greatest. But the Bektáshi ignore Mohammed entirely. According to their saying, "He (the Deity) has showed Himself in a thousand ways, and many are in doubt; if he would show Himself in one way, many would believe." Warlike and unruly as are the members of this sect, the American missionaries have been very successful among them. Such, indeed, is the influence of this handful of men from the New World that they

1: Garrett 3--4, 5 (ca. 1860) 1891
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have persuaded some of the most turbulent, whom the Turks have never been able completely to subdue, to lay down their arms, and relinquish their trade of rebellion, robbery, and murder.* 742 777 777

* Henry Consul Taylor, Asia M. Geog. Soc. vol. xxxv. p. 25, who also says that the Kelat claims to be the descendants of Shamma, or Samma, son of Samanhuth, who, with his brother Ashmahit, fled to Samma (south-east of Lake Van), after having murdered their father at Nineveh, and founded three dynasties, one of which was that of the Sammeans, or Sammas. See also Rose of Khorat, i. p. 103, n. p. 145; and the Geography of the Translated Version to St. Martin, i. p. 230, referred to by Mr. Taylor, loc. cit.

and it is important not to confuse the ideal of the intellectual nationalists, a free Kurdish commonwealth, with that which the chieftains and their people are now striving to preserve, a society quite unlike the state.

The Kurds, occupying a mountainous terrain, were but superficially governed by the Iranian and Ottoman governments. Inasmuch as the roads were poor or the country impossible for artillery, the Kurds, a well-armed people, were usually the military equals of their governors. The control of the Iranians and Turks was thus largely confined to the maintenance of police posts and army installations and the attempt, often in vain, to maintain public order and collect a few taxes. Helmut von Moltke, writing in 1838, notes:

> It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman empire comprises vast regions in which the Porte exercises no real authority. It is certain that the Padishah (the Turkish Sultan) has to reconquer widespread regions within the territory of his own state. To this category belong the highlands (of Kurdistan) between the Tigris and the Persian frontier.[1]

In recent decades, however, the Kurds, notably in Iraq and Turkey, have been subjected to the full impact of the modern state and some remarkable changes, comparable to similar developments elsewhere in the Middle East, are beginning to take place, challenging the whole structure of their society. This last, as will be seen, is one which is at once tribal and feudal, formerly directed by a landed aristocracy. A

[1]Quoted in Sefrastian, 1948, p. 39.

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this religion, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages on its rear. Kawandus proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basic population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Kawandus was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Kawandus as an administrative and commercial center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods. Just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army here, although questionable, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand —they still occur—finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq Liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qada is charged to the gaimmaqam.

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

and his Burmah dress comfortable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police are furnished their uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who own land in the country may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is pinned, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in England and other larger towns, is never seen in Kawanaka. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality. Long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Ayshin terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender bamboo to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Kawanaka police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries.

The police are assigned in small numbers to the [illegible], while a larger unit is kept in Kawanaka at the

another one of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Gayrik Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of uniform arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training [illegible] are not concerns us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in extended order, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Kuwaitdue, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Kuwaitdue save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a shop where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli is colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Kuwaitdue, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Tawlikha, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Kuwaitdue beneath the bluff, and there is a

although the farmall is extraordinarily overpriced, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Kawaukwe. Newly enslaved and imported by the Kamangonjia, a man who saw status to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Brazil.

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first world war have changed the bases of the size and importance of Kawaukwe. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Kawaukwe might have experienced certain decline.

information, it would be difficult to assign such a [342] [774]
power plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the
architectural attempt to surround the women in closely [343] [777]
intimate, and, while it had its initial expression under
the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence
in Byzantium under the Turks when such things were carried
to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige
of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special atten-
tion, for certain important customs surround it. The
outer are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and,
having a metal knob, are bolted at night with a heavy
wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece shown
in as a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for [371]
night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed
to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be dis- [767] [777] [781]
cussed in a later section. These are characteristically
a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing,
or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reason-
ing behind the second device is that it indicates to a
person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as
powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that
probably has little to do with the origin of the custom.
Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new [342] [782]
owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting
its throat before the door and smears some of the blood
on the doorposts and the threshold. Often he dips his [751] [771]
hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

Indoors, in a private home, a person dressed in this fashion may discard his turban, placing it on the neck beside him, wearing only the cap. In his own house, particularly during summer, the neck, jacket, and outer trousers are also removed. As far as headdress is concerned, few townsmen remain completely uncovered except when sleeping, and the cap is worn, with or without the turban, a large part of the day.

Several persons in the town wear the Arab style, a *kishtaiha* (colloquial Arabic of Iraq), a full-length garment of wool or cotton buttoned at the neck, and a single turban of a single scarf would flatly shout the stranger. Over the *dishdasha* is sometimes worn the *'aba* or *bisht*, a loose-fitting outergarment usually with short, full sleeves, worn in cold weather and decorated with a thicker border of gold and silver thread. The *mulla* or town priest always wears this garb. In contrast to Arab garments, the innovations in recent years of European cotton pajamas, obtained from the tailors or from Erbil, has been marked. These are worn over the undergarments and are for lounging rather than sleeping. Some of the youths wear them on the streets, and an older student in pajamas and a European cloth jacket is not an uncommon sight in a *chaikhana*. They are not, however, considered polite outdoor attire for persons of dignity. In winter the townsmen put on few unique items of clothing, unless they possess a European overcoat, and bundle up in additional shirts, vests, and

Sak

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. [77] ●
[91]

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding the sandals during the summer. A summer effort the black wool foreign cap instituted by King Feimel I. to replace the red helmet of Ottoman association, rather than the usual European headgear, was others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Turkish officials of higher rank prefer the European felt hat, merely worn by most civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Turkish resistance" to Arab rule. For [Sak]
dress active, the official discards himself of his outer garments but puts on pajamas or the kirbiwiche, the waistcoat, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Sefendis type, these last are generally used by the townsmen. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains [91]
to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Turkish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for indoor use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because almost any garment is passed through the family until finally worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy [91]
to the poor, for clothing is a favorite benefice at the [79]
time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

a matter of social status, and many women, flattering themselves, will bite their nails although their station does not warrant it, to the amusement and sometimes the disgust of others. One noticed from a distance that an elderly woman of the lower class turned against a wall and concealed her face from bright light of flashes. "The old fool," he said, "she thinks herself still a girl." The uncommon or wealthier looked never appear in the streets unveiled, and the old, heavy covering of thinner linen has been replaced completely by the lighter pareu, derived from the Arab cities. This garment is easily formed by knotting together two corners of a large piece of black cloth so as to make a tight circle at one end to the dimension of the head. This circle is placed around the skull with the knot at the nape of the neck and the whole cloth is tossed backwards, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. The forward edges can be controlled with the hands and thrown across the face whenever necessary. Within their homes, most women use a simple headcloth, usually of white gauze, which falls over the shoulders and hangs to the waist, and, just as the men, are infrequently without something on their heads. Among the Europe, however, it is a much greater shame for a girl to have her legs observed by a stranger than her face.

The rich garments of a wedding or the festival, particularly in wealthy houses, are of much the same type, with the addition of a few items and the better quality of

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 593
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 736
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognized. An
object shot of the genie disappears, and their acceptance is
prominent in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 169
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 798
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 65
fant mortality appears to be high, but as individual who
pass adolescence seem to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ma'ma
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re-
place the one who had died [at the age of eleven 'of the [764]
evil eye'], and Shukir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, waking up and down the steep steps
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 777
there have been a number of changes in household life since

the first World War, but they have been more in the substitution of the materials used and in the addition of new items rather than anything radical. Most of these are European, such as kerosene stoves and shoes, and have either displaced older manufactures, some of which survive, or have been readily accepted as new devices. The Kurd, is no innovator, but welcomes new things of a material sort, particularly if they appeal to him as ingenious, as the cigarette-lighter, and are integrated without difficulty into his daily life. It cannot be maintained that the increase of European imports has destroyed the self-sufficiency of the household or of the district, although it has certainly furthered the deterioration of native crafts, for this area has utilized trade from other locales for centuries. In general, it might be said that the last fifty years have seen the introduction of many new means to the same ends. An imported kerosene stove and cooking utensils are now used to prepare food, but the diet and the etiquette of dining have changed little. The sewing machine and fabrics from the mills of Great Britain now provide clothing, but the costume, save for European shoes, is much the same. A drastic reorientation has not been necessitated by the introduction of these new appearances, and household life in Rowanduz can be said to have evolved, and to still be evolving, into something which daily makes increased use of the devices and products of European civilization with great stability.

177 [176] [439] [433]

economic wealth has been cut from beneath them. In an ideal situation, they may survive only as landowners and as they are able to obtain positions in the government. The situation, however, is far from ideal, and in practice many continue as their forebears, side by side with the new competitors. It cannot be denied that they accord the government considerable aid in the maintenance of order, and, at the same time, provide it with great anxiety in their private warfare and political thought. 565 [178]

This Kurdish aristocracy is by no means feeble in the face of such competition, and has the advantage of popular support and sympathy, particularly, as has been seen, because it represents a highly idealized group. It has been said that the Kurds are easy prey to doctrinaire philosophies, specifically Communism, but among them, save in certain of the well-educated, there is no knowledge or sign of what may be called a "class struggle," or, in older terms, the rich or privileged against the poor. The struggle is strictly between Kurdish society as a whole and what they consider an alien system. The investigator has talked at length with a number of dissatisfied Kurdish youths, as well as others in whom such sentiments might be expected, and has heard much of "good" chieftains and "bad" chieftains, but never the aristocracy condemned as such. It must not be thought that the speech of this aristocratic group is "reactionary," in the sense of opposition to modern innovations and the desire to return to older ways. Such things as automobiles, modern firearms, wirelesses, and 565 668 177 146

any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an effe, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowandus area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowandus only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the chaykhanas or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowanduz fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an anamolous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

565 571 647 [431] 875 571 565 626

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive" not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

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of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many images of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males naked[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwakhana, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

The heart of the matter is to be found in the distinction between a society governed by the state and one ruled by tribal or feudal chieftains. The state is no stranger to the area of the Middle East, for it was in this province that it probably made its first appearance and some of the more complex bureaucracies of history were evolved. Nevertheless, there are certain places, Kurdistan among them, where it is a newcomer, and others, such as Saudi Arabia, where it has yet to appear. Ottoman control in Kurdistan was rarely strong, and was characterized by a sort of daily contest between the scattered authorities, supported by their troops and gendarmes, and the local inhabitants in matters of tax-collection and recruitment for the army. Beyond the borders of Turkey and other well-organized districts, the Ottoman Empire was largely oriented for tribute, the enrichment of its officers and the Sublime Porte, and the Turks, aside from their inroads and the prestige attached to conquerors, did little to tamper with the economy and the social structure of their subjects. Rowanduz, before the first World War, was led by its aristocrats and its merchants, and the meager representation of Ottoman rule was regarded as an everyday annoyance which could be circumvented, bribed, or ambushed as the occasion demanded. Insofar as the Turks were satisfied with what little money and recruits they were able to collect, they were not considered greatly detrimental to life.

The rise of the modern state in Iraq provides in places such as Rowanduz, good examples of the impingement

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz
Ma'dan MH12

of a new system of society on one that is older. At the beginning of this section, these two systems were outlined, the "primitive" one headed by a hereditary aristocracy and the "civilised" one by an educated group which includes property-owners, professional men, and a government cadre. The first is represented in the Rowandus district by the Kurdish chieftains and the second by the officials and officers of the central government. The second system is not wholly strange to the area, for the Turks, and perhaps others before them, conditioned the Kurdish populace to the concept of alien rule, if such control was only desultory. The new monarchy, however, first in British and later in Arab hands, introduced a strong administration, something quite new, which, despite a series of revolts, penetrated almost all phases of popular life. This, as has been seen, has resulted in the displacement of the local aristocracy, a process which has been completed in some places and in others is only beginning. The same conflict, with varying results, can be observed elsewhere in Iraq and in the Middle East. Among the "Marsh Arabs" of the southern provinces, for example, there is a bitter conflict between the local shaykhs and the government in matters of land ownership and the collection of taxes. The "Marsh Arabs" also have a record of revolt, and, like the Kurds, have had many of their chieftains imprisoned or exiled, such as Shaykh Salim of the Bani As'ad tribe, still in exile at Baquba.

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Rowanduz, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society of the town is disjointed, for the townsmen continue to regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

as in the case of Mahmud Beg of the Bandost who rules as did his forebears, and must be counted as a factor in everyday life. It is thus that one finds a duality of thought and behavior as far as the two aristocracies are concerned. A landowner in Rowandux spoke of the chieftains as though they were the only important element in society and, at the same time, alternately praised and castigated two of his sons for their respective success and failure in school. The youth who had failed was regarded as a great disappointment, a condemnation which would not have occurred fifty years ago when the upper echelons of society were either inaccessible or unconnected with the prestige and power of the new servants of the state. 177 585 632 624 [867]

pagan, have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant. 771

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the amateur theologians was not of increasing impiety, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of puritan with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be denoted, the lack of condemnation of the government elite for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the faith, in which the townspeople find no interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Kurdish life has evoked conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, alcoholic beverages are not retailed openly in the town and the government elite amuses itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible defamation. Similarly, the most articulate demagogues of Kurdish independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their Arab colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the revolts of the past were partially phrased in religious terms, but it

177 771 [688] [273] 668

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and the regular collection of taxes. If the land is unregistered, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the users, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of efficiency, but it has quantitatively superimposed an administration far different from that of the Turks or the chieftains. 65 [423]

If the changes of the last fifty years which have taken place in Kurdish life are reviewed, it cannot be said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from the society, the areas of discord are few in number. Items of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods, for this dependency on foreign products has apparently been known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the district has, of course, conditioned versatility, but it has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life within the family, and religion almost nothing of a structural nature has been altered or replaced. The locus of modification, then, has been in the economy and the society, for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy, 177 [439] [249]

but the whole structure of society, tribal and feudal, which was only lightly touched by Ottoman rule has been challenged by the modern state. 667

Coupled with the impingement of the state, represented by the monarchy of Iraq, has been the question of Kurdish nationalism. The concepts of this movement are clearly a European importation. They were learned by educated Kurds, officials, officers, and teachers, of the late Ottoman Empire, probably from similarly-affected Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and other subjects of the Sublime Porte. These Kurds, drawn from the higher ranks of Ottoman society, carried nationalism to the people, and something of their success is indicated by the fact that it is difficult to find a Kurd in the rural areas who is not voluble in political matters. Nationalism, with its extravagant vocabulary, found easy listeners in the Kurdish aristocracy. If their administrative functions were to be usurped by the government and the economic exploitation of the commoners eliminated, the chieftains were to become superfluous, although perhaps none of them said this explicitly. The Kurdish aristocracy, whose lives had been oriented around the vendetta and who led a well-armed population, reacted differently than the impotent noblemen of Tchekov's Cherry Orchard or Keyserling's Abendliche Hausser. The first general revolt under Shaykh Mahmud took place in 1922 and the second in 1930. A third occurred in 1932, and the last, that of Mulla Mustafa, at the close of the second World War. 668 668 669

it has had a new class added to its society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an unfamiliar system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, as far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and men are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Rowandus, then, that a new social structure is being realized as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Marsh Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the state of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterized by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially decided, but, failing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participants in the new regime.

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into

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Fig. 20. Loggia with columns made of slim, barked poplar trunks with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. Topzawa.

and the window frames sometimes come apart from the clay walls as the latter smoulder so much that large gaps appear. During dust storms doors and windows become more and more loose. 342

Two phenomena are typical of the Kurdish village houses of a certain size. The one is the central living room, sometimes placed on the first floor, the floor beneath being used as a stable. This central room, *hayvate*[11], looks like a huge niche in the body of the house for it lacks the fourth wall thus becoming a cool, shady apartment during the hot part of the year[12]. The second phenomenon are the columns, often with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. The pillars are formed of slim, barked poplar trunks[13]. The three-walled room is possibly a Kurdish version of an Islamic architectural element, whereas the pillars can trace their ancestry back to Iranian-Achaemenidian architecture which is known as far east as Uzbekistan[14]. Cellars are unknown. The underground living room, *serdâb*[15], typical of Arab urban architecture, is not found in Kurdish buildings. [197]

The houses in the villages are built on hill slopes so that they often have two storeys to the front and only one at the back. As previously mentioned, they are usually built together and provide accomodation for several families. The way up to the flat roofs is nearly always by narrow ladders[16] made of thin poplar trunks with rungs of rounded sticks or pieces of a tree trunk. Inside stair from the ground to the first floor are very rare in villages; where they do occur they are made of clay with

a ledge forming the exterior edge of each step. These steps are exceptionally high and uneven[1]. Some of the houses in Sulaimani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of unfired clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. When the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The two-storeyed houses had a stairway which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a house made of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargala, incidentally its most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of woman's life within the four different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential frame surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Ta'fir's property in the village of Topzawa will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Balkha. The two urban environments, the "educated" and "uneducated" were found within the walls of a single home, that of my interpreter's family at Sulaimani. The picture of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, inhabited by women representing both strata.

Sheikh Taffir's home at Topzawa is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, wife, 40, three sons, 18, 15 and 6, two daughters, 17 and 8, a daughter, 12, of another wife now returned to her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 35, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 25 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a tenant of a room that had no entrance into the house was a poor widow with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 13—15 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Taffir's house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay close to a slightly sloping, unlevelled piece of ground on the outskirts of the village, a little above it. A watercourse, which even in the hottest summer never ran dry, passed alongside the back wall of the property, and water from it was diverted through the wall into a cemented basin, about 2×1×0.75 metres, lying in a small garden, with an outflow under the wall.

The property was divided into three contiguous units: the family house, the farm and the guest wing. The family house was orientated like an urban house with stock and hulu houses around a court. Four high, irregular steps led from the court to the dwelling house, which, on account of the

6: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which then became more a treasury than a bedroom. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, bejewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the quilted-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wait at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the shop house of the village schoolmaster sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

A quite small house in the village of Sulikha has been chosen as an example of the house round the hill of the plain peasant women. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type, with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the only room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the entrance edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Sulikha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed in team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cellar—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, tell or saw, on which the bread sheets, nan, was baked were placed on the fire. The cylinder-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fresh water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dûg*. It is a beverage inferior to ayran, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is nutritious and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a wooden cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of milk/dûg in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[1]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawlik*[2], (L. 22cm), about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dûg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Bekhal).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (fig. 22[3]), was bought in a second-hand shop in the city in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *kayabai*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *çay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, was made expressly for these occasions, is also offered to guests[4], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *Mekûl*, (L. 229cm) about 1.30 - 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the pear-shaped samôvar of pewter or brass[5] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to lift the cylindrical *kanyas* with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, corrugated iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar stained tea glasses about 8 cm. high with uppermost flowered saucers and spoons[6] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the city in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[7]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[8]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is finished and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

CHAPTER III

APPEARANCE

Women's dress. The appearance of Kurdish women is created by her dress, her jewellery and beauty culture. For the prosperous the dress materials are: silk, artificial silk, brocade, satin and velvet. Light colours for the young, dark for their elders. The predominant colours are crimson, purple, turquoise, rose and green. Woman's dress, *libs*, consists of elements essentially Kurdish in form and composition, elements connected with Islam, and elements introduced from Western culture.

Kurdish elements. Trousers, *dwal-i-rish*, (E. 2333, E. 2339) are about 1 m. long and about 2.30 m. wide at the top. Here they are gathered with a casing and run on the hips. At the extremities each trouser leg is 1.15 m. wide and gathered around the ankles[1] with a draw string. From the point of view of cut they are legging trousers[2] with an inserted square gusset 0.25 m. × 0.25 m. The upper part of the trousers is of white cotton material, the lower part of coloured cloth of, say, cotton, taffeta or brocade[3].

Shift or petticoat, *Zir-i-rish*, (E. 2334) is about 0.90 m. long with large arm openings and large, round neckline, identical front and back. The width above is 1.20 m., below 1.70 m. so that it does not tighten when the woman sits tailor fashion. It comes down over the knees hiding the upper, white section of the trousers. The material is shiny, coloured artificial silk.

The gown or kirtle, *kras*[4], (E. 2335, 2340, 2338), is 1.20 m. to 1.30 m. long and drags along the ground. In cut it is a pocket gown[5] with inserted side gores, small circular neck line with short vent[6]. The sleeves are 0.40 m. wide, attached to the body at right angles and ending in funnel-shaped cuffs, the length of which, is 0.85 m. to 1.10 m. These cuffs are pulled out through the sleeves of garments worn on top in cold weather (coat or mufjar, or both) and wound around the under arm. In warm weather, when there are no outer garments, the cuffs are tied in a knot at the points and thrown over the back, leaving the sleeves open and half-length[7]. During prayer the tied cuffs are undone so that they hang out over the hands, the tips reaching the ground. The material of the kirtle can be dark, flowered cotton or patterned chiffon. During work the kirtle may be shortened by being pushed down half-way under the casing of the trousers.

The waistcoat, *xezmi*, (E. 2336, E. 2341) 0.36 m. to 0.40 m. long and 0.40 m. broad consists of two bodice fronts and one back, joined by slanting shoulder seams and straight side seams, or cut out of one piece of material here in from each side so that it only has the slanting shoulder seams. It has big, enlarged armholes. The material is cotton or brocade in strong colours, lined with white cotton.

[P.65]
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 68--ANALYST]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, *qundîl* or *pâpuš*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left foot are identical. European footwear of "Bata"'s make, from high-heeled black patent leather to summer shoes, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture. 291 [297]

Elements connected with Islam. External garment and veil. In Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, *abâ* + *pêšî*, which completely concealed both the face and body. 292

The face veil, *pêšî*, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.46 m. × 0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

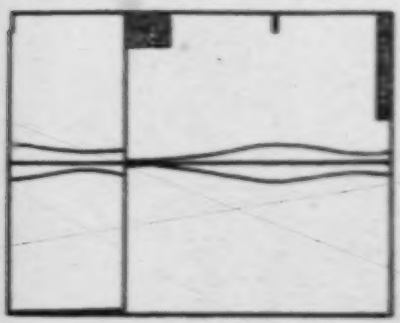
The cloak, *abâ*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion 291

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 75 --ANALYST]

Fig. 59. Woman wearing the black veil and the black cloak, *abâ*, dressed for leaving the house. Babilonsk.

[292] [352] [381]

Fig. 60. Diagram showing the cut of the *abâ* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the cut. Scale 1:30.



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the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the workers serve in a tank along the transverse seam. This tank is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and pinned round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from below to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Loose from Western culture. Long nightgown with padded sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dressy or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long sleeves, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [719]

Distribution of the elements of women's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also shoulder cloth, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 525 291 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's house in Topzawa rolled out dough still baked in wordpris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in winter or warmer weather. 291 [513] [296] [171]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

peculiar to that village, is always used by the peasant women on their way to the fruit plantations at Tawella. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this bundle on the back, an attitude similar to that found in Europe in the days of the bustle. During work in the fields I saw a kind of apron in use. This consisted of a large piece of canvas wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Derkan whilst threading tobacco leaves on a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—so far as I was given to understand—by new arrivals in Topzawa, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an extra long kirtle lifted up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver buttons[1]. No turban was worn with this dress, but a hood with two long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Hawraman[2]. As with the village aristocracy the plain peasant woman dons the black veil and *abā* when visiting towns.

The educated urban environment evinces a highly heterogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[3]. If I review the various dress types in which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the home, were, as for other urban women unlike the women in the two village environments, the black face veil and *abā*. Under this her dress could be a costume composed of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the aristocratic village milieu, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, whilst at the same time retaining as usual the trouser casing round her hips—an arrangement she transformed to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her teacher colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer kirtles of coarsely-woven tulle so transparent that they disclosed the fashioned European petticoats which in this female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (E. 2293) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black *abā* my interpreter might have a long rose nightgown with or without its appurtenant jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is not in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adopted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In this educated urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of a girdle. This adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that day

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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585
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352
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Fig. 63. European wedding dress (cf. p. 77,133). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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[832]

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11.

291 369 177

evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The uneducated urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village woman, in the uneducated urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married woman, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

291 369 184

Fig. 64. Ordinary peasant environment. Halabja.
Fig. 65. Uneducated urban environment. Sulaimani.

291 516 [863] 192 301

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

89 11

The "Kurdish elements" of women's dress viewed in a larger context.

Area	Illustration	Examples in the National Museum of Denmark	Trousers	Unbelted	Kirtle	Waistcoat	Belt	Collar	Turban	Headcloth	Apron
Egypt	Lane 1964, 42ff., 48ff.		+		+		+	+	+	+	
Arabia	Musil 1928, 122, 125				+		+		+		
	Dickson 1951, 134ff.	F. 343, 45-47 (Qatar)	+	+	+			+	+	+	
Syria and Palestine	Jessin 1934, 481ff., 501		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	Dalman 1937, figs. 42, 88, 89				+				+	+	
		F. 440a-h (Hama)	+	+	+		+		+		
		F. 453 (Hama)			+						
Iraqi Kurdistan	Cf. Edmonds 1937, 87ff.	E. 2333–37, E. 2339–48	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Armenia	Bishop 1891, II, 242, 351		+	+			+	+			+
		M. 409a–d	+				+	+			+
Turkey	Pentzer 1936, 168ff.		+	+		+	+	+	+		
Turkish Kurds		M. 413a–d	+			+	+	+			
		M. 558a–c	+				+	+			
		M. 563a–f	+	+		+	+	+			+
Iran	Chardin 1711, IV, fig. facing p. 158, no. XXIII		+		+			+			
		E. 1474	+		+			+		+	
	Fowler 1841, I, 136. II, Title picture		+		+					+	
Iranian Kurds	Aristova 1958, fig. 1, 3, pag. 226, 235		+		+				+	+	
Bakhtiaris	Bishop 1891, II, 117		+		+						
Lurs	Feilberg 1952, 120ff., figs. 111, 112, 114	E. 346–51	+		+				+	+	

As appears from the table, where an attempt has been made to compare the main elements of Kurdish female costume with that of a similar nature in surrounding areas, the visible trousers of genuine Kurdish dress correspond to those worn in all adjacent territories. The same applies to the kirtle, with the exception of Turkey and Armenia. The long pointed sleeves characteristic of the Kurdish kirtle is paralleled by the costume worn by Arab bedouins and, particularly, in the Syrian-Palestinian dress, from which these sleeves can be presumed to have been derived. The waistcoat of Kurdish women is probably a loan from Turkish costume. The caftan is an accessory to female costume in all regions. The Kurdish tribes in Turkish and Armenian areas are influenced by the kirtle-less dress of

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Turkish women and the Armenian costume with apron, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most closely paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1474). According to Bishop (1891, I, 214) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1800. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "hollow" shirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2235).

The Luri in Iran, visited and described by Fellberg, have the same type of trousers-kirtal-caftan costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Fellberg 1952, 119, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Peasant women		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and caftan	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and brow cloth		×		×		(×)		×
III	Head cloth	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
IV	Sash or belt	(×)	(×)	(×)	(×)	×	×	(×)	(×)
V	Footwear	(×)	×			×	×	(×)	(×)
VI	Face veil *abd*	(×)	(×)	(×)	(×)	×	×	×	×
VII	Cotton material			×	×			×	×
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	×	×		(×)	×	×		
IX	Dress changes					×	×		
X	European garments					×	×		

×: The element appears constantly everywhere.
(×): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not constant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married woman in all environments. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married woman and constitutes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European frocks.

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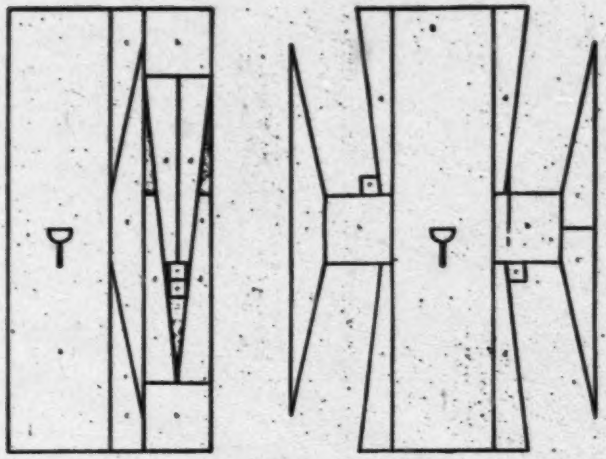

Fig. 66. Demonstration of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's kirtle. Scale 1:30.
a: the body; b: the two sleeves; c: the two funnel-shaped cuffs (one of them sewn together from two pieces); d: the four side gores; e: the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (Cf. fig. 51).

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[439]
177
[463]
[804]

The production of feminine garments. The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[25] from abroad for sale in the *sūq* of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2352a–c). The padded garments like jackets and caftans are made by bazar tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[26]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, *gēz*, (E. 2272). This is a round stick, 0.535 m. long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together by a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-kirtle and kirtle are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and utilize most ingeniously the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measurements, well-known to the bazar tailors. When cutting-out the kirtle the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (1 yard). Feilberg[27] writes of the Lurs measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes at one time used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the foot.

[804]

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302 *Beauty culture.* Women's hair is cut short at the side of the head in line with the mouth. Older women in the two village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu wear their back hair long, plaited in an unequal[33] number of plaits. The cutting off of the side hair has led, in the case of the younger women of the village aristocracy and all women in the educated urban milieu to cutting it all round the head so that the result resembles the European-American bobbed hair of the '20es. Kurdish women's [192] hair is curly and looks as if it were permanent-waved, but I never saw any woman go to the hairdresser. The women cut each other's hair and that of their girls. Women's hair is black, but ash-blonde or [386] blonde is not unusual in the case of small girls. Women often dye their hair red with *xanna*[34]. The result is a somewhat carroty tint. This is done in the case of young people and children for æsthetic reasons. On the other hand the grey hair of age is concealed by the aid of a double dye. The hair is 302 first dyed red with *xanna* produced from the dried, pulverized leaves of *Lawsonia alba (inermis)*[35], 386 which is bought in the *sûq* in linen bags ready for use (E. 2356). It is then dyed green with indigo *(Indigo fera anil)*. After 24 hours, during which time the head is swathed in a cloth, the hair assumes the desired ink-black, rather heavy, colour[36].

Henna is also used to stain the soles of the feet, the sides of the foot, the toes, and the palm of the hand and finger tips[37]. This staining I only saw resorted to in the two village environments. Within the village aristocracy this form of beauty culture is gradually becoming engaged in a struggle with [199] European-American nail varnish which, like the henna, can be purchased in the *sûq* and has also found its way to the villages. Nail varnish of whatever tint serves to emphasize the whiteness of the skin. The henna dye hides it. Use of them both results in a most unfortunate meeting between East and West, particularly when the henna dye gradually fades without at any time appearing unsightly, whilst the nail varnish peels off, as varnish remover is not apparently indulged in, giving a very slovenly effect.

302 Beauty aids also includes eye make-up, *kel*, that is to say powdered antimony (E. 2355), kept in a small brocade bag, *kel-tûr*, (E. 2354a). Eye make-up is smeared on with a small wooden stick, about 0.062 m. long, *kel-têw*, (E. 2354b-c), which is pushed over the lashes, the eye being kept closed[38].

American cosmetics could be bought in the *sûq* at Sulaimani, in the big store, Orasti Bak, and similar shops in Baghdad. A large flat velvet beauty box belongs to the trousseaux in urban environments. A bride coming from Sulaimani to a humble village milieu will be very made-up, but this is only practised on special occasions.

304 Tattooing[39], on the other hand, must be considered as belonging to the more permanent forms of beauty treatment, though it was not practised among the Kurdish women I had an opportunity of observing. Tattooing consists of single or groups of spots round the mouth, a stroke across the mouth, spots on the forehead, or the back of the hand, the inlcep or between the breasts. It was said that tattooing was performed with an ordinary sewing needle dipped in a paste of eye make-up (antimony) or soot mixed with milk[40].

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Fig. 70. Left: man's dress of Rowanduz type. Right: man's dress of Sulaimani type.
Fig. 71. Men's dress of Sulaimani type. The funnel-shaped cuffs of the shirts are wound round the arms.

The elements of men's dress. Insofar as I had an opportunity to study it, men's dress in Southern Kurdistan presents a less complicated picture than women's. However, men's dress also contains special Kurdish and foreign elements. The genuine Kurdish male dress is a trouser costume[41]. Two types can be determined, each connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the Sulaimani region, the other of the district around Rowanduz.

Kurdish elements. Shirt, *kᵛrk*, (E. 2314) is made of plain, white cotton material. In cut it is a shortened poncho-caftan[42], 0.86 m. long and a span of 1.96 m. Open in the front, it is fitted with a low collar. The shirt's breadth over the shoulders is 0.67 m. Two sleeves, 0.24 m. long and 0.38 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at acute angle. These sleeves terminate in funnel-shaped cuffs, like those known in Syrian male dress[43]. The cuffs prolong the arm by 0.34 m. and hang down 1.10 m. like long gussets exactly the same as the sleeves of a woman's kirtle. Just as with the woman's dress, these funnel-shaped cuffs are drawn out through the garment worn above the shirt, and wound around

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is thus smooth, devoid of longitudinal creases, but after the garment is made it is decorated with green machined embroidery. The cut is the same as that of the trousers previously described, but the rhomb-shaped gusset is cut quite narrow (see diagram), so that the result is that the trouser legs are far wider. Superficially they are reminiscent of European seamen's trousers[53], diametrically opposed to the other, "peg top cut", type. On closer examination, however, it is found that the cut of the two types is identical. The narrow gusset gives a width of 0.80 m. to the bottom of the legs, as opposed to a width of 0.40 m. for the other type. The length, 0.90 m. is the same for both types and the same applies to the width at the top, which is 2.00 m.

Jacket, *kāpā*, from the Rowanduz area (E. 2322b). Of the same shape and cut as those of the Sulaimani area but, like the trousers belonging to it, made of broader-woven, smooth hempen material so that the jacket of this type is only sewn out of 6 length of material. It has no collar. Like the trousers it is embellished with green, machined embroidery along the edges. The length of the jacket is 0.70 m., span 1.72 m.

In both types of men's dress the jacket is worn stuck down into the trousers and the gathered casing at the top concealed by a long, thick and broad sash wound several times around the waist.

Sash, *pīlān*, is about 4.00 m. long, shaped like a cylinder in which a lining is inserted. This lining, which acts as a stiffener, is made of rags sewn together. On the outer side the sash can be flowered artificial silk (E. 2317, length 3.35 m.), of mauve velvet (E. 2323, length 3.09 m.), or of heavily-flowered cotton material. They are sold by hawkers in the *sūq*, for example in Sulaimani.

Footwear during the summer I was in Southern Kurdistan was European leather shoes from the "Bata" factory in Czechoslovakia, local leather, or cloth shoes, *kālāk*[54], (E. 2320). The element least connected with dress, shoes, are removed during prayers, on entering a mosque, and before treading on the rugs of the house. Cloth shoes are unexcelled for moving about in the mountains; there is no difference between right and left foot. A thick sole is formed by strips of cloth being folded together rectangularly[55], 0.115 m. long and 0.03 m. broad (E. 2274a-c) and hammered flat with a cone-shaped

[Text continues TOP of P. 94--analyst]

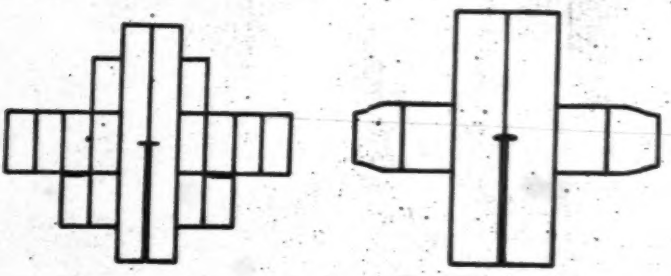

Fig. 75. Diagram. Cut of the jacket (E. 2316a) of Sulaimani type. Scale 1:30.
Fig. 76. Diagram. Cut of jacket (E. 2322a) of Rowanduz type. Scale 1:30.

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291 copper hammer, 0.175 m. long, *multe*, (E. 2273)[36], tinned on the outside and ending at the top with a knob. The strips are then placed side by side and a leather strap is drawn through them making a sole which is given a crocheted upper of white cotton yarn. A piece of leather inserted into each end of the sole protects it against wear. These cloth shoes is made in the *sûq*, one man producing the sole, another the upper. In the area I visited the nicest and stoutest cloth shoes were made by the craftsmen in the *sûq* at Tawella (cf. fig. 79).

Men's headdress, like women's, is a cap with a turban cloth wound round it.

The cap, *kʷâw*[37], could be of crocheted cotton yarn (E. 2325), of black and white silken yarn (E. 2318) sewn with a pointed crown and side pieces of mauve cotton material (E. 2324), or have a flat crown and be decorated with coloured silk and gold embroidery (E. 2326) to mention a few examples. The cap or skull-cap, which is not a fez like the women wear, can be worn alone. However, to be properly dressed the cap should always be swathed in a rectangular head cloth, fringed at the edges[38], folded diagonally. This is twisted into a coil the thickness of an arm and from the man's neck wound around the head from right to left, the one end hanging down. The other end is pushed into the convolutions. The turban, the fringes of which hang down over forehead and neck, could be arranged in more or less pillow form.

Turban cloth, *mîkî* (?) or *šafta*[39], may be of cotton or silk. As example can be mentioned a cloth (E. 2319) of black and light-grey silk, 1.20 m. × 1.46 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long knotted into tassels on the two long sides. A cloth (E. 2321) of mauve and grey silk, 1.55 m. × 1.86 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long hanging loose on the two long sides. Turban cloths, known as *jamana* (E. 2327) of European black and white chequered cotton material, 1.35 m × 1.35 m. with fringes on all four sides—the same cloth that Arabs wear folded diagonally.

In addition to the male dress here reviewed a felt waistcoat, known as *fûrâjî*, (E. 2328) is worn by shepherds, amongst others. This is perhaps the "*pestek*" mentioned by Edmonds—"a felted waistcoat worn over the jacket"[40]. This felted waistcoat is unsewn[41]. It is not cut and sewn together with seams, but so-to say modelled. Its length is 0.55 m. When worn the arms protrude through holes at the arm pits, whilst the rudiments of short arms stick out like flat flashes resting on the man's shoulders.

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291 1977 *Foreign elements of men's dress.* The woolen cloak caftan, *abâ*, a characteristic feature of Arab male dress, is not worn by the men (though made of black silk, it is the street dress worn by Kurdish women). Amongst the Kurds I only saw the Arab caftan, *zabûn*, worn by a single *mulla* and a couple of old sheikhs in Shedala and Serkan. It therefore cannot be said to be a regular element of men's dress in Southern Kurdistan.

Diametrically opposed to the Arab caftan costume that hides the legs and the trousers, *libâs*[42], worn underneath, provided a loin cloth only is not worn, Kurdish men's dress, like that of the Turks, is definitely a trouser habit. This has given rise to the Kurd's nickname for the Arabs: "The trouserless"[43].

On the other hand the long Arab kirtle sewn in striped materials is included as an element of Kurdish male dress, but only as a home and sleeping garment worn above the ample Kurdish drawers. It is only seen amongst town dwellers.

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Whereas Arab elements thus only appear sporadically in Kurdish male dress, certain European elements have been adopted. The first item of genuine Kurdish male dress to be exchanged was footwear. This was replaced by European leather shoes. In replacement of the Kurdish jacket a European jacket with collar, lapels and pocket was seen worn with the Kurdish trousers of the Sulaimani area type. But despite its form, intended to be worn outside the trousers, it was tucked down into them inside the casing and tied round with the long waist sash. Sometimes the original native jacket could be seen influenced by the European jacket to the extent that a breast pocket had been added.

In many cases a European suit had replaced the Kurdish *rānā-o-rāgā* in Sulaimani. With this a European shirt, tie and socks were worn. On the other hand, even under a European suit the baggy Kurdish drawers were retained. This is due to the custom of removing one's outer garments at home. In fact an informal visit to a café could be paid in one's underclothes[54]. Naturally the wide and ample Kurdish drawers were more suitable for this purpose than their European counterpart.

Another European element adopted by more advanced young Kurds is pyjamas (cf. p. 37). As in this cultural pattern one sleeps in the same clothing as that worn by day, pyjamas became a garment that could be worn all round the clock. My interpreter's 26 year old brother rose from his pallet in pyjamas, took his seat in the hired car that was to convey us over the desert to Baghdad, and eight hours later entered an Arab hotel in the main street of that town in the same creased attire.

In Kurdish male dress pyjamas certainly appeared to be something of an urban phenomenon. In the villages I only saw pyjamas worn by the sheikh's young son at Topzawa. The uncle, the 35 year old Mama Khala, told me that this Western habit was only about 15 years old, and that personally he was no admirer of it as it was so unsuited to the tailor's position whether on the floor or on one of the large, clumsy sofas. The son, Sardar, who favoured pyjamas, on one single occasion also wore a European suit. Apart from that occasion this dress was not worn in the villages.

Men wore no headdress with European clothes. Nor did I see any man wearing European dress taking part in the daily prayers ordained by Islam[55]. However, when men dressed in Kurdish fashion were to pray, they twined the turban cloth around the skull cap if it had been removed, and slipped off their shoes. I did not see them loosen the cuffs of their shirts as women loosen their sleeves prior to the prostrations of prayer[56]. The somewhat too-pointed, black-white or brown-white European shoes, calculated to appeal to the Oriental sense of luxury, constituted—on account of the laces that had to be loosened and tied—a breach of certain traditional habits in the cultural pattern.

Whereas women's clogs, slippers, or low cut European shoes were easy to step out of before walking on the rugs or felt mats in the home, and always lay around in a singularly unowned way outside the carpeted area—incidentally being used by all the women of the house in turn, regardless of ownership—men's European shoes were personal property necessitating bending down and loosening laces every time they were to be taken off, and tying when put on. These European shoes thus conflicted with the admirable custom that footwear should never come into contact with rugs and mats. In the same way this kind of footwear made it difficult easily to adopt the tailor's posture on the floor or to draw the legs up under one when sitting in chair or sofa. These shoes therefore constitute a step towards a readjustment of the pattern of movement and sitting habits[57].

Authentic Kurdish male dress[58], in type akin to the Turkish[59], followed the example set by the

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854 171 tangular in form with a flat wooden base and trellised sides, so that a crate results[31], evinces the same principle as the Kurdish hanging cradle. In its simplest and most primitive form this stationary hanging cradle was brought back from the Luristan. It possesses features of both the transportable *byeška* and the stationary frame cradle. The Luristan cradle (E. 289) consists of a "rocking board" composed of two parallel pieces of bamboo to which the child must have been fastened in order to remain lying and particularly to retain the urine tube in position. The cradle has cords at each end and is suspended from a transverse pole resting on two forked sticks[32]. There are two examples of urine tubes, pipe-shaped for a male child (E. 291), and formed like an open canal for a female (E. 290). According to report they are not placed vertically as in the Kurdish *byeška*, but horizontally as in Kalmuk cradles.

Of the three types of cradles used in Kurdistan, all of which are also used in Iran, the portable one [177] seems to be a nomadic element deriving from the nomad tribes of Central Asia, the hammock cradle seems to be an Iranian-Arab element, whilst the stationary hanging cradle in a frame points towards India.

854 In the Kurdish *byeška* the child was only kept in and fastened to it at night, and in the two other types of cradle only by day as long as it slept. The child awake was carried around by bigger sisters or lay in the arms of sitting women. Out in the villages one always saw the slightly larger girls with a smaller child on their backs. Even a sick child, in one case a very sick child, is considered better placed

Fig. 91. Mother and child. Evening in a home viewed through the eyes of a 13 years old boy. Sulaimani.

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in its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Nursing. According to the Coran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sure 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity ... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ...". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the *sūq*. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could—and particularly what it could not—eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[33].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 55 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 26 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 15 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (19, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to use scent whilst his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[34]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kurr*, is more desired than a girl, *kīč*. Muhammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Coran that male children are more desirable than female[35]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

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In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Balkha, Serkan and Sargalu, but not by any means in all. In Topzawa and Rakawa there were no schools. Sometimethere could be a Coran school in connexion with a mosque as, for example, at Sargalu, which chilern attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Longrigg and Stoakes[34]. I shall here deal with the reflection of the school in the homes where stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read andwrite.

As pointed out by Longrigg and Stoakes, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed" in a community like the Kurdish. How decisive a watershed, can be seen if we observe the differencebetween working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Topzawa sheikh's 13 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unadaptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the house. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywher except in the wall niches, repositories for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in this dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In additin it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, I faced examples of the various trainingpossibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a folk-school teacher at the Teachers' Training College at Baghdad[36]. During her studies she had livedthere as a boarder. The training here lasted two years if the girl was to teach at one of the few 6 yers primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Goizha School for Girls opened in Sulaimani in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible to the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the schoolwork of her 16 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathmatics to complete her 3 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her protracter nd ruler, lay in the wall niches all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the flor in a corner and tried in vain to concentrate on the circles and triangles she was describing or the alculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the house. With books and drawing instruments under her black *abd* she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shorty after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with two uneducated women in the house, where all contact between women took place in the home, conditions for working shool children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sulaimani's urban milieu, girls at school are absentfrom the home for many hours a day, their home training as wives and mothers is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were teachers, as was the case at my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 4 persons devolved, except for the holidays, on the two uneducated wives at home. In addition there was the cleaning of grain and the baking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman labour is

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583 114 369 does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lets the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[120], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

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585 291 *Wedding preparations.* Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, thus a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was smashed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

[MM] The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English grey the shirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

585 302 515 The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girl, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[122]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[123] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "Ibbin shimmar", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[124]. At another place Lane[125] refers to a depilatory, "noorah", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

[305] This removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[126]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[127].

585 291 197 In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connexion with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, plain nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

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were exceedingly modest. Modesty, on the other hand, was of a type different from what we are accustomed to in our pattern of behaviour.

They felt dislike at displaying the naked body. All changing of clothes during the day among women took place in a squatting position without the body at any time being uncovered. An elsewhere European summer dress in which the daughter of the Sheikh of Topzawa had wanted to be photographed caused her to break off the sitting and to dash into the dark cookhouse in the courtyard, where she sat hunched up in the corner with her naked arms slung protectively around her bare legs, when two peasant women from the village, fetching water, happened to pass the gate to the courtyard. In the urban milieu, when my interpreter and I took a steam bath together in the bathroom, she always kept her hand covering her lap when the sitting position on the small wooden stools whilst being dowsed was not sufficiently concealing.

On the other hand shyness did not apply when relieving nature. This took place collectively and in the presence of other women fetching water from the basin, where water was available for the subsequent washing, whether in the garden basin of the sheikh's houses at Topzawa and Serkan, at the more private well-like shaft in the courtyard of the Sheikh's house at Sargalu, or at one of the big public washing basins for women in the villages. This was done discretely sheltered by the ampleness of women's costumes, but was not a private but a joint undertaking, in which solitude and peace was neither sought nor expected.

The wedding. Lane[128] says that Arabs have a special preference for Mondays and Fridays for the celebration of weddings—that is to say the day on which the bride is handed over to the bridegroom—whereas, according to Hangi[129], the Turk-stamped Bosnian Muslims favour Sundays and Thursdays.

To judge by the four wedding feasts I had an opportunity of witnessing, wholly or in part, in Southern Kurdistan, the Kurds appear to follow the Turks in this matter. In the villages the two weddings took place on Sundays (16 June and 14 July, 1957), the third on a Wednesday (22 May, 1957), whilst the one wedding I was present at at Sulaimani was celebrated on a Thursday (8 August, 1957). Later my interpreter informed me by letter of her brother's wedding, which took place on a Monday (25 August, 1958). No rule can be discerned from such sparse material, merely the negative one that the Arab predilection for Friday—the most important day of the week for Islam—as the day for the handing over of the bride does not apply in the case of the Kurds. The weddings I witnessed in Topzawa and its neighbouring village, Rakawa, took place in a humble village milieu. The upper class village milieu wedding was not celebrated during my stay in Southern Kurdistan.

At two of the three village weddings I was able to observe the men's role in the festivities, at the third the women's. In all three cases, however, I was in the bridegroom's home to which the bride was brought. In none of the cases did I have an opportunity to see what went on in the bride's home.

The fetching of the brides, *bāk*, who all came from outside, was a matter for the men[130]. At 6 in the morning a cortège of hired cars filled with men left the village for the bride's residence. Among the men, most of those in the village, was the bridegroom's father, but not the bridegroom, *zāwā*.

that the husband will have the future mastery in the home[33], an explanation I did not hear given for the blow suffered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the fowl and the blow given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture. As Nikitine points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[34].

In urban circles in Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding viewed from the opposite angle to that last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an educated milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergencies in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

At this wedding the family's own men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people most concerned, who both belonged to the educated milieu, wanted some months later to seek positions as school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding this house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken, only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and loggia of this quite small house that the groom's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled to some extent because the arrangement of the two rooms and loggia was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister to such an extent that she locked the three arranged rooms: the bed-room, the guest reception room and the small windowless store room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from upsetting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village aristocracy. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accomodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and in hired cars to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and *ḥirbā*, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

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Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a clumsy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narrow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red velvet silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connection with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amounting to 42 DM—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[133], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus ran the same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

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the door to the loggia he greeted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad.

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, traded for flour and sugar, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to carry among the women of Sheikh Taiffe's house in Topzawa. When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the waistband of the one, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice.

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Nikitine[49], who says: "Les Kurdes aiment beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("dèrî"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial en persane ... on l'ouvre à l'aveuglette, on regarde la sentence qui s'y trouve la première et on consulte l'indicateur que porte en haut chaque page ("bien" ou "mal") ...". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1275). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sargalu, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[50]. We visited a saint's grave outside Halabja. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the carpet-hung superstructure from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her menses (cf. p. 153) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a rag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall at the side of the grating. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not.

Saints' graves were found in a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Tawella near to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *tekuge*[51], was apparently a Sufi religious house[52]. The superstructures over the saints' graves inside were like houses and were hung with silken rugs[53]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[54] respectfully, and scraped some soil scraped together and handed her[55] by the *mulla* who accompanied us. Over that part of the building, the architecture of which evinced considerable Persian influence in the horseshoe arches, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was surmounted by a hand with outstretched fingers.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

turban, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured head veil. Nikitine refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le visage de la female est couvert avec une mouchoir rouge pour que .... les jours de sa vie familiale qui commencera soient rouges (c'est-à-dire heureux)"[4]. Although this yellow-saffron veil covers the face, as is also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it must not be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[5], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that reach up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Granqvist in the case of Palestinian Arabs[6]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sack, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a caftan hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the saffron-coloured veil was used in the other feminine milieus.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent red-white "bridal" veil, used in the humble village milieu, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the escorting cars were closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[7].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's car is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficiency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil seen in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village tradition.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the women's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an uppermost over-garment, the *Arabi abā* worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Russia in 1938 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the *abā*-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognized by it[8].

Sura 24, verses 30-31[9] of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

4: Honaco E-5 (1997) 1961 MA11: Kurd MA11

Sura 24, verses 30-31

of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sura 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognized as honest women. Sura 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allah* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (*of women*), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allah* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[4].

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Mohammed[5], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Suras of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or scarf, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a man's habit. Unknown and unrecognizable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodward[6] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil .... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral promotion; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand .... an entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ....".

Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 70). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu."Many times in the city at feasts I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also disorders the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[1] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammad, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sura 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[2]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convivialist between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *sûq*, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has led to personal bond in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

INTRODUCTION

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[36] Scattered over the South Kurdish countryside are a great number of small, compact villages, essentially similar in their physical aspects, yet highly variegated with respect to their composition and organization, ranging from extended lineage organizations to fully developed feudal organization. Thus, on the village level, there is a great diversity of forms of social organization. Yet the *culture* of the area seems essentially uniform, and these alternative principles of organization are universally known. In the recent history of some villages, there has been a rapid, fundamental change from one type of social organization to another. In the following, an attempt will be made to discuss these various types of organization as they express themselves in the actual power hierarchy of individuals in the village. The discussion will thus be directed towards discovering what types of social categories exist, what actual powers each category entails, and which of these categories are found in harmoneous conjunction — since some of the categories that belong in different basic frameworks of social organization are, as might be expected, mutually exclusive in any local community.

177 It seems probable that a fluid and complex situation of this type is characteristic of societies which lie in the shatter zone between larger culture areas — in this case, between the Arab, Persian, and Turkish. Such a location produces familiarity with various competing normative systems, principles of organization, and power hierarchies. This familiarity on the part of the villager leads to attempts at

manipulating these various systems and principles. Thus competing factions, manipulating the familiar (but in part mutually exclusive) systems, will establish different power hierarchies in different villages, resulting in the present variety of forms of social organization found in the area.

However, one type of basic organization may be said to be autonomously Kurdish. This is usually called *tribal*, and is based on the *lineage principle*. Any movement away from this basic framework of organization will be the result of the above type of manipulations, and may be seen as a step in a «de-tribalization process». A special attempt will be made to explore the structure of the tribal group, and its reactions to the pressures that tend to lead to its breakdown.

Certain characteristics of the lineage system in its Kurdish application might profitably be stated immediately, to avoid confusion. The Kurds practice close family endogamy with preferential FaBrDa marriage, and a Kurdish descent group shows many consequent characteristics, among which is a tendency towards constant branching and the establishment of new, independent endogamous subsections. The concept of a lineage, as developed for other areas, normally applies to an *exo*gamous grouping. However, the main importance of the lineage concept is in the field of political organization, and it will be seen that the political functions of the Kurdish descent groups and the African lineage groups are essentially similar. This might be expected, if only from the following consideration: Women in Kurdish society are normally of minimal political importance, and matrilineal descent has no political significance. The strictly *patri*lineal descent group will be unmodified by any patterns of preferential marriage. Since this, in Kurdish society, is the politically significant group, the fact of endogamy has no direct political importance. I have therefore chosen to call this patrilineal descent group a *lineage* when politically recognized.

After an orientation on some factors which are uniform over the whole South Kurdish area, notably in the field of subsistence and kinship, the formal lineage organization will be discussed, as well as the basic pattern of non-tribal formal organization; and the fundamental composition of the resulting local groups will be treated.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

stable, and official administration, directed from Baghdad, grew in scope and progessively enlarged its area of effective control.

Such then is the background of the villages where the following material was collected. They are primarily tenant villages in the Suleimani valley, or villages dominated by freeholding Hamawand farmers. However, certain aspects of local social structure become clear only by comparison with other situations — particularly those found in the *Jaf* areas — or by historical comparisons and deductions. The data on Jaf organization was obtained from a limited number of informants on short visits to various villages. For historical material, C. J. Rich's accounts (op.cit) have been found most useful.

I have tried to avoid bringing conditions and factors in the towns of Suleimani, Chemchemal, Halebja, etc. into the picture. The numerous «Western» influences in these centers are extremely complicated and difficult to evaluate. In the intricacies of the class and near-caste system, differential contacts and reactions due to sub-cultures are indeed complex. The rural areas, on the other hand, show greater uniformity in patterns: the tribal areas are organized and separable, and the tenant villagers, in their small, endogamous communities, have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism. There is a popular story illustrating this localism: A donkey belonging to one of the tenant farmers in a village ran away; so the farmer followed it, to catch it. The donkey climbed up the hillside, far away from the village, but the farmer did not want to lose it. So he followed it high up into the mountains, never turning, and finally close to the mountain top he caught it. On turning around he saw below him the whole beautiful Shahr-i-zur plain, in which his own village lay. The peasant gasped and exclaimed: «I never knew the world was so vast!»

What goes on in the towns belongs, as far as most villagers are concerned, to a quite separate world, and it seemed both in the field and in working up the notes valid to separate off the Kurdish *countryside* as the area of study. But due to diversity even in this area, any attempt at giving a conventional anthropological description of «the culture» of «the society» must fail. Each of the compact, widely separated little villages shows characteristics of its own, local

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowanduz with subsidiary police posts at Rayat and Gelala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

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To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A[1] are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winter; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various valleys; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Rayat valley.

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B. Foothill Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

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* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.M.Hamilton - Road through Kurdistan.

1 [Rowanduz -- Analyst]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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Apart from these two non-tribal villages, all the groups in the Balik and Dergala areas are at least 95% pure Kurdish. The intrusive element is provided by a few Jews and Assyrian Christians who as a rule carry on some special trade such as weaving or carpentry and are thus tolerated as useful members of the community. 563 463

Method of Analysis.

As is clear from what has already been said, the tribal organisation of the various groups throughout the area under review have all to a greater or less degree been effected by contact with, and interference by the external administrative authority. If we go so far as to assume that at one time there was a form of social organisation which could be regarded as the typical norm for all the hill tribes of this region, it is certain that such a norm can nowhere now be found functioning in its complete state. Kurdish society as it exists today is a society undergoing extremely rapid and at times violent social change. As we shall see there are powerful and perhaps irresistable forces at work tending not so much to the modification as to the total destruction and disintegration of existing forms of tribal organisation. In such circumstances, in order to make the description intelligible at all, some degree of idealisation seems essential. In the main therefore I shall seek to describe Kurdish society as if it were a functioning whole and then show up existing circumstances as variations from this idealised norm. I am aware that such a method makes the resulting description to some extent subjective and that on many points I have not the empirical data to check the validity of my hypothetical norm. In the circumstances however it appears to be the most reasonable procedure to adopt. 177 • 121

The External Administration

The precise form of the external administration has no very direct bearing on the Kurdish social system as described in this monograph. But at various points in the argument especially in the section dealing with economic problems reference will have to be made to elements in the administrative organisation, and it seems desirable therefore to give first a brief description of the functions and relationships of the various members of this external organisation. 177 635

The administrative system of Iraq has been developed out of that of the old Ottoman Empire. The terminology remains in many respects unaltered. The whole of the Kurdish area here under

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622 landlord of the soil - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village Guest House. As we shall see later these two functions are closely interrelated.

000 Social Organisation Areas other than Balik

As explained earlier my information for groups other than the Balik must be treated with reserve. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

621 Area B. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as
• 177 the Surchi and the Khushnao were originally organised on much the same lines as described above but that owing to their relatively long period of contact with an external administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relation with their tenants. The villages moreover lack the clan homogeneity noticeable among the Balik.

621 Area C. Mention has already been made of the principle settled tribes of this area, the Dizai and the Girdi. With the Dizai as recorded by Hay the organisation is feudal rather than tribal, since the village Aghas are not of the same kin group as their tenants. I was told that "all the Dizai call each other amosa" implying, if true, that the whole tribe consists of one taifa only. With the Girdi the position appears to be somewhat different. Jemil Agha, their paramount chief, is himself a Girdi but is a townsman in habit and holds himself very much aloof from his followers.

361 In its technological aspects the plains culture differs
312 markedly from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important sociological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are larger than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites (Bahrika for instance) have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Nomads

621 Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organisation of tribes such as the Herki differs in many respects from that of the settled tribes. In terminology the term kabila appears to correspond to ashiret and khel to taifa but the identity may not be exact. The term hoba corresponds to gund and implies a small settlement of tents in one location. This last term is also used by the settled peoples. Thus among the Shevdini

of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as follows:-

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Menservants	
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
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In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee: especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship, between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 5

Warfare

Under present conditions large scale warlike activities on the part of the tribes are a complete impossibility, but that does not justify us in dismissing the topic of warfare altogether as being of no relevance to the present social situation. Historically speaking the traditional forms of Kurdish social organisation are associated with an ideology of raids and counter raids, war, pillage and feud. Earlier writers have undoubtedly greatly exaggerated the extent to which the average Kurd in former times did in fact devote himself to murder, violence and loot, but in describing this preoccupation they were, after all, only accepting the Kurd at his own valuation. The Kurdish ideal of manly behaviour does correspond very closely with the typical English concept of a "Brigand". His folk tales are gory in the extreme; his conversation hardly less so. And this has relevance to the existing situation. The Agha likes to think of himself as a military leader rather than as a landlord; he habitually classes all his neighbours into 'friends' and 'enemies'. The consequences of this attitude are highly subtle and cannot be examined here, but at least two divergent trends can be noted. On the one hand the sharp antagonism between neighbouring groups is even today a force of social cohesion; the members of the clan or the tribe are aware of their unity largely in terms of their common enmity to some other group. On the other hand increasing economic contacts and the constant harmonising efforts of the Police and the Administration, in so far as they are successful in lessening intergroup suspicion, do at the same time serve to lessen the social cohesion of the groups concerned.

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While organised raiding or warfare is now impossible the private feud continues and may be examined further.

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The Feud

The motif of the blood feud may be summarised by the phrase that "a man's wrongs must be avenged by his kinsfolk and his descendants", and we may note at once that a system of small patrilocal, nearly endogamous groups is peculiarly suited to perpetuate antagonisms of this kind. The individual's near kinfolk are also his near neighbours, and since his wife's kinsfolk are probably identical with his own he is bound by no ties of loyalty to any group outside his own village. Within the village all are bound together to resist the aggressor, beyond it everyone is a potential enemy, the identity of interest between the family and the village is complete.

Quarrels between villages may arise from a variety of causes, chiefly economic. Water and grazing rights are always ill-defined and may lead to serious friction in times of scarcity, and this may

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Rowanduz

The Positive Contribution

121 183 On the other hand on the positive side I have attempted to avoid dry generalisations of the form "the Kurds marry their first cousins". My aim definitely has not been to record the "manners and customs" of the Kurds. Rather I have tried to throw some light on the contrasting factors of conflict and cohesion that affect the lives of the small group of people inhabiting this Rowandus area. If there is any moral in the story it is to emphasise once again the futility of attaching psychological labels to cultural groups. Again and again the Kurds as a group have been labelled treacherous, bloodthirsty, lazy, virile, stupid and a dozen things besides; this study at least should show that there can be no such easy classification. It is true that the structural pattern of a society does impose upon individuals some standardisation of behaviour, but this structural pattern affects the interests of different individuals in widely different ways and their resulting reactions differ accordingly. There can never be absolute conformity to the cultural norm, indeed the norm itself exists only as a stress of conflicting interests and divergent attitudes. All cultural groups, no matter how stable they appear in the light of history, are within themselves at any given time in a constant state of flux and potential change, the balance is always precarious.

• 177 121 Thus the changes, often violent and disintegrative, that arise under conditions of Culture Contact differ only in degree and not in kind from smaller incipient changes that take place all the time even when the culture group is functioning under "natural" conditions, however those may be defined. The mechanism of culture change is to be found in the reaction of individuals to their differential economic and political interests. Viewed in this light the problems even of a small and obscure Kurdish tribe may have a wide and general relevance, extending even to the conditions of our own society. The study of processes of change and development is a cardinal problem for sociologists. As an anthropologist I would argue that these processes can best be studied in the microcosmic conditions of a small and relatively isolated group, where the limits of individual interest can be clearly recognised; but the problem is one of general application.

In conclusion, so far as the Kurds are concerned, I will merely express the hope that this analysis is soon put out of date by more intensive research.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

FORMATION OF THE KOMALA

186 609 668 It was in this town of Mahabad, left to its own devices by the Allies, that the most recent of the Kurdish nationalist movements was born. On August 16, 1943, a dozen young Kurds, most of them small merchants and petty officials of the town, founded the Komala-i-Zhian-i-Kurd, or "Committee of Kurdish Youth." For purposes of secrecy, the membership of the new party was kept below 100 and was organized in cells; the semi-weekly meetings were never held in the same house twice in succession. The Constitution of the Komala was strongly nationalist and membership was restricted to persons of Kurdish descent on both sides of the family, the only exception being for those with an Assyrian mother — an indication of the present close relations between Kurds and Assyrians.

The Komala spread rapidly, not only in Iran but in other countries as well, where Kurds saw in the new group a more vigorous force than in the traditional Kurdish nationalist parties. Chapters of the Komala were founded in the Iraqi towns of Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Suleimania, Rowanduz, and Shaklawa; and there was a chapter functioning even in Turkey, where Kurdish nationalist activity is an offense punishable by death. The chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity of Mahabad also sent emissaries offering help. They were told that they were not needed then, but might be called on in the future.

• 177 668 It was inevitable that the two great powers primarily interested in the area should eventually hear of the Komala. The British, whose Kirkuk oil fields are located in Kurdish country, kept a watchful eye on developments. Their political adviser in Mosul sometimes ranged as far as Mahabad, while his subordinates were stationed in Rowanduz, Kirkuk, Erbil, and Suleimania. Yet the British could not encourage Kurdish aspirations without arousing Arab resentment, and so remained deaf to the overtures of the Kurdish nationalists.

SOVIET INFILTRATION

With the Soviets it was a different story. At first they were evidently unprepared for active work among the Kurds, although

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
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• 177 668 they did once, in 1942, invite the leading aghas to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmieh, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, attached to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jafarov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish [578] nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.[1] This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

[1] Kurdish dress consists of a traveled turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy grey pants of homespun wool, and a huge crimson kammerband, intricately knotted in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians forced to abandon their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied invasion, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are incorrigible dandies and a poor man among them would rather spend his last coins on a fine sash than on a good *kabab*. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

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9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

177 668 Three impartially, the Komala moved inevitably into the Soviet orbit.

During this period VOKS, the Soviet international propaganda organization, was starting a number of "Iranian-Soviet Cultural Relations Societies" in all sections of Iran. As the Komala had grown too big to continue meeting in private homes, its leaders now asked the Soviets to found a branch in Mahabad; they hoped thus to obtain a place to meet without attracting too much attention. The Soviets readily complied, and it was founded, not as a branch of the Iranian-Soviet Relations Society, but as the "Kurdistan-Soviet Cultural Relations Society" (Anjoman-i-Farhangi-i-Kurdistan-u-Shuravi). The clubhouse was soon crowded with Kurds, who showed their gratitude to their new patrons by sending ten cases of cigarettes made of Kurdish tobacco to the victors of Leningrad.

186 536 668 It was at a ceremony in the society's clubhouse, in April 1945, that the Komala finally came into the open. The Soviet Consul from Rezaieh and the chief of VOKS in Azerbaijan were honored guests. The main feature of the program was an "opera" in which a woman called "Daik Nishteman" (Mother Native Land) was represented as abused by three ruffians, "Iraq," "Iran," and "Turkey," finally to be rescued by her stalwart sons. The audience, unused to dramatic representations, was deeply moved, and blood-feuds generations old were composed as life-long enemies fell weeping on each other's shoulders and swore to avenge Kurdistan.

177 622 668 At this ceremony the future head of the Kurdish state, Qazi Mohammad, was finally admitted to the party, to the gratification of the Soviets, who had not liked the democratic organization of the Komala and had long been looking for someone on whom they could count to lead it according to their suggestions. At first the Soviets, realizing the strength of the tribes, had approached tribal chiefs with requests to lead the nationalist movement. But only three of them commanded sufficient prestige for the task — Qaranei Agha Rais-ol-Ashair, venerable chief of the Mamesh and the acknowledged leader of the federation of which they were a part; Amr Khan Sharifi, chief of the Shikak and "grand old man" of Kurdistan; and Amir Asad of the Dehbokri, die-hard

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
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conservative who, as honorary chief of the gendarmerie, had been made responsible for security of the area by the Iranian Government. But Soviet overtures to each met only polite evasion.

Thus it was that the Soviets finally turned to Qazi Mohammad, hereditary judge and religious leader of Mahabad, and a member of its most respected family. They were frequent guests at his house and eventually helped him, through pressure on the Iranian Government, to replace Amir Asad as government representative in the area, by his brother Seif Qazi, who took over the title of Commander of the Gendarmerie. Qazi Mohammad is said to have learned of the Komala only about a year after its formation, when he sent emissaries discreetly offering his adherence. Komala leaders had decided not to admit him, fearing that because of his strong and authoritarian character and also because of the deference which they themselves had been accustomed since childhood to show him and his family, he would eventually dominate the party and end its democratic character. When at Soviet insistence the Komala finally did admit him, there came about precisely the result they feared — one-man rule of the party.

Qazi's admission enabled the Soviets to draw the Kurds rapidly into line with Soviet policy, which, by the summer of 1945, began to reflect the growing aggressiveness shown by the Soviets elsewhere. Previously the instrument of Soviet penetration in Iran had been the Tudeh Party, a popular front of Iranian left-wingers which, although successful in other parts of Iran, had never been able to take root in Kurdistan.[2] Now, however, the Soviets were considering a new and ambitious plan — the attachment of northwestern Iran to the Soviet Union. Accordingly they formed an independence party to replace the Tudeh in Azerbaijan, a party which could then without embarrassing the Tudeh in other parts of Iran stage a revolution, declare the province independent, and possibly request incorporation in the Soviet Union. Obedient to Soviet orders, the Tudeh abolished itself and re-formed as the "Democrat Party of Azerbaijan," whereupon it began to use Azerbaijani Turkish as its official language and to demand separation from Iran.

[2] For a discussion of the Tudeh Party, see George Lenczowski, "The Communist Movement in Iran," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), pp. 29-45. [Source # 24]

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

177 668 The Kurds of western Azerbaijan — which includes Mahabad — could hardly have been expected to join a party purportedly dedicated to Azerbaijani Turkish nationalism, so a new party had to be formed to fit them into the Soviet scheme. On September 12, Captain Namazaliev, Soviet Town Commandant in Miandoab, summoned the chiefs of the important Kurdish tribes, together with Qazi Mohammad and Seif Qazi, to Tabriz ostensibly to see the Soviet Consul. When they arrived, the bewildered Kurds were suddenly told to proceed to the railway station, where they were hustled onto a train and taken to Baku. For three days they lived in a villa outside the town and were entertained with tours, the theater, and the opera. On the fourth day they were ushered in to see Bagherov, President of the Azerbaijan S.S.R., who harangued them regarding the wrongs they had suffered under Reza Shah, and said that the Soviet Government would help the new Democrat Party, which was dedicated to freedom for the oppressed and which he strongly urged them to join. He condemned both the Tudeh Party, which he characterized as a group of ineffective trouble-makers, and the Komala, which he said was started in Iraq under the auspices of British intelligence and was nothing but an instrument of British imperialism. Then, after a warning not to say anything about the trip, the Kurds were put on the train to Tabriz, where they were loaded into Red army vehicles and driven off to their homes.

THE DEMOCRAT PARTY OF KURDISTAN

186 668 The results of the expedition were soon apparent. Shortly after his return, Qazi Mohammad called a meeting of Kurdish notables to announce the formation of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan, which he urged all to join. Concluding from its name that the goal of the party was democracy on the American model, many responded enthusiastically. A manifesto, signed by Qazi Mohammad and 105 leading Kurds, was issued; it stated that the Kurdish people now wished "to take advantage of the liberation of the world from Fascism and to share in the promises of the Atlantic Charter." The declaration said that the Kurds wished nothing but the human and constitutional rights denied them by Reza Shah, and listed their aims as follows:

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 642 The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Banei (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zero Beg Herki [3] received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.[4]

578 668 The new government, which controlled only a minute territory including the towns of Mahabad, Bokan, Naqadeh, and Ushnuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Senandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains west

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[3] Zero Beg was a bandit chief originally associated with the famous Shikak rebel chief, Simitko. Upon the latter's defeat and murder by Reza Shah, Zero Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Baranduz Valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have been their favored protégé. Although of little importance in his own tribe, the Herki, most of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, these Soviet connections enabled him to play an important role in developments in Kurdistan.

[4] Other officials of the new government were Hajji Baba Sheikh, local religious leader, Prime Minister; Sadiq Haideri, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Nasaf Karimi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Mu'ini, Minister of Commerce; Ahmad Ilahi, Minister of the Treasury; Seyyid Mohammad Tahazadeh, Minister of Health; and Khalil Khosrovi, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.

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Mahabad

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of Lake Urmieh, from Rezaieh north to Maku, are Azerbaijani Turks, the tribes of the hills commanding the plains are Kurds. The Miandoab area, southeast of the lake, also has a mixed population. These areas were claimed by both the Tabriz and the Mahabad governments and were a source of constant friction. Amr Khan and the tribes paid little attention to the Azerbaijani Democrats, and were continually encroaching on the villages and towns presumably under the control of Tabriz. In April 1946, the Soviets brought Qazi Mohammad to Tabriz in an attempt to settle the differences between the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds. It was essential at that time that the two puppet states form a united front, as negotiations were about to open between the Democrats and the Iranian Government for a permanent settlement of the status of the province.

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The final result of talks between Pishevari, leader of the Azerbaijani Democrats, Qazi Mohammad, and the Soviets was a treaty signed April 23, 1946, by the Kurdish and the Azerbaijani representatives. Publication of this treaty caused consternation in Tehran, as its clauses and indeed its very existence showed that the twin Democrat regimes considered themselves independent nations with the right to exchange representatives and make treaties. The text of the treaty was as follows:

1. The two signatory governments will exchange representatives whenever it is deemed advisable.
2. In those areas of Azerbaijan where there are Kurdish minorities, Kurds will be appointed to government departments, and in those parts of Kurdistan where there are Azerbaijani minorities, Azerbaijanis will be appointed to government departments.
3. A joint economic commission will be formed to solve the economic problems of the signatory nations. Members of this commission will be appointed by the heads of the national governments.
4. The military forces of the signatory nations will assist each other whenever necessary.
5. Any negotiations with the Tehran Government will be conducted in the joint interest of the Azerbaijan and Kurdish national governments.
6. The Azerbaijan National Government will take the necessary steps to promote the use of the Kurdish language and the development of Kurdish culture among the Kurds of Azerbaijan, and the Kurdish National Government will take similar steps with regard to the Azerbaijanis living in Kurdistan.
7. Both signatory nations will take measures to punish any individual or

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
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204 186 the Democrat Party of Kurdistan. The importance Qazi Mohammad attached to literature and the Kurdish language may be adduced from the presence on his staff of two young poets, Hazhar and Hieman, whose poems were published in spite of the paper shortage.

186 668 Although these efforts did not suffice during the republic's short life to bring it anywhere near the standard of the other two centers of Kurdish culture where Kurdish has been freely written and taught for twenty-five years, politically at least Mahabad was the focal point toward which all Kurdish eyes now were turned. In intellectual Kurdish circles in Beirut, Istanbul, and Baghdad, as well as among the wild mountains of western Asia, all were watching to see whether Qazi Mohammad would succeed or fail. Couriers brought communications to him from groups of Kurds not only in Iraq but in Syria and Turkey as well. His movement appealed especially to the young people, who felt that the older nationalist parties had not accomplished much. In Iraq, for instance, a new secret party, the leftist "Ruzgari," was formed of these elements.

ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENT

668 186 • 177 The old nationalist parties, the Hewa in Iraq and the Khoybun in Syria, were not enthusiastic about Qazi Mohammad because of his Soviet connections. Fear and even hatred of the Soviets among the Kurds is strong for several reasons. In the first place, most Kurds are deeply religious and remain distrustful of the Soviet attitude toward religion. Furthermore, many of them have met refugees fresh from the Soviet Union or have talked to Moslems in the Red Army, few of whom paint a rosy picture of the lot of Oriental peoples under Soviet rule. It must also be remembered that the Russians have been traditional enemies of the Kurds since the days of the Tsars. Russian troops in World War I fought over a large part of Kurdistan, leaving a trail of ruin and depopulation still traceable in many Kurdish valleys and villages. In Mahabad itself, Russian troops had been under orders for several days to shoot anyone appearing in the streets, and the town was looted and burned. None of this has been erased from the long oriental memories of the Kurds, who still frighten their crying

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

children into silence by threatening them with the word "Russian."

The Soviets tried hard to counteract this unreceptive attitude. They played up "Kurdish autonomy" in the Soviet Union, and the brave deeds of one Samand Siamandov, Red Army colonel of Kurdish origin, "Hero of Leningrad." How much success they had is hard to judge, but certainly large sections of the population, as well as landlords, merchants, and religious leaders, continued to distrust them and to extend this distrust to Qazi Mohammad, whose connection with the Soviets was undeniable. The walls of the building in which his government was housed were plastered solidly with Soviet propaganda posters; his newspapers and magazines contained a large proportion of Soviet material translated word for word into Kurdish; and his poets composed panegyrics to Stalin and the Red Army.

Yet in contrast to the rest of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan was to outside appearances free of Soviet agents. Aside from a few Iransovtrans truck drivers, who acted as observers for the Soviet and pro-Soviet governments, Soviet citizens were almost unknown in the area and Soviet agents kept under cover. There was said to be a Soviet representative in residence in Mahabad, though his presence was denied by Kurdish authorities.[11] Hashumov, Soviet Consul in Rezaieh, and his assistant Aliakbarov made occasional trips to Mahabad.

While terrorism reigned unchecked in eastern Azerbaijan, in Kurdistan there were few if any political prisoners and only one or two cases of what may have been political assassination, though a number of Kurds not in sympathy with the regime did flee to Tehran. In the streets of Mahabad one could hear radio broadcasts from Ankara or London, while in Tabriz to listen to these brought the death penalty. Whether the reason for this freedom was the moderation and liberalism of Qazi and his cabinet, or the presence of the tribes who would not tolerate violent action against persons connected with them, the net result was to make the regime popular at least among the citizens of Mahabad, who enjoyed their respite from the exactions and oppression they

[11] The last of these Soviet advisers, one Asadov, is said to have been in Mahabad until the last days of the republic, when he fled to the Soviet Consulate in Tabriz.

Fr Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MAII Kurd MAII
Mahabad

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641 considered to be characteristic of the central Iranian Government.

OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBES

If the Soviets kept their overt interference to a minimum in
249 order to reconcile the tribes to the regime, they were certainly un-
578 successful. In addition to historical, social, and religious reasons
668 for the tribes' opposition to the Soviet-supported government,
177 there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish tribesmen dependied largely on their tobacco crop for their livelihood, and now that their market in the rest of Iran was cut off they suffered considerable hardship. In certain areas food supplies already strained had to be shared with the destitute Barzanis, who had long outworn their welcome.

This tribal discontent was at its strongest in the south where the deceased Qaranei Agha's son, Mam Aziz, chief of the Mamesh, along with his ally, Bayazid Agha of the Mangur, so openly opposed Qazi Mohammad that the Soviet vice-consul finally came down from Rezaieh and threatened to have the Barzanis sent against them. When Mam Aziz continued to resist, the Barzanis did indeed attack him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his tribesmen. From Rezaieh north, the tribes looked to the leadership of Amr Khan Shikak, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and for the time being was keeping aloof in Zindasht, his mountain capital southwest of Shahpur. The only tribes Qazi Mohammad could count on were the Gawrik of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Zerza, in the Ushnuieh region. Even Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis did not get on with Qazi Mohammad, who was no longer able to feed them.

668 Thus it was that Qazi Mohammad, in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitude of the Tehran Government, found himself almost without support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and matériel, in the fall of 1946 Qazi Mohammad was still without either heavy weapons or trained men, or indeed any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly obvious, Qazi sent frantic messages to the tribes, his only hope, say-

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Mahabad

668 wishing to incur obligations, had not informed Amr Khan of its projected move into Azerbaijan, and so by the time he had gathered his tribesmen to attack the Democrats, the war was over. Amr Khan and the other chiefs quickly sent the Iranian commander professions of loyalty. All were accepted back in the fold except Zero Beg, whose tribesmen ambushed some Iranian soldiers in Balanesh, near Rezaieh, while he was conferring there with General Homayuni. Zero consequently had to flee, accompanied by a few tribesmen and Assyrians, to Ushnuieh, where he found Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis in a state of precarious truce with the Central Government. The Mulla finally refused the government's order to disarm his tribesmen or return to Iraq, and fighting broke out again. By June 1947 the Barzanis had fought their way north to Maku and seemed about to cross the border into the Soviet Union.

IN SUMMARY

• 177 186 668 This latest attempt to found a Kurdish state ended with the Iranian occupation of Mahabad. Like previous attempts it failed largely because of disunity among the Kurds themselves. One of the dilemmas of Kurdish nationalism is that while not only its leaders, but nearly all its rank and file, must come from the more enlightened townspeople, its military strength has always had to come from the tribes and their chiefs, with neither the education nor the imagination to look for anything but gain and loot in the weakening of government authority. During 1946 the Kurdish tribes, naturally opposed to government control, felt as restive under Qazi Mohammad as they had under the Central Government, even though he was of their own race. Because of this feeling, as well as their distrust of Qazi's Soviet connections, the tribes almost all sided with the Iranian army.

The principal immediate reason for the collapse of the republic was the failure of Soviet support to materialize. A young and strong nationalist party which might have united a majority of educated Kurds was infiltrated by foreigners who used it for their own purposes and then let it be destroyed. The miniature state had been built under the protection of the Red Army, and continued to exist after its evacuation only because of the possibility

Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

of its return. When the Kurds no longer hoped for this, and the Iranians no longer feared it, there was no chance for Qazi Mohammad's movement to survive.

The whole episode was a serious blow to the development of Kurdish nationalism. There is now no Komala and no Democrat Party of Kurdistan, and many of the potential leaders of the Kurds are dead, in prison, or in exile. Yet this does not mean that Kurdish nationalism is finished. The Kurdish Republic found its support among those progressive elements of the population which seem bound to increase in numbers and importance, and was opposed by those elements which seem destined to disappear. It remains to be seen whether Kurdish nationalism is practical in an area where, until recently, nationalism was an unknown conception and men still give primary allegiance to their religious and tribal chiefs. The Kurds have never been combined in a stable state of their own and enjoy no ancient unifying culture. Separated from each other by mountain barriers, they have always had to look for their cultural and economic needs to the capitals of the different states in which they have lived.

If the states the Kurds inhabit allow their Kurdish populations a degree of local autonomy and give up the attempt to force an alien nationalism upon them, they may succeed in obtaining a loyalty similar to that found in Switzerland with its multinational population. The Arab countries have made a start in this direction. A similar policy in Iran, if left free of foreign penetration, might be a cause of closer unity rather than of separatism between two of the nation's peoples.

• 177 of the modern East, he displays a lack of enthusiasm which his more 'progressive' neighbours cannot understand, and he is classed as bovine and wooden-headed. On the other hand, if allowed to develop quietly in his own way, he readily adapts himself to the new world springing up around him.

439 177 With the coming of the townsmen, motor roads, and organized forces to keep the peace in the country, trade has begun to improve in Kurdistan. When it no longer pays to raid, the Kurds take to trade—being traders by nature like the Scots. Foreign 'luxuries', such as the new coloured cloths, tea, and sugar, have quickly become necessities even in the remotest districts, and to obtain the wherewithal to purchase them the Kurd is compelled to cultivate for sale as well as for food.

439 661 Now that caravans can come to the towns without hindrance from those through whose territory they pass, instead

[text continues on p. 58A]

14: Ivanov E-6 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11

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now remain; there are only a few degenerate and impoverished families in the south of the province, constituting a starving nomad tribe.

The Turks are still numerous, and there are many invaders of quite recent origin, such as the Kurds, who came here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Timanis and the Baluchis, who extended their wanderings further and further north. The latest immigrants are Mongols, the so-called Barbaris, or Hazara, who are still continuing to come in numbers. It will be better to deal with each tribe separately.

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Kurds.—It is difficult to find if any Kurdish tribes were living in Khurasan before the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the surnames of many different celebrities who are natives of this province the term "Kurt" is often met with. Even a dynasty of this name ruled south of Herat in the hill districts (643–791 A.H., or 1245–1389 A.D.). Kurd and Kurt are undoubtedly the same as they are to-day; but if there had been some Kurdish people in Khurasan, they must have mixed with
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Persians. When under the Safawides the necessity arose of defending the northern frontier of Khurasan against the inroads of the powerful Uzbegs and Turkomans, local means were not sufficient, and the Shahs tried to institute a measure similar to that of the Cossacks in Russia, *i.e.* they settled some warlike and virile people in the threatened area. Therefore some tribes of Kurds from Kurdistan proper were transferred
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as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the
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seventeenth century a new party had arrived; some of these tribes still live there, like the Kaiwanlu, the Shadillu, etc. Some more of them arrived later on in the eighteenth century, under Nadir (like the 'Amarlu). At present there is no connection with the West, and the Khurasani Kurds are gradually undergoing "Turkomanization."

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With regard to the racial and tribal names, it may be observed that they are utterly unreliable for the purpose of establishing any conclusions to ethnical connections. The tribe is usually called after the surname of the chief or of the place of settlement, and very soon the whole of the tribe, to which several sub-divisions belong, becomes named after the section which was most prominent and important among them. In practice there is nothing more difficult than obtaining exact information of the name of a tribe with its sub-divisions. In Khurasan the difficulty is still greater because there are no distinct sub-dialects, and the idiom of the Kurds appears practically uniform. Many sub-sections are closely connected with the Turks, and experience real difficulty in deciding whether they are of Kurdish or Turkish nationality.

These continual changes of names make it difficult to draw up a systematic table of sub-division. Of the four tribes which are traditionally regarded as the original, namely 'Amarlu, Za'faranlu, Shadillu and Kaiwanlu, the first and last appear to-day as small tribes, while the other two are mostly Turkish-speaking and have ceased to be regarded as Kurds.
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The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principal

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Kurd MA 11

Kurdish State and not communist. It existed for only nine months, despite the Treaty of Alliance for twenty years which it had concluded with another Soviet-sponsored government, the autonomous administration of Persian Azerbaidzhan.

Even such short-lived experiments as the Kurdish Republic of 1946 can become an important factor in the national tradition of a people, who, like the Kurds, are living under foreign rule. Experiments of that kind are apt to create a myth which ultimately may have a greater impact on the national development of the people than the original event itself. From year to year the Kurdish Republic of Quazi Mohammed may appear to the Kurds more splendid and more powerful, particularly if Soviet propaganda does its share by reminding the Kurds of the downfall of 'their' republic and recalling the part which Russia played in its foundation. Soviet propaganda is indeed taking every opportunity of referring back to the glorious times when two pictures decorated the walls of the houses of many a Kurdish sheikh – that of Quazi Mohammed, the Kurdish leader, hanged by the Persians in March 1947, and that of Generalissimo Stalin.[56]

Despite the collapse of 'Free Kurdistan' Soviet Russia has nevertheless made great progress in mastering the Kurdish problem. Kurdish chieftains became acquainted with Soviet institutions and Soviet ideology while the Russian occupation of Persia's Kurdish territories lasted. Many Persian Kurds joined their countrymen already living in Soviet Transcaucasia and Kurdish culture 'national in form and socialist in content' developed: 200 Kurdish pamphlets and books had been published in the Soviet Union by 1949.[57] Nor was there any shortage of qualified Kurdish personnel in the Soviet Union after the war. On the contrary, Soviet propaganda was able to boast of Kurdish 'state dignitaries and outstanding workers in culture and science', who had sprung up among the Russian Kurds. A Kurdish Soviet poet, Amin Avdal, is the 'author of wonderful verses on the Soviet homeland'. Another Kurdish poet, Jasmeh Jalil, translated Russian classics into his native tongue. A Kurdish philologist, Nure Pulatova, a graduate of Leningrad University, became the only Kurdish woman scholar in the world.[58] And lastly, between 1946 and 1950 the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. included a Kurdish deputy, Samand Alievich Siabandov.

However important the recent Soviet experiments with the Russian Kurds may be, the latter represent not even 5 per cent of the entire Kurdish people. Soviet Russia must bring either the Turkish or the Persian Kurds within her orbit if she wants to make a success of her 'Kurdish policy'. It remains to be seen whether the political dynamic of the U.S.S.R. and the ideological power of Bolshevism will be sufficient to accomplish this aim.

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Mosul. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the hammam, so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, has largely disappeared in modern Kurdistan.[1] Bathing in Rowanduz is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the khan or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a bucket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

[1] Mazaheri, 1951, p. 175.

Iraq, and that which is European. It need not be thought 291
that the Kurdish element is something wholly unique, for [178]
there is an abundance of evidence, for example, almost any
Persian miniature painting, to indicate that colourful dyes,
if not the styles themselves, had a greater province in
centuries gone by than are in evidence today, a change
bound up in the impoverishment of the area and coupled
with the impact of European civilization.

Turning first to the Kurdish townsman of Rowanduz,
dressed in native clothing, the basic undergarment is a
pair of baggy, white cotton drawers, bound at the waist
by a draw-string, which fall a few inches below the knees.
A cotton undershirt may or may not be worn, and the next
mandatory item is a white cotton shirt without a collar,
closed at the neck by a series of round cloth buttons.
The salient characteristic of this shirt is its sleeve which
extends almost a foot beyond the wrist and is split to the
elbow. When a jacket is worn, this long end is turned
back and tied around the forearm, just below the elbow.
For washing, or for fighting, the two ends are tied to- [515] [579]
gether behind the neck, drawing up the sleeves of both
shirt and jacket above the elbows. A sleeveless vest,
of European style and fastened with a number of buttons,
is often worn over the shirt. Its fabric is either
identical with the jacket or of striped cotton, but it
is not exposed to view in outdoor attire.

The outer garments consist of trousers and jacket,

to let Mahmud Beg know of their presence and visit his 622
diwankhana, or he will think they look down on his hospital- 574
ity, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen 423
from the section on administration that the government 648
takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, amiriya, which includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory, and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the producers, thus cutting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, abreast of the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to 648
the government, either the civil code of the judge or the 642
tribal code of the qaimmaqam. Vengeance is also of the [692]
state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and [554]
such titles as agha, beg, or shaykh, while they are widely used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabulary are thought adequate to handle military exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly parties of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of 565
its important functions and perogatives. They are no longer 178
leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

economic wealth has been cut from beneath them. In an ideal situation, they may survive only as landowners and as they are able to obtain positions in the government. The situation, however, is far from ideal, and in practice many continue as their forebears, side by side with the new competitors. It cannot be denied that they accord the government considerable aid in the maintenance of order, and, at the same time, provide it with great anxiety in their private warfare and political thought. 565 [178]

This Kurdish aristocracy is by no means feeble in the face of such competition, and has the advantage of popular support and sympathy, particularly, as has been seen, because it represents a highly idealized group. It has been said that the Kurds are easy prey to doctrinaire philosophies, specifically Communism, but among them, save in certain of the well-educated, there is no knowledge or sign of what may be called a "class struggle," or, in older terms, the rich or priveleged against the poor. The struggle is strictly between Kurdish society as a whole and what they consider an alien system. The investigator has talked at length with a number of dissatisfied Kurdish youths, as well as others in whom such sentiments might be expected, and has heard much of "good" chieftains and "bad" chieftains, but never the aristocracy condemned as such. It must not be thought that the speech of this aristocratic group is "reactionary," in the sense of opposition to modern innovations and the desire to return to older ways. Such things as automobiles, modern firearms, wirelesses, and 565 668 177 186

any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an agha, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowanduz area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowanduz only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

or marriage, have their focus in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this class, which regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should reinforce things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a radically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in Baghdad or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty. 565 593 [184]

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Ra'uf Effendi, like so many elders, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Rowandus is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are 593 [121] [178] [888]

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not assume that marriage relations and maternal ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the tira varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Wurda Shatri (location: centering in Suleimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several tiras may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Louis J. Luzbetak, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1951).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. R. Leach, *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 3, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

369 512 representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the [364] form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended [352] for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double- [513] bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up [591] son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first [593] child, divide—the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside it—the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

[592] The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

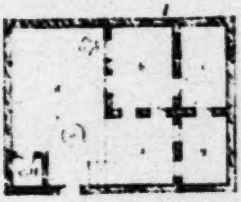

Fig. 31. (Cf. figg. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hrywa*; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e: (*hammām*) ÷; f: latrine; g: guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nân*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hawîr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ârd*, sifted through a round sieve, water, *âw*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xûe-dân*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumek*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

857 562 summer holidays. During their stay at home in the village they led the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They used at night the iron beds, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the house was the waiting upon any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

883 178 The elder of these two sons, aged 18, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers at the Dokan Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in his pattern of behaviour, the structure of which lost its inner coherence. As the leading young man of the village, he left the sheikh's farm every morning on horseback. The other hands from Topzawa and Rikawa covered on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk, only trying in great summer heat). At the Dokan Dam Site he then was submerged among the other unskilled Kurdish labourers, a dirty little mechanic in overalls, resuming his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's home. Here his 12 year old half-sister took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash, if this was performed on the clay terrace outside the central room and not at the garden basin.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation at a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the selling of his hours, for he only received money which was of no interest whatever in the aristocratic village milieu, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the foreigners, a thing he had desperately hoped for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed scale of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

883 562 868 The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the fetching of water, often from far away, and milking out in the mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and washed in the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages knew nothing of schools, but they grew up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

883 [872] For that matter schooling did not enter into the life pattern of boys either among ordinary peasants in the villages. On the other hand their labour was much utilised in agriculture. They watched the sheep and goats. They fetched grass from the mountains as fodder, equipped with sacks and sickles. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

883 369 In the third and fourth environments, the educated and uneducated urban milieus, school-going was customary for both boys and girls.

872 An elementary school scheme exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 5 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 3 year intermediate and a 2 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1940 6 years primary schooling is obligatory when possible.

593 198 absent of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman labour is involved for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

858 Bishop[77] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stoakes[78] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child became a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

080 In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialised society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

871 182 Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

[857] [369] [565] [562]

Activities	I Village Aristocracy		II Peasants		III Educated milieu		IV Uneducated milieu	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	×		×		×		×	
Work outside home			×	×				
Schooling		×			×	×	×	×
Street life		×		×		×		×

Common to girls in all four female environments is assistance in the house according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help to the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys training is the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an aristocratic village milieu the boys are sent away to school in towns like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

4: Hanaen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Sure 24, verses 30-31 [11]. of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognised as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30–31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allāh* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allāh* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[12].

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Muhammed[13], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Sures of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a nun's habit. Unknown and unrecognisable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[14] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil ... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand ... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ...".

Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 76). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu. "Many times in the city at Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11
Yugoslavia EF1

middle of the last century. Within her seclusion the Kurdish woman, like other Islamic women, is assured by the law and by the Coran of rights quite other than those accorded Western women prior to their emancipation[30]. Kurdish women were not suppressed. Even the humble village women were no more suppressed than any woman in a peasant community could be when the biggest share of the work falls to her lot. It was a physically, not a legally, inferior status.

Nor are there any grounds for talking about lack of equal rights because men and women in Kurdistan each have their own pattern of life. One might as well say that a man had not the same rights as a woman because he was unable to follow her pattern of life. The world of men and women were simply divided, more or less (mostly more) from the cradle to the grave. One can therefore talk of an existing justification for this division, with a deviation in favour of the man within the humble village milieu, and in favour of the woman in the educated urban milieu.

ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE KURDISH WOMAN'S CULTURAL PATTERN IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMING "EMANCIPATION"

It is a fact that the Kurdish Muslim area, like other Muslim territories, is on the threshold of a transformation. The introduction of the necessary industrialisation to improve the material side of this technically-underdeveloped country was, in 1957, practically on the doorstep. Even though these changes in the structure of society will last reach the Kurds, that political minority in mountains difficult of access, the years ahead will also bring this area into the melting pot.

In conclusion, therefore, a glance must be cast on the culture pattern of the Kurdish woman, a culture sentenced, if not to death, at all events to radical change, and some of the conditions existing in 1957 are judged in their relation to coming reconstruction. As mentioned in the introduction, I had in the person of my interpreter, an example of the most "advanced" feminine type among the Kurdish women studied. When placing the word "advanced" in inverted commas I do so advisedly.

As a rule one overlooks the fact that cultures older than our own, despite the lack of our Western technical facilities, may in other directions represent a more advanced culture stage, and that a change caused by bitter economic necessity so far from representing progress may, on the contrary, well have to be paid for by retrogression in other spheres. At first sight the introduction of the Western woman's form of life is regarded as being of direct benefit to women with foreign culture patterns. It thus seems surprising that the abolition of the veil, the dropping of seclusion and so forth meets with opposition from women at some places. A few examples of this can be quoted.

In the Muslim areas of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the veil was abolished by Marshal Tito in 1952. Two years later, when visiting these provinces, I was told that it cost a woman three months' imprisonment to retain the black veil and chequered over-garment which, with variants, I

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11
Turkey MB1

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293
178
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He writes[36]: "As an excuse for the ban [of the wearing of veil and over-garments] the reformers stated that dangerous criminals and adherents of l'ancien régime all too easily could hide themselves under the long, armless "feradje", the black "tarshaf", and the flimsy "yashmak", transparent only from inside, which naturally afforded the best security against search, and it is an undoubted fact that many a spy and criminal has concealed himself under this woman's dress, that veils and hides all forms". Rygaard likewise stresses[37] that "... the so-called emancipation of the Turkish women is regarded with some justification by many Turks as being an abandonment of a natural protection, and that the Turkish desire to guard his women strictly in the home must be viewed as a symptom of modesty and not be credited to the very widespread, but erroneous, impression that he jealously wishes to hide strictly private mistresses in his harem under the most humiliating conditions".

Should one wish to learn about conditions in these Turkish harems prior to Kemal Atatürk's day, one can hardly do better than to apply to the women themselves. We have an account of conditions under the Sultanate just before the first World War, written by an Arab Sherifa, Musbah Haidar. As daughter of a brother of the Sherif of Mecca, who dwelt in a castle on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, as the "guest" of the Sultan of Turkey, and with an English mother, she gives in her memoirs (published 1948) a woman's assessment of life in an Arab-Turkish upper-class home. Musbah Haidar[38] speaks about: "... those well-guarded, exclusive and dignified homes—the harems". Regarding the beginnings of the transformation of the Oriental women's life in Turkey to a Western pattern, she writes: "With the rapid decline of old courtesies, breeding and old customs, all that the women got in their place was the doubtful liberty of being able to go out when and where they liked, instead of being guarded and protected as they always have been, always attended and back in their homes by sunset". Incidentally, she strongly denounces the descriptions that have appeared in book form or in articles that purport to provide an authentic picture of the life of a Muslim woman in Turkey. "... In all the years which Musbah spent in Turkey, never did she see Europeans being either allowed or accepted into the Imperial circle, or those of other great houses. Great Eastern ladies were not in the habit of receiving inquisitive and curious foreigners. If occasionally an Ambassador's wife or that of a Consul-General was permitted to visit the Harem, it was done most ceremoniously, and no lady present ever relaxed her polite and formal hospitality into intimate friendship. So these so-called intrepid travellers and globetrotting journalists could only pick up their impressions and ideas from some ninth-rate Levantine, or from some self-styled and much advertised "Hanoum"[39].

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It was symptomatic that in Iraqi Kurdistan it was among the young men[40] and not among the women that I met a definite wish for a change of existing conditions. It was among the young men who had studied at the University of Beirut, or who had been trained in Europe or America, that one heard talk of, as an ideal for the future, "an educated wife" and monogamy. The right people in the West are most inclined to envy, the Coran's sanction of polygamy, was apparently not a right they wished to avail themselves of in the future. From what I saw of the man's position in the home, particularly within the uneducated urban feminine milieu, it was understandable that a man could

dream of not having to face a united woman's front of, say, mother, when harshly charged by the women of his family, plus sisters, daughters half and fully grown, who ordered his life from start to finish. In an "educated wife" he hoped to obtain compensation for the social and emotional contact he was now forced to seek during the hours of day with other men.

This leads us to a discussion of the Islamic, and thus the Kurdish woman's married position and the marriages arranged by the family. As already mentioned, the choice of a young man's married partner is practically always left to the women of his family, that is to say the mother or step-mother and sisters, whereafter the matter is laid before the father for approval. In regard to the fact that married couples in many cases have never seen each other before the marriage is to be consummated, the general Western idea is that it must be difficult for a young girl to be given to an unknown man. However, it must be equally trying for the young man. This is also pointed to by Granquist when she says[8]: "In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man".

It was characteristic that the brother of Sheikh Taffir in Tegnawa, who was thinking of going to Europe, asked me if it really was true that one could walk up to any woman in the street and offer her marriage. That was his first impression of liberty of choice in Europe, [he had never envisaged] any sentimental basis for marriage.

The young woman is thus selected by the women with whom she will have to live and work, as the young couple usually dwells in the bridegroom's home. Her moral beforehand [and highly-prized] by the bride price paid out on the contraction of marriage, which is expended to a greater or lesser degree on the luxury with which she is to be surrounded. In most cases she knows the women who are to be her daily companions and fellow-workers. From her own home she is well trained in the domestic work that can be expected of her. She has been brought up with the quite natural idea that her most important destiny and greatest happiness is to be allowed to bear children. From the years spent in the house among other women she has heard and witnessed everything worth knowing about the difficulties of matrimonial relations. She is not expected to be her husband's comrade on a spiritual or intellectual level. The basis for the joint family idea, with several generations housed within the [the same building] is a married life of a different nature, less organized than in our culture pattern. During the day the husband, even among the village aristocracy, has little opportunity of companionship with his wife, as the great boundary between the lives of life of men and women compelled him to seek the society of other men, whilst on her side the woman enters the feminine half of the community. On entering marriage, a young woman, in addition to her own personal qualities, is regarded as a representative of a whole family, with which it has been felt desirable to become allied. She arrives in no more of her own family's glory. She herself had no personal expectations beyond the advantages to be derived from the married state and the fulfilment of a woman's natural desire to have children. As young people in good families had not seen much other before marriage, it was obvious that no sentimental basis existed on which to meet the union, but this did not mean that love on a high degree of sympathy might not develop between husband and wife and that this was quite

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With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a [phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[1] that the veil and seclusion, women's subordinate social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Mohammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this related status obtained religious sanction from Sure 24, verse 31 of the Koran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam don't's, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Koran, the whole fiqh system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[2]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the home. There is therefore reason to point out that the men may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and relegated to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The bazar, your offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and dissolute as harangles. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social connection between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the city, in banks and in your offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men are only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a emotional offensive on all things Arab and

G. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 140). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and domestics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyor belt system outside the home, religion - and the peace of mind that goes with it - will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the women's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two models existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children—there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even today in Western communities the first thing noted about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[1], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—as this case in Egypt—is stressed by Crampton when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the Arabic women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

Q: Women E-5 (1997) 1961 MA11 Kurd MAU

were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that she is bought. Now people among whom bride price is customary do not understand the Western ideal; their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgement depends on customs, which is no certain or absolute measure of value"[9].

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various areas, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected and valued position; she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the only means whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state.

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West, in place of the clearly-stressed special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At the same time her efforts in the sphere that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly less prized.

As the industrialisation of the country progresses, a large part of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to trade with all its consequences, both good and bad. Her firmly-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by religion, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

In the event of divorce and the adopting of monogamy, the stationary home that has so far existed for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mother and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the community structure, as is about to be the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has now reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not obtain a place in the joint family, and the homes will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. The paramount demand concerning virginity is only logically justified provided a home exists where the girl can dwell, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself—arrange her marriage.

The older members of the family are deprived of the right and duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent improved security for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and what it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

is being remodelled to resemble our own, but the structure of the pattern being transformed is not at all like the one that prevailed in the West when women's position was definitely improved.

What has been said will, perhaps, explain why difficulties arise when governments in Islamic areas decree that women are to be "liberated" and the veil abolished. That certain advantages accrue to the men by these changes is obvious, but the difficulties that have arisen suggest that the Islamic woman has to abandon more rights and advantages than has so far been made clear. Perhaps, then, this investigation into the life of the Kurdish woman as it is to-day—or rather, as it was in 1957—on the threshold of transformation, but still representing, if not a typically Islamic culture pattern, at least certain features that apply to other Islamic areas, may serve to cast light on the question.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

Insofar as these grievances had some foundation in fact enough has already been said to show that the prevailing state of affairs was due, in part at any rate, to political circumstances beyond the control of the government, and in part to the restlessness of the Kurds themselves which for long periods had brought the administration in a large part of Kurdistan to a standstill. Some of the neglect, too, was undoubtedly due not to malice but to a tendency, not unknown elsewhere, for the higher authorities to take more thought for the parts of the country near the center than for the distant outposts.

However that may be, the result was that just when the earlier agitators were developing into elder statesmen who, sobered by experience, no longer regarded separation as feasible or desirable there was growing up a new generation nurtured on a sense of grievance and frustration. Resentment was further embittered by insulting references to the minorities not infrequently made by pan-Arab orators in moments of fanatical exaltation. In all the countries of the Middle East the western Powers are regarded as the supporters of the old reactionary Beys and Pashas who have retained most of the political power in their own hands (the charge is unfair but it would prolong this paper unduly to examine it here). It is only to be expected, then, that disgruntled youth (and especially young Kurds with a racial added to a social grievance) should look to Russia for its inspiration. The Russians have long been the neighbours of the Kurds through the Caucasian provinces, and, as we have seen, a small part of Kurdistan lies within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Even before 1918 Kurdish malcontents in Turkey and Persia were accustomed to seek support from the Russians. For the Russians exploitation of Kurdish unrest would be nothing new, indeed something of the kind has been seen comparatively recently at the time of the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in Persian Kurdistan, and again in 1947 when Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a fugitive rebel from Iraq, was welcomed in Soviet Armenia, given high military rank, and encouraged to broadcast in Kurdish from Erivan.

But with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable. The mercantile classes, realizing as they do that economically the Kurdish north is bound hand and foot to Baghdad, have never shown any enthusiasm for anything but the mildest form of nationalism, and the programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before. The old loyalties to religious Shaykhs and tribal Aghas have been too deeply undermined for any self-appointed leader to command a serious measure of support in any violent adventure. The complexity of modern weapons has given the government an overwhelming advantage

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old stormy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

643 chard, 1949). The presence of the Jaf *Begzada* as political heads
642 necessarily affects the internal organization of the various Jaf *tiras*, and the segmentary nature of the lineage organization is therefore not expressed fully. Each *Raiz* becomes de-facto vested with some authority as the representative of the permanently established Jaf *Begzada*, and the political structure is thus actually a compromise between a truly segmentary lienage organization and a hierarchical organization.

642 As far as its formal structure goes, the Jaf confederacy seems extremely similar to the political system of the early Mongols, as described e. g. by Hudson: The prominence of Chengish Khan's lineage is phrased by him in terms of the vassalization of other descent groups, to emphasize that «all the subjects of the Khan were considered as the vassals not of the ruler but of his family and his close kinsmen as represented by him» (op. cit., p. 92). Essentially the same might well be said if the relation between the *tiras* of the Jaf confederacy and their *Begzada* lineage. It is interesting to speculate whether, since the political mechanism seems to be present, it was merely the difficulties of topography that prevented the Jaf and similar Kurdish confederacies from forming the larger units that one finds in the Central Asian steppe area.

642 The immediate modification in Jaf formal structure made necess-
621 ary by the adoption of sedentary life and agriculture are slight,
• 178 thought the meanings and importance attaching to the various aspects of the organization change radically. Generally, each *khel* settles in a part of the old *tira* pastures, and the informal head of the *khel* becomes the formally elected *kikha* (mayor or headman) of the resulting village. Any one *tira* thus tends to split up completely, some *khels* settling at the winter camp sites around Qizil Rubat, others 80 km. N.E. on the autumn campsites of Shahr-i-zur. Whereas tribal unity thus loses its significance, each village is registered as the property of one or another of the *Begzada*, and *Jaf* identification, as well as the acceptance of *Begzada* leadership, is natural.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HAMAWAND.

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178 According to their own traditions, the Hamawands entered Southern Kurdistan from Persia as nomadic herdsmen. Seeing the opportunities offered by the ineffectual nature of Ottoman governmental control, they entered on a career of brigandage, looting the caravans that passed between Persia and Iraq. The uneasy relations between the Persian and Ottoman empires made this all the more feasable, since any activity detrimental to one power had the covert support of the other. Though the Hamawands later settled in villages, they did not immediately take up agriculture, except for small garden patches of melons etc. As they proudly assert: «For more than a generation we reaped our daily bread with our gunbarrels». All accounts by early travellers describe how this small group terrorized the district by striking quickly and effectively in widely separated areas. Only after the First World War did their economy become truly based on farming. Through this turbulent history, tribal political organization retained its importance, and some features of the system may be seen very clearly.

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642 The Hamawand group as a whole is regarded as one *tira* of the same magnitude as the various component Jaf *tiras*. Even in its greatest period of glory, the Hamawand *tira* could muster no more than 200-300 horsemen, implying a total population of 1,000-1,500 individuals. The process of branching has however been initiated; in fact, as compared to the Jaf, the Hamawand political structure seems to be based on a clearer political recognition of the segmentation into lineage sections which follows from the marriage pattern. The hierarchy of progressively more inclusive lineage segments, from the single village level (population 50—100) and up to the maximal lineage group, is given political significance.

642 There is no single leader of the whole Hamawand *tira*[1]); questions concerning the group as a whole are discussed and decided in a council made up of the *Aghas* (=headman) of the 4 primary branches. Each of these branches are again divided into sub-branches,

[1]) Actually, Mohammed Amin Agha of the *Begzada* claims paramount position.

642 554 the presumption that everything not legitimized in terms of the order is outside its scope». «So long as the encumbent of such a status does not act counter to the traditional order, ... loyalty is due, not to 'the order', but to him personally.» (Parsons, op. cit., p. 121).

The main contrast between the Kurdish systems and this «traditional» type lies in the implication in the definition of the latter that concrete traditional prescriptions are indeed accepted and agreed upon by all. The cultural heterogeneity of the South Kurdish area has been emphasized above; this heterogeneity makes for a situation where a truly traditional system can not operate. Any single concrete traditional prescription tends to be questioned by all but a minority, and conflicting interpretations of what is in fact the traditional order are constantly advanced. As a result, the theme of *power* attains an overriding importance, following the line of reasoning that if you can get away with something, it can't be very wrong. The effective check on excesses in the use of power is the threat of murder. Though there is obviously much more excited talk than 631 action, Kurds are rightly famous for being «trigger-happy», and a person who strongly feels that his rights have been infringed upon may go to great lengths to retaliate. Since no institutional means exist, violence has become institutionalised as the only mechanism at hand.

178 642 It is tempting to see the present situation as the result of breakdown of a formerly functioning traditional system. There is considerable evidence indicating that Southern Kurdistan some 100 years ago was better integrated than today, in the form of a strongly 175 feudal Pashalik centering around Suleimani. The Baban Pashas of 642 Suleimani had frequent opportunities during conflicts with both the Persian and the Ottoman rulers to show that they had the unquestioning support of an overriding majority of the population, and through several centuries of rule they built up a traditional hierarchy of hereditary status positions, entitling persons to political offices (Rich op. cit., p. 115). The traditional nature of the rule is strikingly brought out in the following citation, where the Pasha of Suleimani explains the solidarity that his subjects feel towards him by contrast-

the tribal leader retains longest in the face of breakdown of tribal organization (cf. Memni, p. 126). The ability to avoid or resolve such conflicts between villages is a prerequisite for the maintenance of lineage unity, and it is therefore essential that the principle of collective responsibility is *not* applied to the co-residents of the village community.

Leach (op. cit., pp. 56-7) discusses a feud between two competing lineages in the Rowanduz area. Though in effect a struggle for political supremacy between rival lineages, it appears to be governed by ideas of retaliation and equality. Hay (op. cit.) further lists the traditionally stipulated blood money to be paid for various classes of people. The Rowanduz area, as contrasted to Southern Kurdistan, is one where a number of well-organized lineages are in close contact. This is due in part to a difference in local history. Suleimani is an old center, and the whole territory was long subject to the feudal Baban administration, based on non-lineage principles. The Rowanduz mountain areas, on the other hand, retained a presumably characteristic tribal organization, with numerous territorially separate, independent lineages till quite late, when it was united by conquest in a larger state system under the Mir og Rowanduz around 1830. It is interesting to speculate whether the fusion of numerous lineages into a larger state may not have changed some of the factors outlined above in such a way as to permit the institutionalized extension of the South Kurdish pattern of personal revenge to a pattern of blood feud.

In Southern Kurdistan, it is difficult to see what sanctions would be brought to bear against homicide within the maximal lineage, other than this pattern of personal revenge. Other mechanisms, once existing, may however have been disguised by now through the activities of the external administration.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter VII.

The detribalization process.

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In the same way as certain part-statuses are incompatible with others in combination in a single person, certain of these statuses are incompatible in a single village community. Where two part-status positions imply conflicting interests in the same field of activity, the part-status that controls most de-facto power will dominate the scene, and sooner or later replace the other or re-define its field of relevance. A unified discussion of these aspects of incompatibility should contribute to our understanding of social change in the South Kurdish countryside.

The mechanics of such redefinition and replacement of part-status categories should be clear from the previous discussion. From the supra-village level, a new factor is introduced, modifying the power or prestige connected with a certain part-status position — e. g. the introduction of a civil code that robs the *mullah* of much of his power, a serious defeat reduces the prestige of a previously dominant *tira*, or land registration settles property disputes in the favor of certain persons. The individual occupying a relative position in the total hierarchy of supra- and sub-ordination may then find one of two things to have happened: (a) his power, and thus his de-facto position in the hierarchy, has been modified, in which case a fluid adjustment and transfer of loyalties will tend to follow in the village community, or (b) his de-facto power, in itself unchanged, is in time modified by changes in the relative prestige attached to his

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

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part-status — his ability to *rally* persons is improved or impaired, with direct results on his position in the power hierarchy. Either or both of these reactions may result — i. e. primary changes in either or both the de-facto (a) and the «ideal» (b) hierarchy may be produced. In certain cases the change produced by the same factor in these two hierarchies may be in contradiction, and the final adjustment is then dependent on the degree of external interference.

The patterns of these reactions and changes are set by the precedence of loyalties in conflict situations, crudely sketched above. It should then be theoretically possible to correlate the nature and form of social change in Southern Kurdistan with the factors. The assumption is generally, and I think legitimately, made that all non-tribal groups of Kurds are ultimately to be derived from one or more tribal groups. At present, at any rate, the direction of change between the two poles, from *tribal* to non-tribal or *feudal*, is very evident, and some of the factors resulting in such a detribalization process clearly follow from the above discussion. There is further considerable indication that only the two poles themselves, described as *tribal* and *feudal*, are moderately stable, and that change from the one to the other, once initiated, is a moderately rapid process. This is e. g. indicated by the numerical preponderance of villages of the polar types as compared to intermediary types. It also follows logically from the concept of incompatibilty of certain part-statuses in a single village: many of the tribal and non-tribal formal categories or part-statuses overlap in their fields of relevance, and this results in competition, and elimination or re-definition, where they are combined in one local community. Once the process of un-ravelling is under way, the complete set of non-tribal categories will thus tend to replace its tribal counterparts.

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Probably the most potent agents of social change, with a very direct relation to the power hierarchy in the village, are changes in the pattern of land tenure. Ottoman land codes and taxation policy, corrupt administration, and the increasing emphasis in Kurdish culture on leisure and real property have all encouraged the concentration of land in few hands, and the establishment of feudal patterns of delegation of usifruct rights on land. The resulting class hierarchy

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

laborer-tenant-intermediary-absentee landowner, differs radically from that generally associated with tribal organization, which includes relatively few laborers and/or *Meskjin*, and a majority of freeholding farmers.

The incompatibility of categories from these two class hierarchies is evident, as is the tendency for the hierarchy embodying most power — i. e. the more highly centralized organization headed by the landowner — to replace the other. The absentee landowner who owns only part of the land of a village, will find his powers greatly impaired by the co-existance of freeholding farmers with his tenants in the local community. The sanctions by which he disciplines his tenants are reduced in effect — eviction from land is less serious, eviction from the village dependent on the vote of villagers outside his control. Similarly, he would be limited in his freedom to settle new farmers on the land by a veto on the part of the freeholding farmers, who could refuse the newcomer village membership. The village headman would almost certainly be elected from among the freeholding farmers, and serve as a coordinator of opposition to the landowner, etc. etc. The landowner, occupying the part-status that embodies most power in this situation of conflicting interests will tend to apply his powers to eliminate the incompatible status category — in this case by buying or forcibly taking over the proprietary rights on the remaining land, and giving the formerly freeholding farmers tenant status.

Where the right to eviction, and in fact the final powers of decision in all village matters, are taken away from the formerly freeholding farmer group, it becomes impossible for it to control a class of *Meskjin* serfs, and this status group is similarly eliminated, and presumably assimilated as tenant farmers of lower status, following from their lower wealth.

A second major agent of change, or at times a concomitant of these economic changes, is the factor of modification of the administrative system by external administration. The tribal administrative mechanism, based on «unquestioned» kinship-patterned loyalties, has been discussed above (pp. 69 ff). Where external administration — large absentee landowner or central government alike — enters and

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

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enforces its decisions by coercive means, the pattern of tribal administration breaks down, and a transfer of loyalties will tend to result — e. g. as in the case of the Memni *tira*, cf. p. 126.

At the time of the Baban Pashalik, the capitalist landowner was of less importance, and external administration was along traditional lines. The Baban Pashas utilized the principles of indirect rule, essential in the application of a feudal system to an area of ethnic mixture. Though external administration thus was a less active agent in producing detribalization, it was stil operative. The Baban Pashas lent power to the traditional leaders in their hierarchy, and supported many of their decisions by coercive means. In the nomadic groups, this was less necessary, since the necessity and functions of an organizing leader are obvious to all members of the community. In the settled communities, the need for a coordinator is less obvious to the individual member of the group, and the leader's authority will be more readily questioned. Either a constant process of segmentation must be operative, as among the Hamawands, or the «kinship head» type of leader can not retain control. External administration, however, has vested interests in retaining status quo and avoiding conflicts, and therefore applies its powers to resist fission of groups. Thus the close kinship unity of the local group is lost, and tribal organization is weakened. At the same time, external administration wishes to have a clear and moderately constant leader to deal with, and will thus attempt to strengthen the power of the leader and stabilize his position, to counteract these disorganizing tendencies. Thus it becomes necessary to vest the leader with coercive means, and this leads to the complete breakdown of the traditional tribal lineage organization.

The predominance of non-tribal communities in the area under closest Baban control must be seen as the cumulative effect of centuries of centralized rule, where such factors would be operative. It should also be remembered that any movement of people — except where it occurs in larger blocks — alienates the migrant from his hereditary *tira* group, and places him in a non-tribal system of administration wherever he choses to settle, since there is no mechanism by which he may be adopted into a new lineage.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Thus a fairly clear dichotomy can be made in Kurdish territory between tribal areas, in which lineages form the bases for the political structures, and lineage groups correspond directly to territorial groups, and on the other hand non-tribal areas, where the territorial group forms the sole basis of organization in a semi-feudal system, and, though descent and kinship are important, any type of lineage organization is absent.

Though this change from tribal to non-tribal organization seems, as far as any specific community is concerned, to be a road of no return, and there has been a constant detribalization process going on through time, the actual border between the areas where tribal vs. feudal organizations predominate has remained moderately constant for many generations, with apparently only minor ossilations. This must be seen as a steady state, where the rate of population movement — in tribal blocks or segments of such — from the mountains towards and into the plains roughly compensated for the formerly slow rate of breakdown in tribal organization along the zone of contact with external administration.

This rough balance has been completely upset by the changes following the First World War. The rate of detribalization has been tremendously speeded up by modern communications, reaching into the mountain fastness and most distant valleys; external administration has pacified all the old tribal strongholds; and movements of groups across the border from Persia are prevented or at least seriously hampered. It is thus only a question of time, probably less than a generation, till the segmentary lineage type of tribal organization is completely replaced by the non-tribal type in Southern Kurdistan.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter VIII.

Conclusion

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The types of Kurdish social organization described above seem, even apart from their local cultural dress, somewhat different from those usually reported by anthropologists. Especially the combination in the «tribal» organization of a lineage system, close family endogamy, and a kinship terminology without unilineal emphasis poses some interesting problems.

It has been suggested (e. g. Murdock 1949, p. 234) that this Kurdish situation reflects the breakdown of a previous organization based on exogamous sib groups, following the introduction of Islam, with the Koranic permission, or even encouragement, to marry close kin. Clearly, this explanation is not sufficient, considering how fundamental the pattern seems in the Kurdish tribal organization, and the unusually high incidence of FaBrDa marriage as compared to other Moslem communities.

As far as the historical and comparative material goes, there is little reason to believe that the tendency towards close family endogamy is an Islamic innovation in the area. In appraising the historical material, it is important, as Luzbetak (1951) emphasizes, to distinguish between (a) classical centers of endogamy with examples of brother-sister marriage in royal lineages (Egypt, Sumer, Elam, Arabia, Persia), connected with a tremendous elaboration and emphasis on hereditary prestige, and (b) areas where close family endogamy was a basic feature of the social organization, and operated

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

on a village level. Eliminating the cases of type (a), there is still ample evidence of endogamous patterns of non-Islamic or pre-Islamic origin, especially in the Caucasus-Armenian area, of which the Kurdish mountains are geographically an extension. The customary law of Daghestan prescribes close kin marriage, and explicitly forbids the marriage with an outsider (ibid). The early ecclasiastical laws of Armenia attack next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence (ibid, p. 54), and such practices caused great concern among the early Christian missionaries, till they were eventually rooted out. Thus, rather than regard the Kurdish combination of patterns as a labile state produced by cross-cultural mixture, it would seem reasonable to grant the Kurdish «tribal» organization considerable antiquity as a stable variant or *type* of lineage organization, of some theoretical interest.

On a structural level, it can be argued that a pattern of FaBrDa marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system. Solidarity to the patrilineal descent group in abstracto is minimal. Close family endogamy results in a direct correspondance between lineage segments and local groups, giving the descent groups a clear territorial framework in which the lineage organization can function. On the individual level, a man's political position and power depends in the last instance on the number of riflemen he can muster. However, only co-lineage males can be expected to give such political support. A pattern of FaBrDa marriage contributes to prevent alienation of immediate collateral lines, and re-affirms the old man's leading position in relation to his agnatic nephews, thereby vesting him with control over a larger agnatic group of males.

Where the lineage is found in other areas as a corporate group, it is usually connected with a kinship terminology of the «lineage» type, which, through unilineal emphasis and classificatory extensions contributes in defining and delimiting these corporate groups. Kurdish kinship terms, on the other hand, are purely «descriptive» in that they measure geneological distance between near kin. Nor do they show any unilineal emphasis. In other words, they do not contribute in any way to the definition of unilineal corporate groups. However, when this terminology is seen in combination with the

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

not be underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Guest House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. *In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting: it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Guest House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently. 262 511

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish viewpoint is the upkeep of the Guest House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Guest House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the mast (a milk product similar to yaghourt), it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Guest House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community. 462 532

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though employing better quality materials than the commoner, stick mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their severely puritan tastes rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Bayat was seen wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowanduz, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for "frills and furbelows" - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by the [illegible] after the Great War 291 [n8]

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute sama (see later).

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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000 the policy of the Administration after the Great War.

511 Formerly the village communities were, within the limits of a somewhat meagre standard of living, virtually self supporting. Trade
• 178 and currency circulation were both minimal. *The British Administra-
484 tion's policy of buying the loyalty of the tribal chiefs by means of a cash salary resulted in there being available within the community substantial amounts of currency for which there was no immediate outlet except in the purchase of luxuries. Moreover this wealth was not distributed evenly throughout the community but concentrated into the hands of a few leading Aghas. The result has many analogies with similar phenomena observed in Africa. The preliminary expenditure creates a sudden taste for luxuries within a small segment of the community. These new wants develop both in scope and intensity out of all proportion to the ability of the community to satisfy them, with the inevitable result that the economic balance of the community is upset and the originally wealthy group, by developing expensive tastes, becomes eventually an economic drain upon the community. The process can indeed be expressed in general economic terms applicable even to the conditions of our own society.

Expenditure by the Government can for a time create a new large effective demand, but when this expenditure ceases and the income of the community drops the newly created wants remain unsatisfied. The result is not a reversion to the original situation but an adaptation of it, in which the available income is allocated to new ends in an attempt to give partial satisfaction to the newly created wants.

There can be no doubt that in the Balik country, under the influence of the Government subsidy, the tastes of the more important Aghas and their households developed a high degree of sophistication without any corresponding improvement in the productivity of the community as a whole. With the establishment of effective police authority in the Rowanduz valley the subsidy to the tribal leaders was suspended as being unnecessary. The consequences were inevitable. The foreign clothing and house furnishings which had formerly been mere luxuries had by this time developed into essential necessaries. Today the more sophisticated Aghas such as Sheikh Mohammad of Walash and Hamid Amin of Dergala are feeling the pinch severely. They will tell you that times are hard and that they can no longer afford to maintain the standard they were accustomed to in the days of their youth, but the truth rather would seem to be that they are vainly trying to maintain a much "higher" standard than was ever thought of

* It is difficult to obtain from Kurdish sources reliable information of the sums involved. Sheikh Mohammad's son assured me that at one time his father possessed over £3,000 in gold and specie. At the present time he appears to be in debt to merchants and moneylenders.

in older times, and that the economy of the village will not stand the strain.

Much point is lent to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Sapni (head of the Shevdini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mohammad received no Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. Moreover, far from lamenting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevdini land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an subject in their own right instead of merely a tribe of the Balik. It seems significant too that the Shevdini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalisation emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Guest House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha's section of the community. His cash expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Aghas concerned. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organisation of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

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[illegible] chieftainship it was alleged that he corrupted the villagers with alcohol and gambling and attempted to seduce their daughters, in particular the Bella's daughters, in fact he was altogether a scoundrel. In the course he was fined in the high court with two bullocks through his help. The police took action. Two hundred looking camels from another tribe were brought before the courts and on the basis of somewhat elaborate circumstantial evidence convicted of murder. Between lawyers and [illegible] were carried out since the "principals" eventually disappeared a few days after the trial. Whatever was the truth of this matter, local opinion had no doubts on the subject. The bullet wounds, the arrest and conviction of the camels were all a frame up by the police, who had the whole act to fish in troubled waters. The sentence was but really died of strangulation - imagine in the dark house of Sheikh Mohamed, Agha of Bulsah and chief of the Bella.

This story was told me by Basil Asia of Zeila who was always eager to start a chat on his cousin Sheikh Mohamed. It appeared however to have some general necessary since, when I was discussing the circumstances of the local administration with the Agha of Zeila, he referred to the Sheikh story. "Those small Government servants! What do you expect? They're all scoundrels".

Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant, the effect among the Bella is the same as if it had been true. Even though Sheikh Mohamed's prestige is not as great as formerly, the fact, or even the rumour, that he had to keep his first and only agricultural advance is a sufficient deterrent for any farmer (when one may be contemplating [illegible] who fears their own competitors. This example [illegible] not will have a [illegible] practice be affected by a mass of seemingly irrelevant considerations in the field of ethics, tribal law, politics and religion.

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To sum up then. We have seen how the necessity for developing an export trade implies the necessity for increasing the tobacco acreage at the expense of cereal acreage, and I have tried to analyse out the forces of resistance which serve to prevent any immediate response to this invention. Nevertheless the invention is clearly very great. I was told for instance in Zeila that whereas in the old days the crops of the entire village had been worth barely £50 in cash, the tobacco sales in 1937 alone totalled £2,500. I believe therefore that in the hills also some radical alteration in the emphasis of agriculture must take place in the near future.

But it must be recognised that any such development must bring about fundamental changes both in the ideology of the people and of their social organisation. As things are, the hill country farmer sets out first of all to grow sufficient food for himself and his family. Only when he is assured of that does he turn his attention to the cultivation of luxury products such as tobacco. In short he aims at

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his lands foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is so enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other British production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the Baghdad market, - hardly a desirable development.

The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents. In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his lands and this is eminently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. However in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively [illegible] with the added consequence that the commoner who trades tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

On the analogy with the Lorimer areas the ultimate line of evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill. Thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

From the Government's point of view such a development is not entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is shirk land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

per inch; while a good quality coloured cloth such as worn by Ajhar has
286 forty six Reds 36 threads per inch.

As mentioned already the village weaver, where there is one, now
has to face serious competition not only from the cloth dealers of the
town but also from certain large scale weaving concerns in Rowanduz and
• 178 Erbil. The latter still use the ordinary Scottish looms but seem to be
286 able to produce a better quality product than the village craftsmen.
The difference may be due to the fact that the town craftsmen uses a
mechanically spun thread, whereas the village weaver in the main works
with a hand spun article. But there is no definite tradition that the
town made material is superior. The clothes worn by the Mir while I
was in Jezgala had been made from local cloth, his son Jalal, on the
other hand, had purchased the stuff for his new blue trousers in
Rowanduz. My impression is however that with the ever increasing
facilities for contact with tradure from the town the functions of the
village weaver will soon become superfluous and the community will
become completely dependent upon outside sources in yet one further
respect.

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lead to one side burning the other's crops or stealing their cattle. Until bloodshed has occurred nothing is serious and a good clan Aghe will see to it that the parties submit to arbitration before the affair reaches a crisis. Here serious are affairs in which women are involved; an insult to honour can only be wiped out by death and the discovery of adultery can have only one possible sequel. Such cases however need not necessarily lead to feud; if the guilty lover belongs to the same village as the injured husband a single murder is considered to settle the matter. If the parties are from different groups however the affair is much more serious and several assassinations may take place before settlement can be reached. Eventually, provided it is the honour of commoners rather than of Aghas that is at stake, the Aghas concerned will arrange feud through the mediation of the tribal chiefs. According to Say "A blood feud is usually settled by the payment of blood-money; every condition of man or woman has its or her price, and even the parts of the body are catalogued. A Ramandi or middle class Bradost farmer is valued at £50, one of his women at £25, and his leg or weight say £20. Such payment is often made in kind, some cattle or a horse, or so much wheat being handed over to the aggrieved party. It is very common for a girl to be given away in marriage in payment of blood money. Thus if £50 were owing, the price of the blood of one man or the debt might be paid by the delivery of one girl, three cows and a donkey". I have no comparable information, though I think the general principle is accurately described. In Say's time the Government could seldom apprehend a murderer. He says "For the murdered man's relations to take their revenge is quite in order, but an execution at the hands of that murder, the Government, is an entirely different matter. The culprit therefore is carefully concealed until he can make good his escape to the hills". The position today is somewhat different and I fancy the murderer is usually caught. This however does not end the feud; blood feud murders are punishable only by two years imprisonment and the war starts again when the culprit gets free.*

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As has been explained the feuds of commoners and the less important Aghas are settled in the end by tribal arbitration. However

* The Administration makes a distinction between feud murders justified by tribal custom and ordinary murders which are not. The former come under a special code for which the maximum penalty is two years imprisonment; the latter come under the ordinary Iraq criminal code for which the penalty is much more severe (? death). This has led to interesting repercussions. In the old days by tribal custom an affair of honour was adequately settled if the man only was killed, the woman in the case being merely driven out of her own community to fend for herself. Today it is necessary for the avenging husband to prove to the Authorities that it is really an affair of honour and not just a cold blooded murder. The custom now therefore is to kill both the guilty parties.

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10:Johnson G-2 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

361 Sulaimaniya is the chief town in Iraqi
369 Kurdistan, in that it is the largest town in the Kurdish area whose population is entirely Kurdish. Other towns exist in Iraqi Kurdistan, but the larger ones—Kirkuk, Erbil and Kifri—are inhabited by as many Turcomans as Kurds, although the tribes around are Kurdish. Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains, and do not take easily to the life of a townsman.

175 In this they resemble their distant
• 198 relatives the Pathans of Afghanistan and north-western India, who, in the early migrations of Aryan-speaking peoples, penetrated into the highlands east of the Persian plateau while the Kurds spread westwards into what is now north-western Iran, eastern Turkey and north-eastern Iraq. Here, in secluded mountain valleys, they preserved many ancient characteristics which their fellow migrants, settling

[p. 389(B)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

175 in the Persian plains, lost through contact
178 with the outside world. By the time recorded history begins, Kurds and Persians were already recognized as distinct peoples, the former being known as Medes.

[101]

792 Some 600 years before the birth of
771 Christ and 1200 before the spread of Islam, a Kurdish prophet, Zerdusht (Zoroaster), grew up among the mountains of the Azerbaijan district near the Caspian Sea. The gospel that he preached, in its primitive and simple form, is to a greater extent the basis of Christianity and Islam than the adherents of those world religions usually admit. The Kurd of today, however, knows nothing of this. He is nominally a Mohammedan, and has even on occasions been stirred by the call of "*Jihad*"—the holy war—in the name of Islam. But beneath the surface there lurk some curious remnants of Zoroastrian tradition.

[A 383 (c)]

22/ natural one. The Kurdish shepherd moves through lands where cereals and vegetables can be grown: barley, wheat, maize, rice, melons and tomatoes are among the crops cultivated in various parts; so the tendency is for the nomad to become semi-nomadic.

This is the term applied to tribes which have built villages in the lower ground into which they retire with their flocks and herds during the severity of the winter. The live-stock are normally crowded into a semi-basement below the living quarters. In the spring, when the grazing near at hand is used up, a portion of the tribe takes the flocks to the highlands, living in the usual black tents of the nomads, while certain members of each tribe remain in the village attending to the crops. Some tribes vacate their villages completely. The family goods and chattels are loaded onto the backs of oxen, donkeys or mules, and nothing is left behind except the four stone walls and mud roofs of the houses.

22/ A number of Kurdish tribes in Iraq,
• 178 however, are still entirely nomadic; these include various sections of the Jaf, Herki and other tribes. At the other end of the scale are the 'settled' Kurds, who live in villages in one locality throughout the year. Settled Kurds already outnumber the nomadic Kurds of Iraq, and for several reasons the tendency is for their numbers to increase further.

The first and most important is that in the case of most of the nomadic tribes the mountains of Iraq have been their winter habitat in the past, while for summer grazing they used the fertile slopes of the

[50-c]

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• 178 higher mountains over the Turkish or Iranian border. With the spread of bureaucratic administration in these countries—especially in Iran—the frontiers have been closed to the passage of nomadic tribes by the imposition of taxes and conditions with which the tribesman cannot economically comply; so he has perforce to give up his summer highlands. Instead he has to use the border districts of Iraq which he formerly passed through in the spring and autumn. But here again the Iraq government policy is to settle the tribes where possible, owing to the difficulty of effective administrative control over nomads and the difficulty of bringing them within the influence of the government's educational and social policies.

000 The 'settling of the tribes' is distasteful to anyone who has lived among them and learned to appreciate the healthy care-free

[51 D]

14¢ Ivanov 8-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Rec MAI

The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principal sub-divisions of the Kurdish-speaking tribes; they are mentioned in order from north to south, and according to the area which they inhabit:

1. Melanlu, in Qubbkhaneh, the northern part of the districts of Isfarain, Juwain, and the extreme north of Nishapur.
2. Bajgiranlu, a small sub-tribe, living near Bajgiran.
3. Aghanlu, near Aghach and along the frontier.
4. Hiwalanlu, near Quchan, and in Darreh Gaz.
5. Qaramanlu, near Nawukh, Dizawan, etc.
6. Shadilu, in Bujnurd, etc., mostly speaking Turkish only.
7. Za'faranlu, in Shirwan, have now lost their former importance; very few speak Kurdish.
8. Kuraulu, north of Quchan.*
9. Mashkanlu, near Mashkan, in the district of Quchan.
10. Burji, *ibid.*, near Radgan.
11. Kalwanlu, *ibid.*, in Juwain and in the northern parts of the Nishapur district.
12. Mashdakanlu, in northern part of Nishapur and the Quchan districts.

All these tribes represent forms of transition between pure nomads and the ordinary peasant. Many of them are half-nomads, *i.e.* they cultivate fields in the summer and are nomads in the winter, when they shift to some warmer district. It is specific that the transition from the nomadic to the settled life is very gradual, and that it is going on in every tribe.

Some other tribes consist chiefly of nomads, such as the following:

13. Rashanlu, in Khakistar, Lain, near Kashkha.
14. Brivanlu, near Kashkha, and in the summer in Kelat.
15. Hashtalanlu, Darreh Gaz in the winter and Quchan valley in the summer.
16. Badivanlu, in the same places.
17. Jafkanlu, in the winter at Chamakalur and in the summer at Kuh-i-Dunbat.†
18. Karamanlu, in the northern parts of the Nishapur districts.
19. Waranlu, a small tribe in the same place.
20. Tupkanlu, in the district of Juwain, partly in Nishapur; in the winter they migrate to the Dasht-i-Tayi.‡
21. 'Amarlu, north-west from Nishapur, in and around the village of Marunbi (also called Marunb).

* Their name resembles the Gurans of Kurdistan proper, and the connection is quite probable.

† These may be connected with a western Kurdish tribe of Jaf, who are very numerous along the Mesopotamian frontier.

‡ Their migrations extend over a very long distance, taking weeks for a journey with their live-stock. It is remarkable that their passage is never accompanied with any accident or robbery.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

THE Kûrds are to be found scattered all over the Eastern Highlands of Asia Minor, from the Taurus to the Caucasus, as well as in Kûrdistan proper, where the population is equally mixed. Under the name of Kûrd, however, two distinct races are included, who form as great a contrast to each other in physiognomy as in character and manner of life. The one race is nomad, warlike, and full of vivacity, the other is agricultural, pacific, and not remarkable for intelligence.[1] The features of the peasantry are much softer and less pronounced than those of the tribesmen, who have long and rather aquiline noses, prominent foreheads, keen, deep set eyes, generally black, but sometimes grey, or even blue, small mouths, and pointed chins. Their step is firm, their bearing proud and dignified, and at the first glance one sees that they are the lords of the country.

The Kûrds generally are strong, healthy, well-built people, and in spite of the inequalities of climate of the country they inhabit, live to a good old age. The children are clear-skinned, rosy-

[1] The Turkish proverb, "Stupid as a Kûrd," applies only to the peasants of this nation.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

cheeked, hardy, lithe and active little creatures, and the young women—in the Taurus especially—are said to be models of physical beauty. Mr. Millingen gives the following glowing description of one among the many handsome girls he saw during his residence among these freebooting highlanders: "Her complexion gave me an idea of what must have been the bloom of the forbidden apple of the terrestrial Paradise. Her eyes, of a dark chestnut, shone like brilliants through the veil of her thick, long eyelashes, while nose and mouth were perfect in their delicacy of shape. Though the garments she wore were not of a superior sort, yet through their folds her graceful form could be detected. But what above all contributed to make her really charming was the calm, simple, and, so to say, infantine air which distinguished her countenance and the whole of her demeanour."[1]

Some Kürdish families in Bohtan and Hakkari claim descent from the Ommeyide Khalifs, and some travellers are of opinion that the tribe of the Rewadi, to which Saladin belonged, may possibly be the same as the modern Revendi, or Rewendi. The chiefs of the Bebbeh clan confidently affirm that they have in their veins English blood from an ancestress called Keighan, the legend concerning whom will be found in a subsequent chapter.[2] Less mythical, perhaps, is the story of the company belonging to the Second Crusade (1147–49), who wandered in a north-easterly direction from Syria, and not being

[1] *Wild Life among the Kurds.*
[2] See p. 170.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the 391
baldness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form, but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the *tcharekkiz*, or cloak, is of a darker shade of blue, with white stripes round the bottom, the corners being knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kûrdish women 391
do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In 562
large towns like Suleimaniah the ladies wear a blue chocked sheet, and a screen of black horsehair, like the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however, seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest rank, who may wish to pass through the streets *incognito*; and the lower class women generally go about with their faces uncovered. The village women veil themselves when they leave their homes; and the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Male servants 391
are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms 579
occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors are freely received by the assembled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom 391
of manners, Kûrdish women conduct themselves with 562
the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the forwardness too often seen in the behaviour of the Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, 434
exceptionally high among the races of the country.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MH10

groves and alleys, and celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. The women in their gayest and richest dresses, their necks and heads hung with strings of silver coins, and with either a scarlet feather or a posy of roses or anemones in their turbans, dance with the men in rings, sometimes to the number of two hundred. The young girls make the most of their holiday, dancing to their hearts' content with their admirers or affianced lovers.

The large Kürdish tribe of the Doudjika, which is composed of several *thâifés*, forms another heretical sect, called Kizilbakha. They regard Ali, the first Khalif, as the personified Deity, thus attributing to him, as do the Ali Ilahis of Persia, a much higher position than to the Prophet of Islam. And there is yet a third description of sectarians, called Baliki, who regard Ali as the latest manifestation of the Deity in human form. The more mystical among Moslems hold that all the great Prophets who have appeared from the creation of the world—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, Christ, and Mohammed—were successive incarnations of the Divine Spirit, and that the founder of Islam, because the last, was the greatest. But the Balikis ignore Mohammed entirely. According to their saying, "He (the Deity) has showed Himself in a thousand ways, and many are in doubt; if he would show Himself in one way, many would believe." Warlike and unruly as are the members of this sect, the American missionaries have been very successful among them. Such, indeed, is the influence of this handful of men from the New World that they

agnist this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or mendacity. This may be seen from on of the more recent examples: 114

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurdhas not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered unworthy to live. My father once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very bashful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for on of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry on of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to is name.[1] [181]

The sanguine reputation is not wholly without reason. In 579
older times the Kurdish chieftains was not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and a recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be 449 448
considered in this study. This has at endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiye, the irregular 707 448
bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal ad nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered fro their depredations, as well as missionaries and spokesmen in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in 579 (428)
Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with outsiders, but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the

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[1]Sweeye, 1913, p. 193.

conduct of lesser officials but also of the populace as a whole, he tends to keep in close informal touch with both of these. Similarly, he is the step in authority between a mudir of his qaḍa and the mutesarrif of Erbil and reports, taxes, recruits, and prisoners must pass through his hands. The same relationship described between mudir and qaimmaqam obtains between the latter and the mutesarrif, because the qaimmaqam must refer his own reports and problems to higher authority. Lastly, it has been intimated above that the qaimmaqam is referred to as an appeal for all sorts of requests. In the Arab Middle East the private citizen has two customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is usual in most European governments, or at the "top." If, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the submission of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through chief clerk, mudir, and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, accumulating documents on its way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, often a perogative of higher social rank, the direct application to the highest available authority, is, of course, the more effective means to secure the desired form of authorization at the outset. It follows that the qaimmaqam is constantly beset by those, either in their own interest or in that of some "client," wishing to bypass the normal paths of transmittal.

Throughout their history the Kurds have suffered a

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq Liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qaiha is charged to the gaimmaqam.

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

The most productive comparisons would be with the Turks or the Persians, but, unfortunately, no such monographs are as yet available. To utilize the scanty and widely scattered materials on Turkish or Persian life would be at best haphazard. This study of Rowanduz, with certain exceptions, stands by itself, in the belief that it will afford accurate data for the comparative treatments of the future.

Something of the content of Kurdish life, as observed in Rowanduz, has been presented. It has been seen that the town dominates, partly in an administrative and partly in a commercial way, a large agricultural district. The bulk of the townspeople are merchants, craftsmen, and servants who depend for their livelihood on commerce with the villagers and the patronage of government personnel. The basis of the town's importance is both economic and political. Life within the household, the structure of society, and religion have been treated. What is perhaps of great importance is the ample demonstration that the Kurds are not savages devoid of culture, that they are not all "robbers" and need not "kill six or seven men" in order to be respected. With the exception of revolts and blood feuds, the district is relatively peaceful and normally one is rarely in danger of molestation. The old brigandage, carried on largely by the chieftains as a lucrative diversion, was directed against commercial travelers who could protect themselves from it by the simple expedient of making "gifts" in advance. A district population of some fifty thousand

the Kurdish tribal system poses some unusual problems in this field. 621
In the travel literature, Kurdish tribes have a deserved reputation as [181]
warriors and bandits with little respect for human life, and without
further analysis of the situation it has been assumed that much of
their activities in this field is governed by a pattern of blood feuding.
There is however good reason to analyse the situation more carefully,
to discover just what patterns relating to homicide do in fact exist.

The material on which the following is based is, for obvious 622
reasons, very incomplete. Today homicide is the matter with which
the external administration is most concerned, and immediate inter-
vention on its part tends to prevent other action from being taken,
or fear of such intervention prevents actual case histories from
being discussed. All the data that I do have, however, indicate the
absence or very weak development of blood feuding patterns in
Southern Kurdistan. This absence may seem surprising, and it is
necessary to make clear just what is meant by the statement.

It seems useful in the analysis of this phenomenon to adhere to a
fairly specific definition of what is meant by institutionalized blood
feud. In its most characteristic form, it has been described in numer-
ous African societies, e. g. the Nuba (Nadel 1947): «In Heiben
[homicide] entails blood feud, which is carried on until exact revenge
has been achieved; a man must be killed for a man, a woman for a
woman; even in their age the two must be as closely matched as
possible. The duty to avenge devolves, not on an individual, but on
the whole clan . . . . . Again, the revenge is not directed against an
individual — the murderer himself — but against any member of
the enemy clan who satisfies the conditions of this law of re-
venge . . .», p. 151). The pattern is thus a special form of institution-
alized revenge, whereby a whole group of persons is held collectively
responsible for the behavior of one of its members, and where the
wronged party is similarly not conceived as the individual or his
close family, but as the whole larger group to which he belonged.
The reaction is one of retaliation, governed by considerations of
equality, and subsidiarily one of compensation by traditionally stipu-
lated blood money (e. g. ibid. p. 211).

In this form, the blood feud is not found in Southern Kurdistan.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter IV.

Non-political hierarchical organizations.

• MA11 567

The theme of power is extremely important in Kurdish thinking, in the sense I have used the expression *de-facto* power: the actual, total extent to which a person is able to lead people or otherwise induce them to act according to his wishes. There does not seem to be any single word in Kurdish to cover this concept, but, though a blanket term, it is found very useful in an analysis of Kurdish social organization. The Kurdish villager seems in effect to feel that the total status position of a person, and the de-facto power that he controls, stand in a direct proportional relation to one another. At any rate, this is the manner in which status and prestige is described. The type of delegated power vested in the clerk of some large, bureaucratic department is not found in any local, autonomous hierarchy or organization.

Formal political organization constitutes the main hierarchy of institutionalized power relationships; but there are also other hierarchies of status positions, regulating other fields of activity. A high status position in these hierarchies affords the holder the right to apply certain sanctions, positive or negative, to persons inferior to him in the hierarchy. He is thus able to influence the actions of his fellow villagers in much the same way as a political office-holder; he has power. Thus his part-status in a hierarchy not formally political contributes to his total status, and to the power he controls, and thereby becomes a factor in deciding his position in the total power

hierarchy of his village and society. The formal political organization, discussed so far, is thus only one factor in the hierarchy of super- and sub-ordination in the village, and it must be related to the other formal organizations or hierarchies that exist.

However, this phrasing of the relationship makes use of distinctions foreign to Kurdish thinking. As stressed in the discussion of general features of formal political organizations, the concept of an *office* is undeveloped, and relations of super- and sub-ordination spring from differences in the *total* status of individuals. The Kurdish villager is not concerned with abstract features of village organization — he sees the organization of his own village, and other organizations affecting him, in terms of hierarchies of *individuals*, of named and familiar people, each with a familiar total status. But to analyse the relationships and clarify some of the principles operative in this type of organization, it is necessary to break down these total statuses into component elements. Previously, the formal political hierarchies have been discussed. In the present section, such other status positions and hierarchies will be divorced from their contexts in observed total statuses, and described. It is not implied that the total status of individuals is merely a sum-total of these part-statuses; the integration of such part-statuses into a total status will be discussed later, after the village scene, where such integration takes place, has been described. Our present concern is with the principles governing these various, analytically separable, hierarchies, and the part-statuses defined by these hierarchies.

There is a distinction to be made between these *hierarchies* of institutionalized positions of super- and sub-ordination in an organization — hierarchies of part-statuses — and a more general *scale* of prestige. A person's prestige depends on the degree to which he approaches certain ideals; and one may distinguish between various such scales, relating to degree of piety, age, wealth, etc. The prestige that accrues to the individual from high rating on such scales is convertible into influence and power; part-statuses in a hierarchy, on the other hand, give power directly. To complicate the situation further, high rating on a scale of power might also be said to contribute to a person's prestige. Several scales have been implied in the

778 The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Muslim
781 ideals of scholarly austerity, of meekness towards God, and the importance of good acts — ideals to which indeed all Kurds pay lipservice, and which certainly also have some influence upon Kurdish thinking and action. Where a world religion of foreign ethnic origin has been adopted, such discrepancies between the cultures of the religion and of the local culture would seem to be unavoidable, especially in the case of a religion so specifically concerned with social conditions and legislation as Islam. Certainly, the Kurdish villager attempts to the best of his ability to follow Islam, and these discrepancies are largely unexpressed and unresolved. Only among the more sophisticated townsmen of the towns can one hear in part quite explicit statements such as: «Islam is a desert religion, belonging to the Arabs, and does not suit us Kurds of the mountains.»

It is in the local round of interpretation of a world religion, in the aspects of the religion that are over-stressed, that local sentiments exert their pressure. The main expression of un-orthodox religiosity among Kurdish villagers is found in the development of the dervish sects or religious brotherhoods, widely spread in the rural districts, and generally characteristic of the less privileged sections of the population.

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Such dervish brotherhoods are probably found in all Moslem countries, but seem to vary greatly in content between different ethnic groups. Everywhere, however, their basic dogmatic position in relation to the orthodox church of Islam is the same, and apparently reflects a need among the less educated classes. Islam, as propounded in the Mosques, is a formal, coldly intellectualized doctrine of the complete separation of God and Man, of God's supreme wisdom and power and Man's knowledge of it only through the Koran, accompanied by a scholarly legal and ritualistic interpretation of this basic text. Fundamental is the complete separate nature of God and Man, and man's inability to bridge this gap. The whole heterodox gamut from Sufi mysties to essentially shamanistic spirit-medium cults represent attempts at direct communication with God — at bridging this very un-bridgeable gap. The Kurdish dervish sects occupy a position towards the shamanistic pole of this continuum. Awareness of, or communication with God, is obtained by

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(p.222) This village [Bengu Beg I] lies just below Sheikh Mohammed Agha's residence [Helkah] in the Balik country, and its inhabitants, some fifty families in number, are nearly all his relations. Being of "chiefly" descent they consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate the soil; they have therefore only two means of livelihood, engaging on Sheikh Mohammed Agha who pays them part of his salary to keep them quiet, and looting and taking toll from the caravans that pass along the Persian Road.

This paragraph I consider most illuminating. For it is precisely on the basis of such evidence that the British policy of 'military pacification' is carried out on all the outlying frontiers of Empire. The tribesmen just beyond the border are always, it seems, "inveterate habitu and brigands" intent on plundering the innocent peasantry within the jurisdiction of the British raj. Bay of course does not intentionally deceive. He had only seen Bengu from afar and was merely recording the position as outlined to him by Sheikh Mohammed. In giving this account however Sheikh Mohammed was fairly obviously blackmailing the British Administration for more money, and was probably himself responsible for the particular piece of brigandage complained of. Bengu today has one of the most extensive cultivations of the whole district, and is considered a prosperous village. There seems no reason to suppose that the position was radically different in 1935, even though the ravages of war had temporarily disorganised the agricultural arrangements of the whole area.

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This is not special pleading on behalf of the villagers of Bengu or of the Kurds in general, but it is time that these nefarious activities were seen in proper proportion. It must be admitted that prior to the establishment of an external authority most Kurdish tribes freely exercised to brigandage on every possible occasion. It was a socially approved aspect of inter-tribal life and one upon which the Kurds themselves lay great emphasis in folk tale and tradition. But it is this very emphasis that has led to the fabulous distortions that appear in all accounts of Kurdish life either lay or official. To read the literature one must suppose that in former times the majority of Kurdish communities lived solely on the proceeds of plunder and raiding and while the Government continues its present policy of cultural suppression such fallacies are obviously permissible. But the unbiased observer cannot avoid the conclusion that most of the more spectacular exploits of Kurdish brigandage are products of the Kurds' own imagination. Seen in their proper social frame these warlike activities can never have been more than an exciting gloss upon the normal balanced cycle of agricultural economics.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd Mill
Rowanduz

Warfare

Under present conditions large scale warlike activities on the part of the tribes are a complete impossibility, but that does not justify us in dismissing the topic of warfare altogether as being of no relevance to the present social situation. Historically speaking the traditional forms of Kurdish social organization are associated with an ideology of raids and counter raids, war, pillage and feud. Earlier writers have undoubtedly greatly exaggerated the extent to which the average Kurd in former times did in fact devote himself to murder, violence and loot, but in describing this preoccupation they were, after all, only accepting the Kurd at his own valuation. The Kurdish ideal of manly behaviour does correspond very closely with the typical English concept of a "brigand". The folk tales are gory in the extreme; his representation hardly less so. And this has reference to the existing situation. The Agha likes to think of himself as a military leader rather than as a landlord; he habitually chastises all his neighbours into 'friends' and 'enemies'. The consequences of this attitude are highly subtle and cannot be examined here, but at least two divergent trends can be noted. On the one hand the sharp antagonism between neighbouring groups is even today a force of social cohesion; the members of the clan or the tribe are aware of their unity largely in terms of their common enmity to some other group. On the other hand increasing economic contacts and the constant bureaucratic efforts of the police and the administration, in so far as they are successful in lessening intergroup suspicion, do at the same time serve to lessen the social cohesion of the groups concerned.

While organized raiding or warfare is now impossible the private feud continues and may be examined further.

The Feud

The motif of the blood feud may be summarized by the phrase that "a man's revenge must be avenged by his kinsfolk and his descendants", and we may note at once that a system of small patrilocal, mostly endogamous groups is peculiarly suited to perpetuate antagonisms of this kind. The individual's near kinsfolk are also his near neighbours, and since his wife's kinsfolk are patently identified with his own he is bound by no ties of loyalty to any group outside his own village. Within the village all are bound together to resist the aggressor, beyond it everyone is a potential enemy, the identity of interest between the family and the village is complete.

Quarrels between villagers may arise from a variety of causes, chiefly economic. Water and grazing rights are always ill-defined and may lead to serious friction in times of scarcity, and this may

Dirkhemm G-3 (no date) 1940 MR11 Kurd MR11
Iraq

climbed on foot up the steep hillsides with an agility quite equal to my own. On another occasion I saw a villager alleged to be 120 years old, whose age must certainly have exceeded 100 years. He had a son aged 100 by a wife whom he had married in later life. This healthy longevity is the result of simple and clean living, which is common in Kurdistan.

To the stranger the Kurd may appear dour and surly—like the land—but within his exclusive circle he is smiling and talkative with a childlike lack of discretion: the greatest secret is common knowledge within the tribe. The Kurd has learned

[text continued on p 389(B)]

Stockdale G-3 (no date) [1941 MAII Kurd MAII
Iraq

• 191 be cunning in action because his
H7 preservation has always required action.
On the other hand, until recently he
seldom concerned with those who were not
of his tribe or family, and therefore the
keynote of his speech is simplicity; the real
'savage' Kurd scarcely knows how to lie,
and when he does he lies badly.

When a Kurd becomes tied up with
words, or the cunning put into words
which is the mainspring of bureaucratic
civilisation', he may momentarily feel
that he is being tricked by something he
does not understand, then, as we say, he
'sees red'. He suddenly realises the futility
of words, and leaps to action behind the
sharp edge of a dagger or the trigger of
his rifle. Thus through a purely natural
evolution caused by his environment the
Kurd has acquired, unconsciously and
undermined him, an unnecessary reputation
for fierceness, treachery and lack of balance.

000 The Kurdish villageman has a childlike

[F 389 (E)]

Shakespeare G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

The Kurdish tribesman has a childlike
157 sense of humour. Like a child, too, he
609 unconsciously appreciates sympathy and
an understanding of his psychology. It is
partly because ruling races were in-
different to such considerations until the
evolution of British colonial policy in
backward countries that the Kurd has
been accustomed to regard every foreign
power as an enemy to be driven off or
exterminated before he himself suffers a
similar fate.

• 181 Like other mountain peoples the Kurds
195 are a martial race, but owing to their
separate communities and 'chieftainess'
they have never featured as such in
modern history. The only Kurdish king-
dom known to Europe is the ancient
kingdom of the Medes. Nevertheless the
Kurds have produced many great indi-
vidual soldiers. First and foremost comes
Cyrus the Great, who united the Medes
and Persians and in 538 B.C. conquered
Babylon. Others have found fame as

[p. 39(c)]
[last words used on p 390(B)]

Ur-Nammu C-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kind MA11
Iraq

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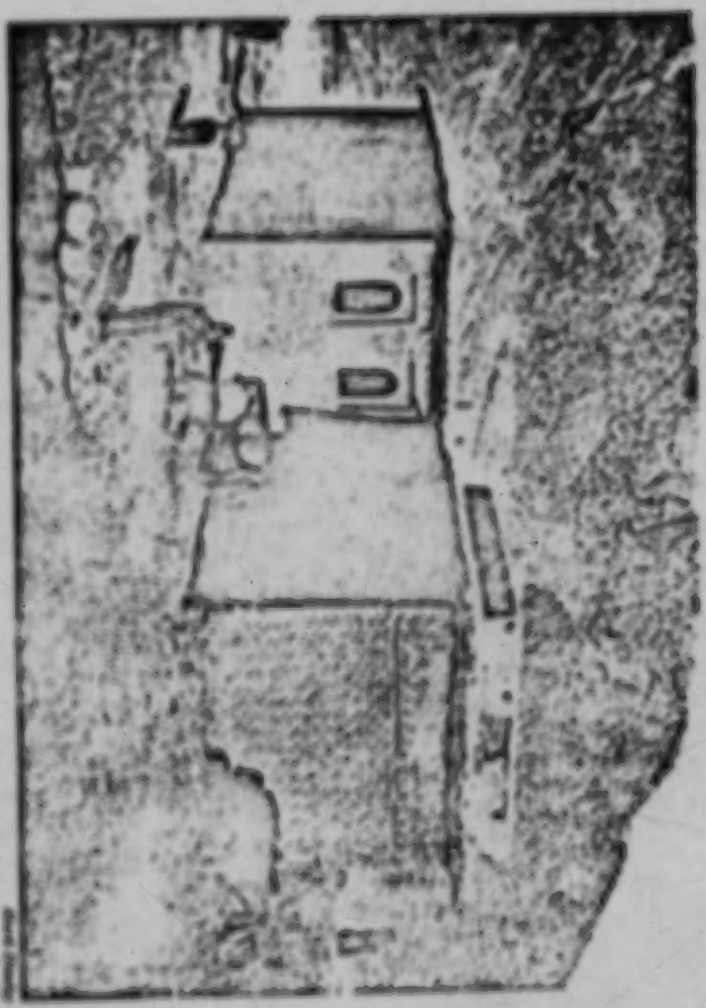

[p. 390 (A)]

Unknown G-2 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 18 [leaders in Moslem armies. from Saladin
175 (Salah ad Din) in the hosts that opposed
the Crusaders, to the late Bekr Sidqi in
the army of Iraq, but they have never
[20] drawn attention to their Kurdish origin,
as the name 'Kurd' implies a shepherd,
which in the East is considered a lowly
occupation not worthy of great men.

Some have carved for themselves small kingdoms among the tribes of their own race. But that very martial spirit which makes the Kurd proud and independent, and forbids him to acknowledge the sovereignty of anyone outside his tribe for long, has prevented the Kurds from becoming united under any one chief and thus imprinting their name on the history of the world.

731 In the history of the new state of Iraq individual Kurds have already made their impression. The best-known is Shaikh

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[p.390 (B)]

009 his land and water rights; finally, when the powers of government decree that the pax must replace the rifle in obtaining one's rights, and moreover are in a position to enforce this decree with armed police [illegible] by machine-guns and aircraft, the nomad finds himself paying exorbitant taxes to anyone on whose land he wishes to graze.

So his grass flocks and swift horses decrease in numbers, that adventurous spirit a demand which formerly carried him forward annually to explore the blue distance beyond the next range, and he becomes a pensive vagrant. The process of evolution pushes ever onwards the wave we call civilization, carrying man and his environment with it. Those who cannot, or will not, go forward on the crest of the wave are left behind and drowned in the sea of the past.

• /8/ Whatever may be the longings of the educated Kurd, the ordinary villager—who is equivalent to that [illegible]

Eighteen G-3 (no date) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Iraq

900 winter sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

439 277 Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'dings' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq. But unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

295 Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the native mountain tracks which the lowlander never sees, one finds villages covered with gigantic trees the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs flows under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

[279] Were Moharramdan prejudice overcome, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent. "Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are raising

[38C]

Lightbown G-3 (no date) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII Iraq

181 ing to live by doing the same, so why should we do more?" is the gist of most replies. Some say: "Why don't you English come and show us how to?" ... Foreign undertakings are, however, not encouraged in Iraq.

186 The greatest difficulty to be overcome by the Kurds before they can take their place in the modern world is lack of education—that is, education in the broad sense as well as book-learning. The majority of Kurds have never seen Baghdad, and those who have find in it many things which disappoint them on coming down from the pure air of their snow-capped mountains.

Although the young Kurd who has been to school wants to improve himself and his race, his ambitions are stifled by members of the older generation who are in the subconscious of civilization a loss of their own power; therefore they keep to the law the old maxim of "one being cleverer than

[51 8]

[illegible] Institute of International Affairs 11-6 (no date) 1934 [illegible] East
Turkey
Kurd

The definition of 'mother tongue' allows room for classifying as Turks persons brought up to speak Turkish, who might in some contexts consider themselves as belonging to a minority group. Some private estimates, for example, put the Kurdish minority at a considerably higher figure than that given above.

The number of non-Muslims was in 1945 only 292,000 of a total population of 18,790,000.[1] There is also a large minority, which may be 4 million or even larger, of Shi'i Muslims,[2] who are very definitely regarded as a distinct group by the majority of uneducated Sunni villagers. But the population of Turkey is sufficiently homogeneous to form a united nation in the Western sense, without the problem of violent internal antagonisms which face so many nation-states that have come into being in the last thirty-five years.

The Kurds

The Kurds[3] are Turkey's largest minority and the only one to have given serious trouble to the Republic. Though an increasing number are settling down in permanent villages, the Kurds have been a mountain-dwelling, pastoral people. There have been demands from time to time for a Kurdish national state, but it is doubtful whether the majority of the Kurdish villagers and nomads have any notion of such an overall organization, and it is unlikely that any Turkish Kurd seriously entertains hope of establishing national autonomy. On the other hand, they are a tough and independent people, and though it is often said that the two or three revolts[4] which the Republic has had to face have been due to religious factors, it seems much more likely that the Kurds objected, as any independent warlike people do, to outside political control. Although the main Kurdish areas are now peaceful and administered just as any other region in Turkey, the Government is sensitive on the question, fearing that the USSR may attempt to encourage incipient Kurdish nationalism and use it to divide and weaken Turkey.

Immigration

The spread of the idea of a nation as a culturally homogeneous territorial unit causes very serious problems in all areas of mixed population. Turkey sought to rid herself of her Greek Orthodox minority by arranging, through the Treaty of Lausanne, to exchange them with Greece for the Muslim minority in Greece. In the 1920's, about 1½ million Greeks left

[1] Ibid. [2] See above, p. 39. [3] See above, p. 38.
[4] Three occurred in 1925, [illegible] and in 1930.

22: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M: Middle East N/
Kurd MA 11

PRESENT POLITICAL GROUPING

M
965

It has largely been inevitable that the present national frontiers, drawn in lands where secession and social divisions are strong, and where political consciousness is merely in the first stage of development, should in some instances give incomplete realization to the political needs and aspirations of Middle Eastern peoples. Although it is probably impossible to devise frontiers which would be even moderately satisfactory in this respect, present boundaries offer a number of outstanding difficulties. Palestine is a problem on its own, but in addition three other communities—the Kurds, the Armenians, and the Assyrian Christians—find themselves without a political future, and present special problems to the national governments of the various states in which they live.

K
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181

The Kurds are a semi-nomadic pastoral people, living in the highlands of eastern Anatolia and the north-western Zagros. Transhumance between summer pastures on the higher mountain slopes, and winter quarters in the valleys and lowlands (sometimes involving movement between widely separated districts), has brought the Kurds into conflict with the four national governments, because their homeland is now divided among Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. It has been said of this people that they have claims to racial purity and to continuity of culture that are stronger than those of any European nation, since the Kurds have been settled in their present home since about 2400 B.C.; but the term "culture" must be taken in a limited sense, for the Kurds are renowned as a fierce and predatory people, and their social organization has not progressed beyond the level of tribal grouping. Their occupation of eastern Anatolia and the northern Zagros has given them command of a number of important trade-routes, from which they have derived considerable revenue by means of heavy exactions on trading caravans. The Kurds have the reputation of being pre-eminently a people that it is unsafe to trifle with, and their tendency to shoot on sight at moving objects has kept outside interference to a minimum.* Even the Ottoman Turks could do little to subjugate them, and they remained free from Turkish taxation and military conscription.

A
[illegible]

The Kurds were, however, employed by the Turks as agents in persecuting Christian minorities—chiefly the Armenians. The Kurds

* This is the verdict of a succession of travellers in the region, from Xenophon the Greek and Xenophon to Marco Polo and the Peace Treaty Commission of 1919.

A. Wilson G-2 (no date) 1927 MSS. Iraq, MSS.

000 of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

K 157 Kurdistan is a beautiful country. It is in the main well wooded, with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Pines grow in two areas only and chinars (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the 'Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the oldest inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

K 181 The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

K 144 221 342 In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is lessened by the cultivation of rice with its invariable accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the flock-owners move to their "yailas" or summer shellings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

I 795 The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

I 795 457 563 699 182 Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their recent history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term "Assyrian" now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church, who were domiciled either within what is now the 'Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkiari by the Turks during the Great War and refused

3: Barth E-5 (1961) 1964 MA11 Ward MA11

[15] Where the case of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the normative preference for near kin clear, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young man make the "right" choice though they appear subjectively to feel, and invariably express the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem lies in the situation created when the motivation of the girl's father is, that he should forego his right to a bridegiven which, in the Kurdish System, can amount a minor fortune. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem is what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a brother's son which compensate him for the loss of the bridegiven.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, counterbalanced by the interlocking circles of identification normally associated with segmentary descent systems (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups, cross-cutting age-grades; among Tallensi, further the ritual collaboration between lineages, etc.). This pressure is particularly evident in factional activity within the villages, and changes in all functional descriptions of Kurdish life.* Kurdish villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, or those even women. Such political power is proportional to the number of alliances one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-section; and the faction in the village used to be alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an older leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The solution to the latter is most critical, it crosses the line potential loss of alliance between collateral lineages. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of his brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the bridegiven. His other nephews can, in the lineage system, fill this role as political supporters, consequently they must invariably pay bridegiven. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the payment of patrimonial father's brother's

* Eg. C. J. Bak, Elements of a Sociology in Kurdistan (London, 1961); E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer (Oxford, 1951); Fortes, op. cit.

daughter's marriage payment to strengthen the political alignments of the lineage system.

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Sulaka, Sarkan and Sargalu, but not by any means in all. In Topzawa and Rajawa there were no schools. Sometimes there could be a Quran school in connection with a mosque as, for example, at Sargalu, which children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Lungrigg and Ibrahim[1]. I shall here deal with the collection of the school in the homes where I stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out by Lungrigg and Ibrahim, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed"[2] in a community like the Kurdish. How decisive a watershed, can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Topzawa sheikh's 12 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unacceptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the home. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the wall niches, repositories for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in this dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, I found examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a full school teacher at the 'Teachers' Training College at Baghdad'[3]. During her studies she had lived there as a boarder. The training here lasted two years. If the girl was to teach at one of the five 6 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Gazida School for Girls opened in Sulaimani in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible to the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 16 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete her 3 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her pronuncer and rules, lay in the wall niches all mixed up with snips, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried in vain to concentrate on the circles and triangles she was doodling on the schoolbooks she was supposed to. Finally she left the home. With books and drawing instruments under her black abaya she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with two uneducated women in the home, where all contact between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sulaimani's urban milieu, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training as wives and mothers is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were mothers, as was the case at my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 10 persons devolved, except for the holidays, on the two uneducated wives at home. In addition there was the churning of grain and the baking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an imbalance takes

...object of the changeover is removed from the home, ex. children Khrd ...
...school for the whole remaining school. The distribution of work between the various generations
of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its
converse. Also dissolved in the entire family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the
children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based
on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Bishop[7] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Langdon and Stratton[8]
assert that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded
as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child becomes a small adult with responsibility was made as
short as possible.

In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than
is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in
order that later they shall be able to harness the big demands made upon them by an industrialized
society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the
child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe
competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member
of a small community, possessing to definite functions and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater
maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger
generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle.
None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious
demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home

Activity	Village Schoolboy		Townsman		Nomad's son		Nomad's daughter	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Work at home	-	-	-		-		-	
Work outside home		-	-	-				
Schooling		-			-	-	-	-
Short rest		-		-		-		-

A woman or girl in all four Kurdish environments is overworked in the home according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the Kurdish village milieu, also help in the work women in work outside the home, milking, thrashing of wheat etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The prominent feature of the boys training is the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urbanized milieu village milieu the boys are sent young to school to serve like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village and in the event that his work in the fields and the shepherd's life.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

sisterhood that will provide that deep commitment of mind, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[39] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sura 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah . . ., and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[40].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[41]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[42]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[43], are: father's brother's daughter, *amidal*, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, *pûrmal*, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, *xalzâ*, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, *pûrmal*, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the houses I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[44] and Barth[45] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Topzawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sergalu. In Sarkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[46]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as common in Islam wrote.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taiba's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Topzawa said further that a man in his village was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

In the next life, Mohammad will pray for all dervishes, ask God to give them pardon. To become a dervish you must renounce all the faults and evil thoughts and acts of men, and always be good. Anyone can become a dervish — young, old, man, woman. So he went to the great Shaikh Kader. And the *Shaikh* advised him to be good, always; he told him to protect Islam, follow all the ethical rules, etc. He stayed only five minutes the first time — the *Shaikh* only takes your hand in his, tells you all the rules of dervish, and blesses you. Then afterwards, you pay him regular visits, as often as you wish — once a month, or every two months, or even once a year. Sometimes you give gifts to the *Shaikh*, though you don't ever have to.»

There thus seem to be no elaborate, much less mystic, rites of initiation to membership, as reported from e. g. the Persian area. The only visible sign of dervish-hood among men (who in fact form the great majority of followers) is letting your hair grow long — though there are, incidentally, no special taboos or precautions connected with cutting it.

The explicit logic and ethical position of the group, and the motivation for persons to join it, thus seem quite simple. Between the various dervish groups there is little room for conflict, since their differences are not dogmatic, but merely a question of the efficacy and greatness of the holy powers of one holy man as compared to an other. Similarly, except for the fundamental approach, which would rarely be questioned by the uneducated villager, there is no dogmatic conflict with the official church — the same ethical and ritual rules are propounded by the Derwish Leader and the mullah, and any further admonishments and elaborations introduced by the one merely serve to support this fundamental body of ritual. The more heterodox interpretations attached to this common body of ritual are generally overlooked by the mullah as lying largely outside his domain.

But it would be overlooking a very important aspect of the dervish organization if these statements were taken at their face values, and it were seen merely as a more emotional and personal interpretation of Islamic doctrine; as being a religion of the disinherited

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 9811 Kurd 9811

in the same way as are examples of the smaller sects of the Christian church. On the contrary, the theme of *power* is stressed and elaborated, corresponding to its importance in the Kurdish value system, and the more conventional religious possibilities largely played down. Great religious fervor is generally lacking among the villagers, even among dervishes. Fraser (no date), an early traveller in the area, notes with disappointment the lack of superstitions, fear of ghosts, etc. among his Kurdish friends. In accord with this, the point that is stressed is not contemplative or mystic, but might be said to be the aspects of potential power resulting from closeness to God, with great interest in the *overt* signs of this potential, covert power. It seems to satisfy the subjective needs of the underprivileged group, not by being an escapist religion of the next life, but by offering its adherents a powerful substitute for the highly valued political and economic powers they can not attain. To demonstrate the efficacy of the great powers they control, the dervishes rely on certain signs, the most important being their ability to do wierd and amazing things, generally feats of the type one associates with Indian fagirs.

The pattern of the delegation of this power illustrates something of its nature. It all centers in the *Sheikh*, in the present example Sheikh Abdul Karim. He belongs to the same family as Sheikh Mahmud, and traces descent as well as the origins of his powers through the revered Kaka Hamma, from whom also Sheikh Mahmud has received his sacred powers. The immediate predecessor of Sheikh Abdul Karim was his father, Sheikh Kader — a man of considerable influence and intellect (he accompanied Sheikh Said on their so successful visit to the Sultan, cf. p. 42). Succession to the position as Leader of Derwish is by appointment by the *Sheikh* himself. No rule of primogeniture is observed (Sheikh Abdul Karim is the second of three brothers), the person showing the greatest ability is chosen. This need not be a son, though it usually is — naturally, it must be within the family, since descent from the Prophet is essential.

There seems to be an unresolved problem here, in that the sacred powers are part of the ‹biological› inheritance of the descendants of the Prophet, yet vary in strength between different lineages of them. And these lineages may increase or decline in power over a

?f? ?5? practised as a communal rite in case of need, and gives the compe-
tent dervish an opportunity to reinforce his special position and demonstrate his control of power.

The actual rite is in rough outline quite simple. After an all-night session of prayer and purification on the part of the dervish, he is taken to a pool in the near-by, dwindling stream, and submerged in the water.

It is difficult to say just what degree of emotional intensity is involved in the rite so far as a majority of the participants is concerned. In the special case in question, they did not seem particularly impressed — the dervish involved was one who was frequently the object of mild horseplay, and the actual act of ducking him might have some appeal to the less serious minded. However this may be, the gravity of drought should not be underestimated, and would hardly be conducive to horseplay. The winter rains seemed to have stopped much too early, and the rite was a response to this serious
• [?:] situation. Considering this, the performance was probably more emotionally charged than some of the superficial comments might suggest, and certainly served to emphasize the unity and solidarity of the group. — It might incidentally be noted that this specific rite also was successful, in that fairly heavy rains followed shortly.

?f? 6.11 ?5? Thus, this ritual of rainmaking is concerned with a very critical communal problem, and enables the dervish to assume a momentary position of dominant importance in his community. An interesting deviation from the stated norm was also observed in this case: the young son of the village *Agha* was submerged alongside with the dervish[1]). This equivalence may be significant in several respects. From the point of view of the dervish, it indicates the considerable extent of his momentary prestige — from a normal status of laborer he is elevated to temporary equivalence with the heir apparent of the village *Agha*. It may also illustrate something in the Kurdish conception of power: there is no really clear distinction made between the

[1]) The fact that the son rather than the *Agha* himself was chosen is best understood in terms of the slightly undignified situation, and the rather undignified appearance of the actor following immersion.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 90.11 Gard 90.11

on a village level. Eliminating the cases of type (a), there is still ample evidence of endogamous patterns of non-Islamic or pre-Islamic origin, especially in the Caucasus-Armenian area, of which the Kurdish mountains are geographically an extension. The customary law of Daghestan prescribes close kin marriage, and explicitly forbids the marriage with an outsider (ibid). The early ecclesiastical laws of Armenia struck most-of-kin marriages with great vehemence (ibid. p. 14), and such practices caused great concern among the early Christian missionaries, till they were eventually ironed out. Thus, rather than regard the Kurdish combination of patterns as a labile state produced by cross-cultural mixture, it would seem reasonable to grant the Kurdish «tribal» organization considerable antiquity as a stable variant *or type* of lineage organization, of some theoretical interest.

On a structural level, it can be argued that a pattern of FaBrDa marriage serves to minimize the political implications of the lineage system. Solidarity to the patrilineal descent group in abstracto is minimal. Close family endogamy results in a direct correspondence between lineage segments and local groups, giving the descent groups a clear territorial framework in which the lineage organization can function. On the individual level, a man's political position and power depends in the last instance on the number of riflemen he can muster. However, only co-lineage males can be expected to give such political support. A pattern of FaBrDa marriage contributes to prevent alienation of immediate collateral lines, and re-affirms the old man's leading position in relation to his agnatic nephews, thereby vesting him with control over a larger agnatic group of males.

Where the lineage is found in other areas as a corporate group, it is usually connected with a kinship terminology of the *sibongo* type, which, through unilineal emphasis and classificatory extensions contributes in defining and delimiting these corporate groups. Kurdish kinship terms, on the other hand, are purely *descriptive* in that they measure genealogical distance between near kin. Nor do they show any unilineal emphasis. In other words, they do not contribute in any way to the definition of unilineal corporate groups. However, when this terminology is seen in combination with the

B: Leach E-S (1958) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowandiz

[illegible]

Warfare

Under present conditions large scale warlike activities on the part of the tribes are a complete impossibility, but that does not justify us in dismissing the topic of warfare altogether as being of no relevance to the present social situation. Historically speaking the traditional forms of Kurdish social organization are associated with an ideology of raids and counter raids, war, pillage and feud. Earlier writers have undoubtedly greatly exaggerated the extent to which the average Kurd in former times did in fact devote himself to warfare, violence and loot, but in describing this preoccupation they were, after all, only accepting the Kurd at his own valuation. The Kurdish ideal of manly behaviour does correspond very closely with the typical English concept of a "Brigand". The folk below are gay in the extremely big compromises hardly less so. And this has reference to the existing situation. The Agha likes to think of himself as a military leader rather than as a landlord; he habitually classes all his neighbours into 'friends' and 'enemies'. The consequences of this attitude are highly subtle and cannot be examined here, but at least two divergent trends can be noted. On the one hand the sharp antagonism between neighbouring groups is even today a force of social cohesion; the members of the clan or the tribe are aware of their unity largely in terms of their common enmity to some other group. On the other hand increasing economic contacts and the constant harmonizing efforts of the police and the Administration, in so far as they are successful in lessening intergroup suspicion, do at the same time serve to lessen the social cohesion of the groups concerned.

While organized raiding or warfare is now impossible the private feud continues and may be examined further.

The Feud

The motif of the blood feud may be summarized by the phrase that "a man's revenge must be avenged by his kinsfolk and his descendants", and we may note at once that a system of small patrilocal, nearly endogamous groups is peculiarly suited to perpetuate antagonisms of this kind. The individual's near kinsfolk are also his near neighbours, and since his wife's kinsfolk are probably identical with his own he is bound by no ties of loyalty to any group outside his own village. Within the village all are bound together to resist the aggressor, beyond it everyone is a potential enemy, the identity of interest between the family and the village is complete.

Quarrels between villages may arise from a variety of causes, chiefly economic. Water and grazing rights are always ill-defined and may lead to serious friction in times of scarcity, and this may

I: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

[illegible]

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kirds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kirdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* as conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a surpâtch at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by imâms of their own race, Kirdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kirdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kirds. To the latter they are,

[Page 137]

town'll beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three 579
heavily-armed bodyguards.

A comparatively large group of men in the town 464
are usually employed as laborers or porters. It has 483
already been noticed that a number work for the govern-
ment on road repair, and others are called for a variety
of situations, for example, by a woman who found herself
short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their
fellows, such as Ameer Saleh, the son of a "respectable"
craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers,
and was probably hired not because of skill but because
he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus
effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside
from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more
or less interchangeable, and a number were in the heavy 482
carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among 554
the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of [493]
Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated
man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who
violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or,
more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government
official who desires anything large moved from one place
to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In 464
addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' 557
youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these 482
tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the
town quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more.

also imports, but their fringes must be prepared by local 291
seamstresses. Folded diagonally and rolled, the scarves are bound around the head one over to the other, and one or more of the ends usually hang down to the shoulders. The cap is of white crumbated cloth and decorated with simple patterns in variously coloured thread, sometimes of gilt or silver. The scarves are characteristically an open black and white print, the same as used in the chaffiya or head-cloth of the Arabs to the south, although some are a mild grey or black. The green turban which indicates a descendant of the tribe of the Prophet is worn in the same way, but is infrequently encountered. Only one man in Ravandiz, an elderly blacksmith of humble station, appeared in it regularly. The serpush, the red felt Turkish "fez," 293
is a limited and curious survival in Iraq, among the lower 146
or priests of the Shiite (Muslim) faith and Jewish money-changers. It is never seen in the town. A peculiar type of woolen cap, with a cloth bill in front, a round tassel on top, and a loose hanging which falls over the back of the neck, is found occasionally, affected by chieftains and their bodyguards. It is a peculiarity of a mountain tribal group, the Dzibak. In the Ravandiz district it is taken to indicate a pugnacious or formidable character. It is difficult to decide on its origins. There is an old and 83
extremely widespread prejudice throughout the Islamic world 291
against headgear with brims or bills "because they do not permit the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground in prayer."

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many images of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a formal setting, is, if anything, more strict than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males naked[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

s seems likely that this is only permissible after the [605]
ons have been engaged to be married. 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly [593]
variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. [161]
In masculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying
her husband's wishes as though they were commands and ob-
serving the same type of deference exhibited to her father.
The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as
he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise,
for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who
do not, and there appears to be little correspondence be-
tween social status in situations in which the wife achieves a
dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride [851]
within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of
her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater
attention and respect from her husband and relatives by
marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until [604]
this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces [586]
are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The [592]
wife is the mistress of her household and receives money
from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient
of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a
certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these
remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of
marriages were described in which the women quietly assumed
almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their
households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of
her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, and between the second and third prayers the mala may deliver a short sermon, usually a stereotyped version. The language of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the requirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their prayers entirely. The rosary has been mentioned in the section treating dress, and may be used in devotional exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetitions of prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used by craggy old hands, however, the mind of the manipulator as matters far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give some part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early days of Islam these contributions were of two types, zakat, a fixed proportion of the income, and sadaqah, optional gifts. The zakat have been diverted into the government system of taxation, and the townspeople of Ruwanda are thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to enforced charity. Many free collections, sadaqah, however, are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the destitute Arab mentioned in the section treating society, and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the journey, a surprising number of persons in the Ruwandan

gambling, and the eating of pork (we will be certain other "useless" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these commands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds its chief diversions in them. No one in the three groups, including the several Christians among the officials, ever eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town of a Turkish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the beers who carry off women or notes or the numerous accounts of buried treasure. The Westerners, however, hunt the wild boar and eat it. Gambling, as a matter of course, is an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion. Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason for this, the almost religious regard for all written or printed material, as common in the Middle East. A teacher, confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true, because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and consists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

dance at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baybal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as festival parties, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding.

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Alyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulk has nothing to say about Khidir Alyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Alyas (arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Ilyas, elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Ilyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Ramandus:

> Khidir Alyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Ramandus by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Alyas, I have

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

Thanked for you had you should come to my help." 775
Out of the night a man appeared who acted as my 776
difficulty. He helped me get the mule to its
feet and raised the rice. The two of us were walking
along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered
I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God
gave him such power to do good that he disappeared.
This is why people ask his help while he is gone.
When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi,
Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they
cannot come.

Persons in Kawandiss who choose to do so fast "for Khidir 785
Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and 787
sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco.
Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. [785]
Kawandiss eats a sweet called Selawat Khidir Elyas [786]
which is exchanged between households at this time. The [931]
exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save
that it "came just before winter." This interesting [in].
custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the
priests in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the imams and Khidir Elyas observances, the 792
"official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the
next subject of popular religion which requires consider-
ation is the matter of the sheikh or holy man. Occasionally,
this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line,
but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of
their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy,
have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be
powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most
humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to
effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power
continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of [794]

could scarcely support itself by ordinary alms. It is interesting that the weak Bektashis, among whom the vendetta and beliefs are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a cover of corruption and criminals. The Bektashi, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticized rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been molded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is quite testimony to the character of Islam and to the force of its protagonists in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

Where the use of marriage as sanctioned, "younger" girl is as high and the sanctions for men low down, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men under the "right" choice though they appear subjectively as free, and invariably express the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem lies in the situation created when the generation of the girl's father is, due to descent lineage has right to a bridegroom which, in the Kandhal System, can advance a senior kinsman. To put somewhat differently, the central problem is what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a brother's son which compensate one for the loss of the bridegroom.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kandhal lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, counterbalanced by the countervailing system of classification normally sanctioned with exogamous descent systems (among the Thai, territorial vs. descent groups, cross-cutting age-grades, among Tallensi, further the ritual collaboration between lineages, etc.). The pressure is particularly evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all functional descriptions of Kandhal life.[1] Kandhal villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, or three main women. Such political power is proportional to the number of villagers one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political subsections, and the fundamental division in the village must be the alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an older leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The relation to the latter is most critical, it crosses the line between political lineages. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of his brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the bridewealth. His other nephew's son, in the lineage system, fill the role as political supporters, consequently they must invariably pay bridewealth. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the payment of patrimonial [illegible] brother's

[1] See, C. J. Bird, Disputes of a Kandhal in Kandhalese (London, 1954); E. E. Evans, Through Kandhalese and Kandhalese to Kandhal (London, 1956); Hut, op. cit.

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political obligations of the lineage system.

in its mother's arms or lay than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a father's presence could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Among ... according to the Koran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sura 2, verse 231 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity ... If they [parents] desire to wean the child by mutual consent and after consultation, it is no sin for them ...". In Southern Kordofan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this was the lack of protein energy in the sorghum diet, of which millet was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with great caution, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 6 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given to nurse a milk mixture, boiled water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sabanga the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat. But her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned to nurse that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was also allowed to suck at this woman in whose arms at last it died. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had lost her little half-sister also by the help of raw yolks of egg. She was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered secured until it began to eat with adults. A proverb therefore was current about the death of infants[1].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. In an example, my interpreter's 30 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions she had been interrupted by natural abortion. She remembered had not their time, for so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 2½ and two daughters aged 28 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 12 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (18, 17, 15, 12 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 6, 5 and 4 months).

Shalkan relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to eat warm white bread with a nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[2]. After I had read a not very strongly-worded taboo while changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, born, is more desired than a girl, but Muhammad, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, does several times in the Quran that male children are more desirable than female[3]. The birth of a girl in Kordofan might cause a husband, subjected to

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

substituted that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led independent what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[1] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..., and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[2].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[3]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[4]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relatives[5], are: father's brother's daughter, *amkal*, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, *pûrzal*, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, *xâlkal*, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, *pûrzal*, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[6] and Barth[7] is that preferred by Kurds. In the shaikh family at Topzawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sergalu. In Serkan two of the shaikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to have political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[8]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as common in Islam areas.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Shaikh Taiba's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Shaikh of Topzawa said further that a man in his milieu was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

831 684 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the entire of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a married bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 562 684 831 Hay[154] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *ahmâr* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[155] says that it was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume constraint à mettre sur le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("yyrdé"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 191 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Feilberg[156]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[157], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Niebuhr's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1763: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[158].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Coran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[159], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[160].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talâq*: "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the "*idda*-period"[161] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[162]. By *talâq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

184 42
233
463 information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

463 There are few other specialist occupations. Rug making is a specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities • 183 produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villager; the villager must provide the wool before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

463 Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide 493 the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - miscefrusch, star and bazargan. The miscefrusch are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Walash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rast which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The star may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Agha such as Sheikh Mohammad would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an star. Occasionally the star is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandar; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Khalan.

463 The bazargan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as 493 Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They 462 deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, calico, tea, coffee, sugar, - so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excluded; a debt of £5 incurred today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 3 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite exterritonate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in due course to lead to the bankruptcy

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Positive Contribution

121 • 183 On the other hand on the positive side I have attempted to avoid dry generalisations of the form "the Kurds marry their first cousins". My aim definitely has not been to record the "manners and customs" of the Kurds. Rather I have tried to throw some light on the contrasting factors of conflict and cohesion that affect the lives of the small group of people inhabiting this Rowanduz area. If there is any moral in the story it is to emphasise once again the futility of attaching psychological labels to cultural groups. Again and again the Kurds as a group have been labelled treacherous, bloodthirsty, lazy, virile, stupid and a dozen things besides; this study at least should show that there can be no such easy classification. It is true that the structural pattern of a society does impose upon individuals some standardisation of behaviour, but this structural pattern affects the interests of different individuals in widely different ways and their resulting reactions differ accordingly. There can never be absolute conformity to the cultural norm, indeed the norm itself exists only as a stress of conflicting interests and divergent attitudes. All cultural groups, no matter how stable they appear in the light of history, are within themselves at any given time in a constant state of flux and potential change, the balance is always precarious.

177 121 Thus the changes, often violent and disintegrative, that arise under conditions of Culture Contact differ only in degree and not in kind from smaller incipient changes that take place all the time even when the culture group is functioning under "natural" conditions, however those may be defined. The mechanism of culture change is to be found in the reaction of individuals to their differential economic and political interests. Viewed in this light the problems even of a small and obscure Kurdish tribe may have a wide and general relevance, extending even to the conditions of our own society. The study of processes of change and development is a cardinal problem for sociologists. As an anthropologist I would argue that these processes can best be studied in the microcosmic conditions of a small and relatively isolated group, where the limits of individual interest can be clearly recognised; but the problem is one of general application.

In conclusion, so far as the Kurds are concerned, I will merely express the hope that this analysis is soon put out of date by more intensive research.

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

or marriage, have their focus in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this class, which regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should reinforce things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a radically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in Baghdad or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Ra'uf Effendi, like so many elders, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Rowandus is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

ound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
f the government elite, not those of the town, but others
ncountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
an break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
isassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
he official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
ommoners or aristocrats of Rowandus, that alcoholism and [565]
uicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowandus at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowandus is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowandus, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowandus district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1908.

It is believed that the displacement of the town's population during the first World War has acted to eliminate or submerge local differences which might once have been more striking. At the same time, however, the town, like the great city, levels off the divergent customs, such as that of tattooing, of the persons who migrate there from the countryside. 171 164

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA1 Kurd MA1
Jrkan MG1

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implication of the lineage system.

If this view is generally correct, one would expect to find high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage associated with a developed lineage organization in the Middle East, and the frequencies to be appreciably lower in villages with a different type of organization. In the southern Kurdish area, this is clearly so: for other areas, the literature gives no conclusive evidence.

In the southern Kurdish feudally organized territory, neighboring on the above discussed Hamawand territory, the comparative picture might be summarized as follows: (1) The expressed norms are modified, though not basically changed. First rights of paternal cousins are not as strongly emphasized, and the ideal of equality between spouses tends to be interpreted in terms of village endogamy rather than with reference to descent group. (2) Brideprice is said to be lower for all categories of husbands, especially those of the local community (this holds true for the villages, not for the larger towns, where great variations in class and wealth intervene); some villages have made formal agreements that no brideprice should be charged within the village unit. An alternative and moderately popular way of avoiding brideprice is the sister exchange between two indifferently related men. (3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage clearly drops, while village endogamy (in villages generally larger than those with a lineage organization) remains high. A complete census of marriages in one such non-tribal village may serve as an example:

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amoza)	MoBrDa (khaloza)	SiDa (purza)	Other relative	Unrelated in village	Other village	Total
6	1	1	9	19	10	46

This picture would seem to be consistent with the views expressed above.

Hilma Granqvist[10] gives some comparable material from an Arab village in Palestine, where the local community is divided into patrilineal descent groups, called clans, apparently of a segmentary type; but where several of these descent groups reside together in a large village, and have no wide political or territorial importance. She offers the following frequencies of degrees of relationship between spouses in one village:[11]

10 Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (Helsingfors, 1931).
11 *Idem*, pp. 81, 92, 194-195.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[5], which, however, was never ratified. At the final conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shattered, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Sharrif of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Brussels or Brantzig line[6] by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. The justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had seen their dream of an independent Kurdistan born at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had aired their feelings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[7], Iran[8] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[9], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1861, d. 1956)[10] *hakmdar* in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed subsidies. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government, proclaiming himself *malik*, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[11], who as early as 1906 had accepted Islam and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[12] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1921 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the peace negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922-24, 1927 and in 1930-31, and under Achmad of Barzan in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrigg and Stocker[13], and Edmonds[14].

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My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I lived with in 1957 can be summarized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan, look to the north, to Soviet Russia[15]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (about one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Hoyboun Committee[16] still existed, the Kurds, whilst I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realized from that quarter.

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What has previously been written about Kurdish women comes from the pens of men. Having given the following description of the Arab women in Baghad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which slip about in little yellow boots, and which you are told are women," adding: "... in fact no better disguise than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to snare away prying eyes and damp the spirit of libertinism ..."[17] Fraser, 1840, says concerning the Kurdish women that "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, the utmost practised in this way being to bring the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowandiz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flatly-heaped corn. Topzawa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second method employs a machine, *Jaujaw*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[43], threshing car[44] or threshing roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[45]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

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According to Hay[46] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say

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243 907 184 it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Fellberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing cart", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Tailfir, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Sheitwar plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

343 [251] The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kumell or umde*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as lid. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints on a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

[140] 252 The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

407 224 [102] The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jût*, has a plough-share, *gâsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kevjîr*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Wirth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Tripolitanian plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Wirth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

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[177] wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighter, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

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342 [392] A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the lower rural life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 5 years old. The house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a step slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and the dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, chaparoned type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used [342] as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what in family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and deaf hut.

● [184] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay ad chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each [462] taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life washed on [476] the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests.Coon is [352] quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and polite as dignified on the floors in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of te loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, *saj* or *tawa*, on which the bread sheets, *nān*, was baked were placed on the fire. Th outdoor [252] oar-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility o washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some [312] distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water came—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more tha half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone there the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in he house [364] was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Acess to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branchs, so that [513] neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The uneducated urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women, in the uneducated urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

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Fig. 44. Ordinary peasant environment. Halabja.
Fig. 45. Uneducated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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Turkish women and the Armenian creatures with sprue, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most closely paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1470). According to Bishop (1891, I, 316) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1840. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "ballet" skirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2235).

The Lurs in Iran, visited and described by Pelliorg, have the same type of trousers-kirtle-coiffure costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Pelliorg 1952, 110, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Nomad women		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and coiffure	o	o	o	o	(o)	(o)	o	o
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and loose cloth		o		o		(o)		o
III	Head cloth	o	o	o	o	(o)	(o)	o	o
IV	Sash or belt	(o)	(o)	(o)	(o)	o	o	(o)	(o)
V	Footwear	(o)	o			o	o	(o)	(o)
VI	Face veil etc	(o)	(o)	(o)	(o)	o	o	o	o
VII	Cotton material			o	o			o	o
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	o	o		(o)	o	o		
IX	Dress changes					o	o		
X	European garments					o	o		

o: The element appears consistently everywhere.
(o): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not constant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married women in all environments. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married woman and constitutes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European frocks.

The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband problem!

neighbours' presents, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[1], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[2], by sewing triangular amulet pockets onto its clothes, and by finding ornaments to tie hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to *Jaynboll*[3] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until the 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to *Shorter*[4], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 3 days old.

Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mulla, sitting in a turkish position, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Hawa (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kemal, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qasim, Sa'id, Sandar, Wahid, Wahid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Adya, Gulla, Mullka, Nahid, Nahida, Sahiba.*

In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[5]. In the case of men the addition of the title *Sayyid* or *Shaikh* existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Shaikh" Taffir. In my experience the term *shaikh* was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Shaikh Taffir* and his brother, usually called "*Mihtar-Effa*", but whose real name was *Mahd Qadir Shaikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in consort. There was also a third brother, *Kihd Rid* (Elder brother R.) or *Shaikh Rid*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Shaikh Taffir was likewise addressed as *Shaikh Sandar*. Thus the word *shaikh* is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by *Barth*[6] and *Lentz*[7], both of whom confuse the term "Shaikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Shaikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[8] and also that, as maintained by *Leach*: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[9]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[10].

Addresses like those, used in Arabia and Iran[11] "father to, slave of, son of . . . and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Hassa, not Madame Hassan). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "Khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[12]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Shaikh Taffir's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Mullya Khan.

The kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child. As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6–7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[49]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[50].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often keep our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Rush in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the home. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Chiera has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[51]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the home and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the home which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exhaust the powers of children. Many of the attentions we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently convenient with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

293 562 [184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban woman, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

[155A] *The head veil of* light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. This round of night as the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Tuqaswa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[1]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village woman in Tuqaswa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise while old women were black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the new flooded furry hamlet of Mirna Rastawa all were black and in Sergalu bright red.

293 576 562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof or sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women lowered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Sarkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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293 562 *The yellow-white "bridal"* veil I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Tuqaswa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

563 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A.[1] Despite special pleading by Wigram and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Bates, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 We distinguish area B therefore by the mildness of its climate; its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as now existing.

[102] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and scorched cinder dry for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillsman. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years.
172 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the
162 population consists of two distinct cultural groups: nomadic and semi-
525 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds
174 with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to May (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Dizai tribe. The evidence for this
101 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts,
• 189 the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this was a very recent development but similar conditions are described by May writing in 1920.

1 [See map, cat. 116, p. 71 -- Dialyst].

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Berki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organisation at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups* though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Berki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Suran and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

*The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Berki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Berki and Jamil Agha of Bahrika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jamil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Berki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil liwa. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to effect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different communers, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the women folk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shevdini of Rayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Erbil.

• 184 42
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463 information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

463 There are few other specialist occupations. Rug making is a
183 specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villager; the villager must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

463 Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide
493 the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - miacafrusch, atar and bazargan. The miacafrusch are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Walash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rust which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The atar may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Agha such as Sheikh Mohammad would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an atar. Occasionally the atar is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandar; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Khalan.

463 The bazargan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as
493 Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They
462 deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, calico, tea, coffee, sugar, - so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excluded; a debt of £5 incurred today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 3 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite extortionate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in due course to lead to the bankruptcy

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• 184

J. C. A. Johnson

An increasing majority of the Kurds are now 'settled', but sections of some tribes, among them the Jaf, are still entirely nomadic. A powerful chief of the Jaf with ten of his sons

[51 a]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11
Turkey MB1

T 243 198 562

He writes[36]: "As an excuse for the ban [of the wearing of veil and over-garments] the reformers stated that dangerous criminals and adherents of l'ancien régime all too easily could hide themselves under the long, armless "feradje", the black "carshaf", and the flimsy "yashmak", transparent only from inside, which naturally afforded the best security against search, and it is an undoubted fact that many a spy and criminal has concealed himself under this woman's dress, that veils and hides all forms". Rygaard likewise stresses[37] that "... the so-called emancipation of the Turkish woman is regarded with some justification by many Turks as being an abandonment of a natural protection, and that the Turkish desire to guard his women strictly in the home must be viewed as a symptom of modesty and not be credited to the very widespread, but erroneous, impression that he jealously wishes to hide strictly private mistresses in his harem under the most humiliating conditions".

Should one wish to learn about conditions in these Turkish harems prior to Kemal Atatürk's day, one can hardly do better than to apply to the women themselves. We have an account of conditions under the Sultanate just before the first World War, written by an Arab Sherifa, Musbah Haidar. As daughter of a brother of the Sherif of Mecca, who dwelt in a castle on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, as the "guest" of the Sultan of Turkey, and with an English mother, she gives in her memoirs (published 1948) a woman's assessment of life in an Arab-Turkish upper-class home. Musbah Haidar[38] speaks about: "... those well-guarded, exclusive and dignified homes—*the harems*". Regarding the beginnings of the transformation of the Oriental women's life in Turkey to a Western pattern, she writes: "With the rapid decline of old courtesies, breeding and old customs, all that the women got in their place was the doubtful liberty of being able to go out when and where they liked, instead of being guarded and protected as they always have been, always attended and back in their homes by sunset". Incidentally, she strongly denounces the descriptions that have appeared in book form or in articles that purport to provide an authentic picture of the life of a Muslim woman in Turkey. "... In all the years which Musbah spent in Turkey, never did she see Europeans being either allowed or accepted into the Imperial circle, or those of other great houses. Great Eastern ladies were not in the habit of receiving inquisitive and curious foreigners. If occasionally an Ambassador's wife or that of a Consul-General was permitted to visit the Harem, it was done most ceremoniously, and no lady present ever relaxed her polite and formal hospitality into intimate friendship. So these so-called intrepid travellers and globetrotting journalists could only pick up their impressions and ideas from some ninth-rate Levantine, or from some self-styled and much advertised "Hanoum"[39].

T [113]

K 198 185 562

It was symptomatic that in Iraqi Kurdistan it was among the young men[40] and not among the women that I met a definite wish for a change of existing conditions. It was among the young men who had studied at the University of Beirut, or who had been trained in Europe or America, that one heard talk of, as an ideal for the future, "an educated wife" and monogamy. The right people in the West are most inclined to envy, the Coran's sanction of polygamy, was apparently not a right they wished to avail themselves of in the future. From what I saw of the man's position in the home, particularly within the uneducated urban feminine milieu, it was understandable that a man could

4: Haneen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

dream of not having to face a united women's front of, say, mother, wives (usually chosen by the women of his family), plus sisters, daughters half and fully grown, who ordered his life from start to finish. In an "educated wife" he hoped to obtain compensation for the social and emotional contact he was now forced to seek during the hours of day with other men.

This leads us to a discussion of the Islamic, and thus the Kurdish woman's marital position and the marriages arranged by the family. As already mentioned, the choice of a young man's married partner is practically always left to the women of his family, that is to say the mother or step-mother and sisters, whereafter the matter is laid before the father for approval. In regard to the fact that married couples in many cases have never seen each other before the marriage is to be consummated, the general Western idea is that it must be difficult for a young girl to be given to an unknown man. However, it must be equally trying for the young man. This is also pointed to by Granqvist when she says[41]: "In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man".

It was characteristic that the brother of Sheikh Taifûr in Topzawa, who was thinking of going to Europe, asked me if it really was true that one could walk up to any woman in the street and offer her marriage. That was his first impression of liberty of choice in Europe. He had never envisaged any sentimental basis for marriage.

The young woman is thus selected by the women with whom she will have to live and work, as the young couple usually dwells in the bridegroom's home. She must beforehand feel highly-prized by the bride price paid out on the contraction of marriage, which is expended to a greater or lesser degree on the luxury with which she is to be surrounded. In most cases she knows the women who are to be her daily companions and fellow-workers. From her own home she is well trained in the domestic work that can be expected of her. She has been brought up with the quite natural idea that her most important destiny and greatest happiness is to be allowed to bear children. From the years spent in the home among other women she has heard and witnessed everything worth knowing about the difficulties of matrimonial relations. She is not expected to be her husband's comrade on a spiritual or intellectual level. The basis for the joint family idea, with several generations housed within the the same building is a married life of a different nature, less organised than in our culture pattern. During the day the husband, even among the village aristocracy, has little opportunity of companionship with his wife, as the great boundary between the form of life of men and women compelled him to seek the society of other men, whilst on her side the woman enters the feminine half of the community. On entering marriage, a young woman, in addition to her own personal qualities, is regarded as a representative of a whole family, with which it has been felt desirable to become allied. She arrives in an aura of her own family's glory. She herself had no personal expectations beyond the advantages to be derived from the married state and the fulfilment of a woman's natural desire to have children. As young people in good families had not seen each other before marriage, it was obvious that no sentimental basis existed on which to start the union, but this did not mean that later on a high degree of sympathy might not develop between husband and wife and that this was quite

4: Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
Kurd MAP

I K 438 439 173 782 539

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Semis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

19

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca.1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kūrdistan, the Kūrds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kūrdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and nugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yazidis MH10

K 775 776

Besides the *djins* and other magical beings, in whose existence the Kūrds, in common with their neighbours of other races, implicitly believe, another class of uncanny visitants, called *sheyts*, excites the awe and dread of these mountain people. These are the apparitions—I will not say ghosts, for, like all Oriental *revenants*, they rise in the body—of martyrs, *i.e.*, Moslems who have died fighting for Islam, and at whose tombs, as at those of Dervish Sheikhs, miracles are believed to be wrought. When they rise from their graves and appear to mortals, which they are said occasionally to do in crowds, it is looked upon as a sign of some important coming event. The Kūrds appear, too, to credit them with habits similar to their own, and look upon them as a kind of fluctuating population, as nomadic as themselves.

Y 101

The Yezidis, or "Devil-worshippers," whom I have already mentioned as observing marriage and funeral rites differing from those of the Moslem Kūrds, form eight or nine separate tribes, some nomad, some sedentary. The execration in which they are held by Moslems has led to the identification of the supposed founder of the sect with Yezd, the slayer of Hassan and Hussein, the grandsons of the Prophet and martyrs *par excellence* of Islam. This name they, however, no doubt bore long anterior to the seventh century, *Yezd* being one of the titles applied by the ancient Persians to the Supreme Being. The name of Sheikh Adi, a mythical saint, to whom their chief temple is nominally dedicated, is derived, by Mr. Badger,[1] from the Hebrew *Adh* or *Ad*, the two

K [184]

Y 776 101

[1] *The Nestorians, &c.*

One of the advantages of appointment in this fashion 648
is that it permits the central government to provide
properly qualified officials, responsible to higher authority,
rather than relegate their selection to the whim of the
voter. On the other hand, the official appointed in
Baghdad almost always comes from a different town, and
usually from a different province, than that to which he is
assigned. Moreover, although there is no bar to any person
rising in the government, the old middle and upper-class
Turkish and Arab families of Iraq, who furnished officers
and officials to the Ottoman cadre, tend to dominate the
ranks of the new monarchy as the wealthy, educated class.
Thus, because there is little immediate community of 648
interest between governor and governed, there is the poten- 662
tiality of the use of office for the furtherance of personal
ends on a local level, and, on the higher levels in Baghdad
itself, the acquisition of government positions by the in-
fluence of family or wealth. None of these things, how-
ever, should in any way be construed as an accusation of
dereliction, particularly in the administration of the
Rowanduz district, but even the possibility of malfeasance
has an easily imaginable effect on a people as nationally [186]
sensitive as the Kurds. Of more cogent importance, however,
is the fact that the administration of Rowanduz lies in
the hands of persons on the whole alien to the community
itself, and the social implications of the presence of
this new class shall be examined in some detail.

At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines, the country is divided into fourteen liwas, each under a mutasarif. The liwa is subdivided into qadhas, each under a qaimmaqam. The qadha is in turn subdivided into a number of nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a rais beladiya appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the intricacies of metropolitan administration. The people have a mukhtar, selected from the local inhabitants, who, while in no sense a public official, acts in liason between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the 'umda in contemporary Egypt.[1]

631. 648 [622]

The qadha or district of Rowanduz belongs to the Erbil liwa, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Rowanduz. In spite of this official's labors in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the "village" here referred to may vary from a few isolated

631 162 361 [186]

[1] Ayrout, 1945, pp. 47-48.

there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and upper-class families who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable career of an army officer. 702 [687] [565]

For the people of the district the serai, with its important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during hours of business, its guards, and its four-colored ensign fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech. But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet of oppression, but of sorrow, for in lorries drawn up before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many will never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the serai, old and young, mothers and wives, dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside, and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Nestorian has set up an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation. [344] [186] [208] [152] [215]

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building 344 232 654

roadside <u>shaykhana</u> between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>shaykhana</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowanduz and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowanduz, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

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for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fellahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

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Attention might be directed to the land of Rowanduz itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriya), private (tapu), and religious endowment (waqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

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It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economies of the Rowanduz district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

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The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious.

also imports, but their fringes must be prepared by local 291
seamstresses. Folded diagonally and rolled, the scarves are bound around the head one next to the other, and one or more of the ends usually hang down to the shoulders. The cap is of white crocheted cloth and decorated with simple patterns in variously coloured thread, sometimes of gilt or silver. The scarves are characteristically an open black and white print, the same as used in the shafiya or head-cloth of the Arabs to the south, although some are a solid grey or black. The green turban which indicates a descendant of the tribe of the Prophet is worn in the same way, but is infrequently encountered. Only one man in Rowandus, an elderly blacksmith of humble station, appeared in it regularly. The tarbush, the red felt Turkish "fez," 292
has a limited and curious survival in Iraq, among the imams 186
or priests of the Shiite (Muslim) faith and Jewish money-changers. It is never seen in the town. A peculiar type of woolen cap, with a cloth bill in front, a round tassel on top, and a loose hanging which falls over the back of the neck, is found occasionally, affected by chieftains and their bodyguards. It is a peculiarity of a mountain tribal group, the Skikak. In the Rowandus district it is taken to indicate a pugnacious or formidable character. It is difficult to decide on its origins. There is an old and 183
extremely widespread prejudice throughout the Islamic world 291
against headgear with brims or bills "because they do not permit the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground in prayer."

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any officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform 291
trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or
sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a
civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items
used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a
Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective baladi 186
(from balad, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the 291
first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same 554
connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely
derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an
official or an officer has entered a higher class of
society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing,
say, a skullcap, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would
expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," baladi, who has no
understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true [668]
of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be inter-
preted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolu-
tionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab
and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people
as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing
as far as the government service and the governed are
concerned.

Most of the men of the district are armed and appear 411
frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the
chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most
widespread is the khunjir or dagger which is a curved
blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised
central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
garments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth European jacket. The dress of the children of officials and officers is much like that of their Kurdish playfellows, at the same time more European in character, particularly for the boys who sometimes wear slacks and jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the winter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
younger children are confined to the houses in extremely cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist. There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys, the adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in the eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under considerable pressure to influence the father for money to deck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 18 291
follows a government career in the secondary schools and colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such notions to the condemning adjective _haladi_, "rustic," although he may retain a certain admiration for the dashing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure resembling that of a European or American army recruit. The face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man without some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 302 891
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and, more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache, through an understandable cultural process, has come to be a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even officials and officers, who often wear their hair long, do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [186]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Townsmen are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [834]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Except for the cologne of the barber, men do not use cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 824
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 574

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz
Iraq MH1

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K 186 563 779

suffered. Of the non-Muslims, the Jews might be mentioned first, and their own custom of marriage is like that of Islam. By long tradition, heightened by the recent Israeli war, the Jews are greatly despised, but most of them have already migrated to their new country. The departure of the Jewish craftsmen and shopkeepers from Rowanduz has already been noticed. Of the Christians, an unconscious distinction is made in the Muslim mind between those who come from the Western world, and those who are native to the area of the Eastern Mediterranean. The military prowess and advanced culture of Europe or America are recognized, and almost any male from these countries is ipso facto an effendi or gentleman. The Briton, because of the part of his country's imperialism in the Middle East, may be disliked, but he is usually respected. On the other hand, Christians such as the Armenians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Nestorians, who have been Islamic subjects in the past, are looked upon with some contempt. The Armenians and Greeks are largely urban minorities, engaged in commerce, and are generally vilified, as are Jews and certain Syrians in the cities, as cheats and thieves. The Chaldeans and the Nestorians, most of the latter displaced from their homeland in Turkey after the first World War, were once exclusively engaged in agriculture, and, as a peaceful folk, were not considered particularly different from Muslim peasants. Kurdish chieftains and their men have been invited to Nestorian festivals and there has been

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K 186 563
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considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, 563
took service with the British, particularly in the infantry 571
levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in
crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled
in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and,
while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a
certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance
with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations
of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167]
the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as
are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582]
group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of
their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them.
One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or
German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim 837
woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent 548
danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad
press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553]
them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite,
and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing
outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771
commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578
"proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A
Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

Iraq the Sunna is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
much the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis- 795
session is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 186
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as [302]
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they despise clitorectomy, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
Negroid, as Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the practice seems to have no record in that country. One might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces, innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Save on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages between Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, and Turks. There are Persian 563
minorities in the cities of central and southern Iraq, but they fall under the religious classification of Shi'ah and there seems to be no conflict between them and Arabs of their own persuasion. The Turks are few in number and are concentrated in the middle and upper classes. In the days before the liberation of Iraq, there was bitter enmity toward the Turks as the representatives of Ottoman rule, but this has disappeared in recent years and there is no restriction, as, indeed, there never was, on marriage between members of this class and Sunnite Muslims, Arabs and Kurds, of comparable status. [582] A survey of the lists of officials and army officers reveals the remarkable extent to which the survivors of Ottoman rule have retained their position in the government service. The Turkomans are gathered in central and northeastern Iraq, mainly about Altun Keupri and Koi Sanjaq, and have been unspectacular in national affairs, largely farmers and shepherds, a remnant of the famous Horde of the White Sheep. [582] Again, there appears to be no restriction on marriage with Sunnite Muslims, but there is little reason for an Arab, Kurd, or Turk of the upper classes to take an illiterate, impoverished bride from among them.

The matter of Arab and Kurd is quite otherwise, for 186
in the case of the latter there is a well-armed minority 648
population, Muslims, and hence free of the susceptibilities 101
of religious attack, with a strong base in agriculture and animal husbandry. They are estimated at 400,000 persons,

and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are hard by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Xenephon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Rowanduz was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

example, an Arab of Mosul and one of Baghdad, but it does not appear to be of a serious nature. Among the Kurds, one can often hear the native of a certain locale praising it to the exclusion of others. "The preparation of rice at Sulaymaniya is the best," a Kurd of this city proclaims in a discussion of cookery, but feelings of this type do not operate to separate the people in any important way, because religious and ethnic divisions have much greater weight. On the other hand, tribal allegiance in certain rural areas has great importance, although increased government control in matters such as the vendetta has mitigated their character to some extent. It is difficult to formulate any general rules for tribal exogamy or endogamy, because the chieftains often intermarry with aristocratic houses of the same standing, regardless of tribe. The tendency among most tribesmen, Kurd or Arab, is toward marriage within their own group, because the preferential match is between cousins.

In the other divisions of society, two parallel systems, at many points intermingled, are to be found. In the first of these there is a simple division between a hereditary aristocracy and a mass of commoners and this system is primitive or quasi-primitive. Save for Kurdistan and certain areas held by groups such as the Chaldaeans, the Mandaeans, or the Yezidis, much of Iraq has been partitioned for centuries among Arab tribes. The chieftains of these tribes and their subdivisions are aristocrats who inherit their position in the paternal

conomic wealth has been cut from beneath them. In an ideal situation, they may survive only as landowners and as they are able to obtain positions in the government. The situation, however, is far from ideal, and in practice may continue as their forebears, side by side with the new competitors. It cannot be denied that they accord the government considerable aid in the maintenance of order, and, at the same time, provide it with great anxiety in their private warfare and political thought. 565 [178]

This Kurdish aristocracy is by no means feeble in the face of such competition, and has the advantage of popular support and sympathy, particularly, as has been seen, because it represents a highly idealized group. It has been said that the Kurds are easy prey to doctrinaire philosophies, specifically Communism, but among them, save a certain of the well-educated, there is no knowledge or idea of what may be called a "class struggle," or, in older terms, the rich or priveleged against the poor. The struggle is strictly between Kurdish society as a whole and what they consider an alien system. The investigator has talked at length with a number of dissatisfied Kurdish youths, as well as others in whom such sentiments might be expected, and has heard much of "good" chieftains and "bad" chieftains, but never the aristocracy condemned as such. It must not be thought that the speech of this aristocratic group is "reactionary," in the sense of opposition to modern innovations and the desire to return to older ways. Such things as automobiles, modern firearms, wirelesses, and 565 668 177 186

any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an aghā, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowanduz area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowanduz only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

In treating the class made up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Calling to mind the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rowandus, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissable between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the distinction between Sunnite and Shiite in this class has been noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its members, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or behavior.

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behavior. The ethnic barrier between the Arab officials and the local inhabitants is by far the most striking. Divisions along lines of locale or tribe have little or no significance for members of the official class, although many of them, especially the Arabs, may belong to the latter type of group, in addition to their local origin. There is a certain amount of banter between natives of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, or other cities, just as in America much is heard of the rivalry of various cities and states, but it does not operate in any serious way to divide the group. The force connected with tribal affiliations in Iraq appears to be only appropriate in its proper setting, and a pair of officials, members of two tribes engaged in a deadly feud in some rural area, seem to make nothing of it divorced from the actual scene.

Something of the relations of the official class to the aristocracy and the townspeople has already been indicated. While a number of the Kurds may regard the government in a poor light, it would be a mistake to assume that they do not have admiration or fondness for certain of the officials. Conversely, it would be equally erroneous to think that many of the officials do not have a paternal affection for their charges. Nevertheless, the whole theory of personal relations between officials and townspeople is based on the thesis that "familiarity breeds contempt," which has a certain amount of validity. An over-friendly mudir might be looked upon with more suspicion and distrust than one who was comfortably distant. Thus the more

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Rowanduz, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes [557] entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society of the town is disjointed, for the townsmen continue to [186] regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their [557] children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

timate capacity of 150,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1958 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertized major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Darband-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Babans of Sulaimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, tend to attach tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting then to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1892 Hajji Qadir of Koi (*circa* 1817-1894),

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

stable, and official administration, directed from Baghdad, grew in scope and progessively enlarged its area of effective control.

Such then is the background of the villages where the following material was collected. They are primarily tenant villages in the Suleimani valley, or villages dominated by freeholding Hamawand farmers. However, certain aspects of local social structure become clear only by comparison with other situations — particularly those found in the *Jaf* areas — or by historical comparisons and deductions. The data on Jaf organization was obtained from a limited number of informants on short visits to various villages. For historical material, C. J. Rich's accounts (op.cit) have been found most useful.

I have tried to avoid bringing conditions and factors in the towns of Suleimani, Chemchemal, Halebja, etc. into the picture. The numerous «Western» influences in these centers are extremely complicated and difficult to evaluate. In the intricacies of the class and near-caste system, differential contacts and reactions due to sub-cultures are indeed complex. The rural areas, on the other hand, show greater uniformity in patterns: the tribal areas are organized and separable, and the tenant villagers, in their small, endogamous communities, have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism. There is a popular story illustrating this localism: A donkey belonging to one of the tenant farmers in a village ran away; so the farmer followed it, to catch it. The donkey climbed up the hillside, far away from the village, but the farmer did not want to lose it. So he followed it high up into the mountains, never turning, and finally close to the mountain top he caught it. On turning around he saw below him the whole beautiful Shahr-i-zur plain, in which his own village lay. The peasant gasped and exclaimed: «I never knew the world was so vast!»

What goes on in the towns belongs, as far as most villagers are concerned, to a quite separate world, and it seemed both in the field and in working up the notes valid to separate off the Kurdish *countryside* as the area of study. But due to diversity even in this area, any attempt at giving a conventional anthropological description of «the culture» of «the society» must fail. Each of the compact, widely separated little villages shows characteristics of its own, local

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

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THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF MAHABAD

Archie Roosevelt, Jr.

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THE DREAM of Kurdish nationalists, an independent Kurdistan, was realized on a miniature scale in Iran from December 1945 to December 1946. The origin of the little Kurdish Republic, its brief and stormy history, and its sudden collapse is one of the more illuminating stories of the contemporary Middle East. Its strangely discordant themes of tribal warfare, rival imperialisms and social systems, medieval chivalry and idealistic nationalism well illustrate the complexity of the Kurdish picture, involving as it does a people never united and now split among five nations, none of which is sympathetic to Kurdish nationalist aspirations.

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v ARCHIE ROOSEVELT, JR., served as Assistant Military Attaché in Tehran from March 1946 to February 1947. During this period he made a special study of the Kurdish situation and was one of four Americans to visit Mahabad during the brief existence of the Kurdish Republic.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
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FORMATION OF THE KOMALA

186 609 668 It was in this town of Mahabad, left to its own devices by the Allies, that the most recent of the Kurdish nationalist movements was born. On August 16, 1943, a dozen young Kurds, most of them small merchants and petty officials of the town, founded the Komala-i-Zhian-i-Kurd, or "Committee of Kurdish Youth." For purposes of secrecy, the membership of the new party was kept below 100 and was organized in cells; the semi-weekly meetings were never held in the same house twice in succession. The Constitution of the Komala was strongly nationalist and membership was restricted to persons of Kurdish descent on both sides of the family, the only exception being for those with an Assyrian mother — an indication of the present close relations between Kurds and Assyrians.

The Komala spread rapidly, not only in Iran but in other countries as well, where Kurds saw in the new group a more vigorous force than in the traditional Kurdish nationalist parties. Chapters of the Komala were founded in the Iraqi towns of Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Suleimania, Rowanduz, and Shaklawa; and there was a chapter functioning even in Turkey, where Kurdish nationalist activity is an offense punishable by death. The chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity of Mahabad also sent emissaries offering help. They were told that they were not needed then, but might be called on in the future.

177 668 It was inevitable that the two great powers primarily interested in the area should eventually hear of the Komala. The British, whose Kirkuk oil fields are located in Kurdish country, kept a watchful eye on developments. Their political adviser in Mosul sometimes ranged as far as Mahabad, while his subordinates were stationed in Rowanduz, Kirkuk, Erbil, and Suleimania. Yet the British could not encourage Kurdish aspirations without arousing Arab resentment, and so remained deaf to the overtures of the Kurdish nationalists.

SOVIET INFILTRATION

With the Soviets it was a different story. At first they were evidently unprepared for active work among the Kurds, although

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177 668 they did once, in 1942, invite the leading aghas to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmieh, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, attached to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jafarov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man [578] dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.[1] This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

[1] Kurdish dress consists of a tasseled turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy grey pants of homespun wool, and a huge crimson kammerband, intricately knotted in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians forced to abandon their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied invasion, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are incorrigible dandies and a poor man among them would rather spend his last coins on a fine *kalah* than on a good *kabab*. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

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177 668 Three impartially, the Komala moved inevitably into the Soviet orbit.

During this period VOKS, the Soviet international propaganda organization, was starting a number of "Iranian-Soviet Cultural Relations Societies" in all sections of Iran. As the Komala had grown too big to continue meeting in private homes, its leaders now asked the Soviets to found a branch in Mahabad; they hoped thus to obtain a place to meet without attracting too much attention. The Soviets readily complied, and it was founded, not as a branch of the Iranian-Soviet Relations Society, but as the "Kurdistan-Soviet Cultural Relations Society" (Anjoman-i-Farhangi-i-Kurdistan-u-Shuravi). The clubhouse was soon crowded with Kurds, who showed their gratitude to their new patrons by sending ten cases of cigarettes made of Kurdish tobacco to the victors of Leningrad.

• 186 536 668 It was at a ceremony in the society's clubhouse, in April 1945, that the Komala finally came into the open. The Soviet Consul from Rezaieh and the chief of VOKS in Azerbaijan were honored guests. The main feature of the program was an "opera" in which a woman called "Daik Nishteman" (Mother Native Land) was represented as abused by three ruffians, "Iraq," "Iran," and "Turkey," finally to be rescued by her stalwart sons. The audience, unused to dramatic representations, was deeply moved, and blood-feuds generations old were composed as life-long enemies fell weeping on each other's shoulders and swore to avenge Kurdistan.

177 622 668 At this ceremony the future head of the Kurdish state, Qazi Mohammad, was finally admitted to the party, to the gratification of the Soviets, who had not liked the democratic organization of the Komala and had long been looking for someone on whom they could count to lead it according to their suggestions. At first the Soviets, realizing the strength of the tribes, had approached tribal chiefs with requests to lead the nationalist movement. But only three of them commanded sufficient prestige for the task — Qaranei Agha Rais-ol-Ashair, venerable chief of the Mamesh and the acknowledged leader of the federation of which they were a part; Amr Khan Sharifi, chief of the Shikak and "grand old man" of Kurdistan; and Amir Asad of the Dehbokri, die-hard

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The Kurds of western Azerbaijan — which includes Mahabad — could hardly have been expected to join a party purportedly dedicated to Azerbaijani Turkish nationalism, so a new party had to be formed to fit them into the Soviet scheme. On September 12, Captain Namazaliev, Soviet Town Commandant in Miandoab, summoned the chiefs of the important Kurdish tribes, together with Qazi Mohammad and Seif Qazi, to Tabriz ostensibly to see the Soviet Consul. When they arrived, the bewildered Kurds were suddenly told to proceed to the railway station, where they were hustled onto a train and taken to Baku. For three days they lived in a villa outside the town and were entertained with tours, the theater, and the opera. On the fourth day they were ushered in to see Bagherov, President of the Azerbaijan S.S.R., who harangued them regarding the wrongs they had suffered under Reza Shah, and said that the Soviet Government would help the new Democrat Party, which was dedicated to freedom for the oppressed and which he strongly urged them to join. He condemned both the Tudeh Party, which he characterized as a group of ineffective trouble-makers, and the Komala, which he said was started in Iraq under the auspices of British intelligence and was nothing but an instrument of British imperialism. Then, after a warning not to say anything about the trip, the Kurds were put on the train to Tabriz, where they were loaded into Red Army vehicles and driven off to their homes.

THE DEMOCRAT PARTY OF KURDISTAN

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The results of the expedition were soon apparent. Shortly after his return, Qazi Mohammad called a meeting of Kurdish notables to announce the formation of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan, which he urged all to join. Concluding from its name that the goal of the party was democracy on the American model, many responded enthusiastically. A manifesto, signed by Qazi Mohammad and 105 leading Kurds, was issued; it stated that the Kurdish people now wished "to take advantage of the liberation of the world from Fascism and to share in the promises of the Atlantic Charter." The declaration said that the Kurds wished nothing but the human and constitutional rights denied them by Reza Shah, and listed their aims as follows:

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668 1. The Kurdish people in Iran should have freedom and self-government in the administration of their local affairs, and obtain autonomy within the limits of the Iranian State.

• 186 2. The Kurdish language should be used in education and be the official language in administrative affairs.

3. The provincial council of Kurdistan should be immediately elected according to constitutional law and should supervise and inspect all state and social matters.

4. All state officials must be of local origin.

5. A single law for both peasants and notables should be adopted and the future of both secured.

6. The Kurdish Democrat Party will make a special effort to establish unity and complete fraternity with the Azerbaijani people and the other peoples that live in Azerbaijan (Assyrians, Armenians, etc.) in their struggle.

7. The Kurdish Democrat Party will strive for the improvement of the moral and economic state of the Kurdish people through the exploration of Kurdistan's many natural resources, the progress of agriculture and commerce, and the development of hygiene and education.

8. We desire that the peoples living in Iran be able to strive freely for the happiness and progress of their country.

The manifesto ended in Soviet style with the words, "Long Live Kurdish Democratic Autonomy!"

668 The formation of the new party resulted in the dissolution of the Komala and the absorption of its members by the Democrats. Yet from the beginning the tribal chiefs, fearful of communism, were wary of the new party, though many signed a pledge of support presented them by a Soviet political officer touring the tribal areas. This underlying tribal opposition would have made Qazi Mohammad's position untenable had it not been for a fortuitous accession of strength which arrived from Iraq — Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis.

668 The Barzanis had been even in Ottoman times one of the most troublesome of all the Kurdish tribes. In the 1920's Sheikh Ahmad
619 of Barzan, considered a god by the Barzanis and neighboring tribes, frequently rebelled against the British, who several times were forced to call in the R.A.F. Finally Sheikh Ahmad, his younger brother Mulla Mustafa, and his principal followers were exiled, first in southern Iraq, then in Suleimania. On June 11, 1942, Mulla Mustafa, who had taken over the leadership from his brother, escaped to Barzan.

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668 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mah-
721 mudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Semandaj Road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby liaison officers were exchanged,[1] each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to Baneh and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

• 186 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his
609 iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British opportunism, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going con-
642 cern. Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi
621 Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wazir* (minister) to *rais* (chief).
624 Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishwa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

[1] The Kurdish liaison officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Hassanzadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army plane in which he was travelling crashed near Rasht.

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Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could
622 not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily under-
159 stood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalists
829 everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat,
173 he had a lightly bearded, ascetic face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not form the same combination as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers
• 196 also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad
448 the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist move-
871 ment, replacing Syria and Sulaimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a
209 political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were
186 published two primarily literary magazines, *Hawar* and *Hilal*.* All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

* A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Kurdish period, such as *Kurdish* and monthly *Kurdistan*, official organ of the party, which bore a picture of Stalin on the cover and contained in long or well as Iran.

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the Democrat Party of Kurdistan. The importance Qazi Mohammad attached to literature and the Kurdish language may be adduced from the presence on his staff of two young poets, Hazhar and Hiemen, whose poems were published in spite of the paper shortage.

Although these efforts did not suffice during the republic's short life to bring it anywhere near the standard of the other two centers of Kurdish culture where Kurdish has been freely written and taught for twenty-five years, politically at least Mahabad was the focal point toward which all Kurdish eyes now were turned. In intellectual Kurdish circles in Beirut, Istanbul, and Baghdad, as well as among the wild mountains of western Asia, all were watching to see whether Qazi Mohammad would succeed or fail. Couriers brought communications to him from groups of Kurds not only in Iraq but in Syria and Turkey as well. His movement appealed especially to the young people, who felt that the older nationalist parties had not accomplished much. In Iraq, for instance, a new secret party, the leftist "Ruzgari," was formed of these elements.

ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENT

The old nationalist parties, the Hewa in Iraq and the Khoybun in Syria, were not enthusiastic about Qazi Mohammad because of his Soviet connections. Fear and even hatred of the Soviets among the Kurds is strong for several reasons. In the first place, most Kurds are deeply religious and remain distrustful of the Soviet attitude toward religion. Furthermore, many of them have met refugees fresh from the Soviet Union or have talked to Moslems in the Red Army, few of whom paint a rosy picture of the lot of Oriental peoples under Soviet rule. It must also be remembered that the Russians have been traditional enemies of the Kurds since the days of the Tsars. Russian troops in World War I fought over a large part of Kurdistan, leaving a trail of ruin and depopulation still traceable in many Kurdish valleys and villages. In Mahabad itself, Russian troops had been under orders for several days to shoot anyone appearing in the streets, and the town was looted and burned. None of this has been erased from the long oriental memories of the Kurds, who still frighten their crying

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177 children into silence by threatening them with the word "Russian."
186 The Soviets tried hard to counteract this unreceptive attitude.
668 They played up "Kurdish autonomy" in the Soviet Union, and the brave deeds of one Samand Siamandov, Red Army colonel of Kurdish origin, "Hero of Leningrad." How much success they had is hard to judge, but certainly large sections of the population, as well as landlords, merchants, and religious leaders, continued to distrust them and to extend this distrust to Qazi Mohammad, whose connection with the Soviets was undeniable. The walls of the building in which his government was housed were plastered solidly with Soviet propaganda posters; his newspapers and magazines contained a large proportion of Soviet material translated word for word into Kurdish; and his poets composed panegyrics to Stalin and the Red Army.

Yet in contrast to the rest of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan was to outside appearances free of Soviet agents. Aside from a few Iransovtrans truck drivers, who acted as observers for the Soviet and pro-Soviet governments, Soviet citizens were almost unknown in the area and Soviet agents kept under cover. There was said to be a Soviet representative in residence in Mahabad, though his presence was denied by Kurdish authorities.[11] Hashumov, Soviet Consul in Rezaieh, and his assistant Aliakbarov made occasional trips to Mahabad.

641 While terrorism reigned unchecked in eastern Azerbaijan, in
661 Kurdistan there were few if any political prisoners and only one or two cases of what may have been political assassination, though a number of Kurds not in sympathy with the regime did flee to Tehran. In the streets of Mahabad one could hear radio broadcasts from Ankara or London, while in Tabriz to listen to these brought the death penalty. Whether the reason for this freedom was the moderation and liberalism of Qazi and his cabinet, or the presence of the tribes who would not tolerate violent action against persons connected with them, the net result was to make the regime popular at least among the citizens of Mahabad, who enjoyed their respite from the exactions and oppression they

[11] The last of these Soviet advisers, one Amdov, is said to have been in Mahabad until the last days of the republic, when he fled to the Soviet Consulate in Tabriz.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
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of its return. When the Kurds no longer hoped for this, and the Iranians no longer feared it, there was no chance for Qazi Mohammad's movement to survive.

The whole episode was a serious blow to the development of Kurdish nationalism. There is now no Komala and no Democrat Party of Kurdistan, and many of the potential leaders of the Kurds are dead, in prison, or in exile. Yet this does not mean that Kurdish nationalism is finished. The Kurdish Republic found its support among those progressive elements of the population which seem bound to increase in numbers and importance, and was opposed by those elements which seem destined to disappear. It remains to be seen whether Kurdish nationalism is practical in an area where, until recently, nationalism was an unknown conception and men still give primary allegiance to their religious and tribal chiefs. The Kurds have never been combined in a stable state of their own and enjoy no ancient unifying culture. Separated from each other by mountain barriers, they have always had to look for their cultural and economic needs to the capitals of the different states in which they have lived.

If the states the Kurds inhabit allow their Kurdish populations a degree of local autonomy and give up the attempt to force an alien nationalism upon them, they may succeed in obtaining a loyalty similar to that found in Switzerland with its multinational population. The Arab countries have made a start in this direction. A similar policy in Iran, if left free of foreign penetration, might be a cause of closer unity rather than of separatism between two of the nation's peoples.

habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflexions to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from those in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khorasan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

From the time when groups of Aryan-speaking families settled in secluded valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primeval ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

Intermarriage within the tribe has enhanced physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

I have on occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a horse and

181 ing to live by doing the same, so why should we do more?" is the gist of most replies. Some say: "Why don't you English come and show us how to?" . . . Foreign undertakings are, however, not encouraged in Iraq.

• 186 The greatest difficulty to be overcome by the Kurds before they can take their place in the modern world is lack of education—that is, education in the broad sense as well as book-learning. The majority of Kurds have never seen Baghdad, and those who have find in it many things which disappoint them on coming down from the pure air of their snow-capped mountains.

Although the young Kurd who has been to school wants to improve himself and his race, his ambitions are stifled by members of the older generation who see in the advancement of civilization a loss of their own power; therefore they keep to the fore the old motto of "not being cleverer than

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• 186 your fathers". It was this fear of loss of power which frustrated any attempts at progress in Kurdistan during the period of
000 the British mandate over Iraq. The men who could have helped their race to become civilized—the chiefs or 'aristocracy' —have preferred to retain their temporary local power to the detriment of the advancement of their race. As has happened in nearly every country except England, when feudalism has ceased to be useful its leaders have sunk with their system rather than be the founders of a new democratic order.

There is little doubt that if education goes forward in conjunction with a raising of the standard of living, the highland Kurds will exercise an ever increasing influence on the progress of the young Iraqi state; just as the Scots in Great Britain, since the days of Queen Anne, have quietly introduced their fertile brains into every phase and calling of the national life.

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21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Kurd MAII

claim the right of wintering in the Christian villages of Armenia, and, as fanatical Moslems, they indulged on occasion in massacres of their unwilling Christian hosts—this often with the connivance or tacit approval of the Turks, who were not reluctant to see the Christian communities of Asia Minor decrease in numbers.

For obvious reasons, detailed figures as to the number of the Kurds are not available,[1] but estimates, some of them much out of date, give a total of some 3 millions, distributed as follows :

Turkey	1,250,000
Iraq (1924) . . .	494,000
Iran	700,000
Baluchistan . . .	350,000
Transcaucasian Russia (1911)	125,000
Syria	100,000
Afghanistan . . .	20,000

The Kurds cannot be said to have any advanced political feeling, and, even less than the Badawin Arabs, have rarely been able to combine for long in a stable, large-scale political organisation. Individualism and local tribal feeling are the chief characteristics. Kurdish political activity has been negative : that is, strongly against any other group that has tried to rule them, and their predilection tends to be anti-governmental, whatever the composition of the latter may be, rather than for pro-Kurdish aims. Since 1923 there have been ten serious revolts by the Kurds against various national governments—two against Turkey, four in Iran, and four in Iraq. One of these, in 1947, made use of weapons looted from Iranian military depots. Such revolts lend themselves to intervention by outside powers ; and an American view [2] is that a Kurdish revolt against Iran in 1942 had tacit support from Russia, with the aim of embarrassing the Iranian government. Little was finally achieved, however : one factor may have been the importance at the time of American lease-lend supplies to Russia, as the result of which the U.S. was able to exert some moderating influence on Russian policy.

Since 1927, a Kurdish independence movement, the 'Khoibun', has been in existence, but its activities have hitherto had little success, the main obstacle being jealousy, division, and lack of co-operation among the Kurds themselves. An attempt was made to enlist

[1] In modern Turkish statistics the Kurds are described as 'Mountain Turks'.
[2] That of Professor W. L. Westermann.

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd MAII
Baluchi AA2

K 731 164 This division,[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

142 147 It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

619 628 186 There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

197 191 The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

B 221 177 162 197 I 162 563 *Baluchis.*—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

B 142 157 Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal

† [between nomadic and sedentary way of life. – Analyst]

K 142 302 * The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.

any technical device within their means have been assimi- 177
lated with alacrity. European and American medical goods 186
are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith
in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an
aghe, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East."
The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to
the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to
Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, 186
comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to 562
their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the
veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any
wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish 565
aristocracy represents an extremely active class, un- 178
troubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened 177
by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroach-
ment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so
many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able
to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in 622
which the only significant division is between aristocrat 565
and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowanduz area
are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it [291]
has been described in the preceding section. Only a [871]
moderate number from this group have obtained higher educa-
tion and have subsequently entered the government service. [212]
Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of [191]
Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowanduz only
three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

advise or scold their employers. 565 [367]

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the "government tribe." [162] [191] [291] 565 571

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in 632 571 571 621 [476]

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

timate capacity of 150,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1958 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertized major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Darband-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Babans of Sulaimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, tend to attach tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting then to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1892 Hajji Qadir of Koi (*circa* 1817-1894),

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11
Baluchi At2

K 731 164 This division[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

142 147 It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

619 628 186 There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

197 ● 191 The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

B 221 177 162 197 I 162 563 *Baluchis.*—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

B 142 157 Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal

[1] [between nomadic and sedentary way of life.—Analyst]

K 142 302 * The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many usages of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males nakes[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

565 647 177 [183] [562] [834] [514] [192]

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwakhana, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

601

Father's sister	pilk	pilk
Father's sister's son	kurri pilk	pilkza
Father's sister's daughter	kichi pilk	pilkza
Father	bab	bab
Mother	dak	dak
Mother's brother	khal	khalo
Mother's brother's son	kurri khal	khaloza
Mother's brother's daughter	kichi khal	khaloza
Mother's sister	pilk	pilk
Mother's sister's son	kurri pilk	pilkza
Mother's sister's daughter	kichi pilk	pilkza
Brother's son	kurri bra	braza
Brother's daughter	kichi bra	braza
Sister's son	kurri khushk	khushkza
Sister's daughter	kichi khushk	khushkza
Husband's brother	bra'i mard	mardbra
Husband's sister	khushki mard	mardkhushk
Wife's brother	bra'i zhin	zhinbra
Wife's sister	khushki zhin	zhinkhushk

The Kurdish language of northern Iraq exhibits a large number of dialectical differences, some more striking than others. It must be remembered again that the population of Rowanduz is derived from diverse sources, and linguistic peculiarities of the town itself, of the villages, and of other areas, such as Sulaymaniya, may be heard intermingled in everyday speech. The investigator recorded a number of the forms presented by Leach, but has chosen to submit the terms given by Ra'uf Effendi and a merchant whose families had lived in the town in Ottoman times. Most of the discrepancies between this list and that of Leach appear to be dialectical. Those he presents for the paternal and maternal uncle, mamo and khalo, however, are inflected in vocative, as in "O uncle!" The noun ka which appears in his list for the children of father's brother and sister, mother's brother and sister, and the individual's brother and sister means alternately "boy" or "girl." Finally, in usual Kurdish word order, as in the investigator's report,

[197]

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193
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a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
<u>khushki mard</u>, "sister of husband," rather than <u>mardikhushk</u>. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the <u>mal</u> or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's woman. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
woman of the upper strata of society, the townswoman of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of woman serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MS20

K
§62 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as
701 having been a little shrivelled up old woman.'

K Among the nomad and peasant Kûrds, as might be
§71 expected, very little attention is paid to education.
709 The sedentary Kûrds in Sulîmanîeh and other centres,
are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have
Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation
to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.
K
[212] The wives and daughters of the lettered Kûrds are
also taught at least to read and write Persian, which
is the literary language, for Kûrdish literature is
almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt
made early in the century by some Mollahs to pub-
K lish works in that language. The Kûrdish tongue
• 107 is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and
it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Con-
stant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in
the introduction into their idiom of a great number of
K Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feel-
538 ing often manifests itself among Kûrdish women, who
compose many graceful and touching songs, of which
the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y The members of the Yezîdî sect, who belong to
§71 eleven different tribes, and number between seven
703 and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a
§42 strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and
their ignorance is proverbial among the people by
whom they are surrounded. With the exception per-
haps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the
men are consequently totally without education, and
their women are naturally in a similarly benighted
condition.

[1] Schlimmer, *Die Armenier*, p. 130.

eligions and Muslim Sivenesings. In addition to being 101
habited by those noted for their tenacity, this country
s been the meeting place of empires and cultural tradi-
ons, in the latest centuries those of the Arabs, Persians,
d Turks. The Kurds, because of their martial strength,
phasis on arms, and religion, fared far better in the
hancels of the first World War than some of their Christian
ighbors.

By "Kurd" one has reference to an ethic unit or nation
ose most distinctive characteristics are its language and
stoms. Coupled with these are a large number of minor
aracteristics which differentiate it from other Islamic
oples. Kurdish culture as a whole, however, is an amalgam 105
which the more recent influences of the Arab, Persian,
d Turk are easily discernible and many things, such as
rtain religious practices, may be assigned definite
storical origins. Despite the abundance of foreign
ements, Kurdish life has its own distinctive form. The 114
story of the Kurds has not been satisfactorily explored,
d those few treatments which have appeared are, for the
st part, disappointing, for they have been written by
rsons whose aims were far from academic or whose scholar-
ip is doubtful. Without entering the controversies which 175
rround the antiquity of the nation, the Kurds seem to
pear first in classical literature as the Kardouki of
enophon and the Gordyaei of Strabo, a mountain people
cupying much the same area as they do today.[1] Their 174 179

[1]Driver, 1922, pp. 481-493.

language is Indo-European, closely related to Persian, and they were probably a part of that same movement which brought others of the Indo-European linguistic group, such as the Armenians, Hittites, and Persians, into the Middle East. Racially it is difficult to give an opinion, because little work of a modern nature has been undertaken among them. In the older parlance of physical anthropology, however, they exhibit traits considered much more characteristic of the races of Europe and Central Asia than of the Arabs to the south, such as blond hair, blue eyes, fair pigmentation, and round heads. They give immediate evidence, by these older criteria, of being a mixture. In religion they are Sunnite Muslims and are thus set off from the Shiite Iranians to the east. Whether this is the result of their original conversion or the continued influence of the Sunnite Turks and Turkomans is unknown.

Ethnologically almost no systematic investigations have been made among the Kurds, although a few brief, but accurate, generalized descriptions are to be found.[1] These last, however, have been written by persons, administrators, missionaries, travelers, and the like, who are not ethnologists. This, in itself, need not constitute a deterrent, but their primary purposes in publication was not the portrayal of a culture. It is unnecessary to review here the large number of other types of references to the Kurds, extending from ancient times to the present, except to remark that their most distinctive characteristic is their prejudice

[1]For example, May, 1921.

601

Father's sister			
Father's sister's son			
Father's sister's daughter			
Father			
Mother			
Mother's brother			
Mother's brother's son			
Mother's brother's daughter			
Mother's sister			
Mother's sister's son			
Mother's sister's daughter			
Brother's son			
Brother's daughter			
Sister's son			
Sister's daughter			
Husband's brother			
Husband's sister			
Wife's brother			
Wife's sister			

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in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar,
a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed
by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the
section treating society, this is closely connected with
that of the household's woman. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaqte prior to [536]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [537]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
woman of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are
required to conceal their faces, if not their persons,
from those unrelated or not intimately known to their
families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled,
but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as
lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands.
The decorum demanded of woman serves to orient relation-
ships within and without the household. Coupled with this

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the shafi'i rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to-day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzingan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Sonna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakks and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 5 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1638, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet[2] of Mosul: Mosul (35% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (52%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas*[2] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

[1] [Territorial-administrative units, with vilayets sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.--Analyst]

* C. J. Edmonds was formerly in the British Foreign Service. In 1922 he was seconded for service under the Iraqi Government and from 1931 to 1941 was Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior. He is now lecturer in Kurdish at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Baban principality was, in the words of another poet, 'neither subject to the Persians, nor slave-driven by the House of Osman.'

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Badr Khan and General Sharif Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1909, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the south of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression not only in Iraq but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which went on to the academy and staff-college at Constantinople, and so reached a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these same officers naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's 'programme of the world's peace' enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be 'assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' Sharif Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the north-eastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

IV.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Köprü. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] It was at Sulaimani in 1918 that Kurdish was first made the official language of the administration; a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts later on were Sulaimani men.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village; and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting types of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the «vertical», Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mountainous crescent stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this crescent is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 50 to 300 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds as an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1913), assuming them to be the Carduks who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Sultan Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

[text continues on p. 12]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Points of Analysis calling for Further Study

The foregoing analysis has thrown emphasis on the fact that the Agha is of the same kinship group as the majority of his followers and very closely related to many of them. It was interesting to note that in conversation Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala differentiated between "Khesm khoisana" (my relatives) and "kurmanj" (peasantry), but I doubt whether there is any precise dividing line between the two classifications. I noted that he included in the former term at least some of his second cousins. The practical distinction seemed to be that his khesm were allowed to sit in his guest house by right while the kurmanj could only do so by special invitation. Linguistically there appeared to be a confusion between the terms kurmanj and muskyn both of which were translated to me as arabic fellahin (peasant). In this area however there is considerable overlapping between the two Kurdish dialects of Kirmanji and Kurdi and the confusion is probably only due to my linguistic incompetence.

Another point that requires further examination is the precise inheritance of the title Agha. We have seen that from the point of view of political organisation each gund has at any time one, and only one, Agha, in the sense of landlord. The succession however does not necessarily follow the rule of primogeniture. As it happens both Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash and Ali Agha of Rayat have living with them in the same village brothers who are older than themselves. In the former case the elder brother leads a retired life and takes no part in village affairs; in the latter Abdullah Agha who lives in Ali Agha's house in Rayat throughout the winter moves off into the mountains in the summer with the sheep and goats and a few of the villagers and establishes his own hoh (settlement of black tents). But though Abdullah is the elder brother there is never any suggestion that anyone but Ali Agha is head of the group. On the other hand though the Agha of Rayat is quite definitely Ali Agha the title is much more widely distributed as a form of address. Thus in Rayat the old chief Ali, his brother, his two nephew's Kharia and Ali and presumably his adult son also (who was away during my visit) are all given the title Agha in ordinary speech. And this seems to be the normal usage, thus Hamid Amin's brother in Nazpurdin is known as Rasul Agha though he does not function as a landlord, as Sheikh Mohammad Agha's four eldest sons all carry the title. What is not clear is how the title is inherited as the lineage spreads, for instance will the sons of Kharia, who will in their time presumably be second cousins of the reigning Agha of Rayat also carry the title? Probably there is no definite rule.

In the remainder of this book where I refer to the Agha or the Aghas of a particular group I shall imply only those individuals who fulfil the sociological function of the Agha, and not any sons or near relatives who happen to bear the same title. The sociological function of the gund Agha can be quite clearly defined. He is the

778 say it was here long before then. It is called the *Shakhs-i-Kani Ba* 'The Spring of the Wind'; in the time of my father's father a great plane-tree stood over it which was blown down by the wind. But then, as always before, when the tree is destroyed another springs up in its place —and that is the one you see there now."

778 771 In the religion of Zoroaster fire was considered to be the agent which cauterizes and purifies all things, and was regarded as the visible symbol of the God of Purity. Hence it was but a step to endow wood (as the producer of fire), and certain trees, with an atmosphere of sanctity. Thus certain large and solitary trees came to be regarded much as is the shakhs of today. The Zoroastrians even hung pieces of cloth on the branches.

231 771 Zoroaster commanded that the dog should be protected and cared for by man even as one of his family; the shepherd looks to his dog for defence against wolves and other marauders. The Kurdish nomad of today, although prevented by his creed from sanctifying the dog, still regards it as a useful ally, and almost a friend. In fact the *tanjiy* (a kind of saluki used for hunting) still remains a member of the household. The Kurd saves his Mohammedan conscience by saying that the tanjiy is not a dog, and nowadays to call a man's tanjiy his 'dog' is almost an insult.

231 The Kurds dislike killing dogs. Soon after the Great War stray dogs in Sulaimaniya became such a nuisance that the Political Agent ordered them to be shot; it almost created a riot in the town, and police had to be called out!

• 197 Travelling among the tribes of Kurdistan one finds a great variety of dialects, but they have a common basic form throughout, especially in the grammar. There is also an affinity between Pushtu (spoken in Afghanistan) and Kurdish—too strong to be classed as a coincidence. By the casual, or politically-biased, philologist. Pushtu and Kurdish are desig-

[p. 384(B)]
[text continued on p. 386(B)]

197 nated as corrupt dialects of Persian. The relation between them is made clear, however, by a knowledge of the migration of Aryan-speaking peoples in the Middle East; moreover the speech of the mountain races, and especially of the Kurds, retains more of the original Sanskrit form through their isolation from the outer world. So Kurdish is one of the oldest forms of the Aryan tongue spoken at the present day.

Further proof that Kurdish is not a dialect of Persian is given by the Zaza dialect spoken by the Kurds of Turkey and the northern border of Iraq, which bears little resemblance to Persian. The greater the distance of the habitat from Persia, the less does a Kurdish dialect resemble Persian, although its relation to other Kurdish dialects will still be evident.

Kurdish has, prior to the last eighteen years, never been a written language, so

[p. 386 (B)]

• 197 no standard form has been brought into general use; but there is little more difference between the several dialects of Kurdish than between the spoken Arabic of different branches of the Arab race. Arabic, moreover, has had the advantage of being standardized in writing, and to some extent in speech, by the spread of the Koran during the past 1200 years.

Semitic languages are based on consonants while Kurdish is based on vowel sounds. Thus the meaning of a Kurdish word may be entirely altered by a slight change in its pronunciation, including minute inflexions of certain vowels which are not recognized in most of the other Aryan languages. It is for this reason that, as in Pushtu, it is almost impossible for a foreigner to acquire a perfect pronunciation. As with other Kurdish peculiarities, the cause may be traced to the

[p. 386 (e)]

habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflexions to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from those in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khorasan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

From the time when groups of Aryan-speaking families settled in secluded valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primeval ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

Intermarriage within the tribe has enhanced physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

I have on occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a horse and

[p 367 (A)]

4: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA1 Iran
Kurd MA11

However, the formal political organization gives only a partial picture of the actual power hierarchy and organization in the village; and the remainder of the paper will attempt to show how this power hierarchy emerges, and what the characteristics of the resulting types of social organization are.

By way of introduction, the ethnic position and history of the Kurds should be sketched briefly. The great majority of Kurds are today, and have been for some time, settled or transhumant joint cereal agriculturalists and stock-breeders; some tribes are still purely pastoral nomads, of what has been called the «vertical», Persian type. The Kurds inhabit the mountainous crescent stretching from the Euphrates in northern Syria and Turkey to Kermanshah in Persia; the backbone of this crescent is formed by the Zagros mountains. Towards the Mesopotamian plain they extend roughly through the foothill area; to the North and East, Kurdish territory blends into that of Armenia and Azerbaijan. In much of their area, Kurds make up only a minority of the total population. Southern Kurdistan is, on the other hand, almost exclusively inhabited by Kurds. (cf. Map No. 1.)

The population density in most Kurdish territory is very low, the characteristic settlement pattern is in small, compact villages of 50 to 300 inhabitants, widely scattered over the area. The Kurds today are estimated to number some 3 million (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951), but of that figure a great number are urbanized or turkicized, and Kurds by descent only.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Indo-European stock and shows great similarity to Persian, but also exibits features that suggest a process of parallel development and borrowing rather than recent splitting. Literary efforts in Kurdish have been only sporadic. Historical records seem to accord Kurds as an ethnic group considerable antiquity in the area (Minorsky, 1913), assuming them to be the Carduks who harried the retreat of Xenophon's 10 000 (401—400 B.C.). Early converted to Islam, independent Kurd principalities attained some degree of organization only after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, but generally played a minor role (except in producing Sultan Saladin at the time of the 3rd Crusade). A major part of

14a Ivanov B-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd 1941

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174 now remain; there are only a few degenerate and impoverished families
162 in the south of the province, constituting a starving nomad tribe.
167 The Turks are still numerous, and there are many invaders of quite recent origin, such as the Kurds, who came here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Timuris and the Baluchis, who extended their wanderings further and further north. The latest immigrants are Mongols, the so-called Barbaris, or Hazara, who are still continuing to come in numbers. It will be better to deal with each tribe separately.

K *Kurds.*—It is difficult to find if any Kurdish tribes were living in
101 Khurasan before the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the surnames
167 of many different celebrities who are natives of this province the term "Kurt" is often met with. Even a dynasty of this name ruled south of Herat in the hill districts (643–791 A.H., or 1245–1389 A.D.). Kurd and Kurt are undoubtedly the same as they are to-day; but if there had been some Kurdish people in Khurasan, they must have mixed with
168 Persians. When under the Safawides the necessity arose of defending the northern frontier of Khurasan against the inroads of the powerful Uzbegs and Turkomans, local means were not sufficient, and the Shahs tried to institute a measure similar to that of the Cossacks in Russia, *i.e.* they settled some warlike and virile people in the threatened area. Therefore some tribes of Kurds from Kurdistan proper were transferred
167 as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the
177 seventeenth century a new party had arrived; some of these tribes still live there, like the Kaiwanlu, the Shadillu, etc. Some more of them arrived later on in the eighteenth century, under Nadir (like the 'Amarlu). At present there is no connection with the West, and the Khurasani Kurds are gradually undergoing "Turkomanization."

101 With regard to the racial and tribal names, it may be observed that
619 they are utterly unreliable for the purpose of establishing any conclusions
● 197 to ethnical connections. The tribe is usually called after the surname of the chief or of the place of settlement, and very soon the whole of the tribe, to which several sub-divisions belong, becomes named after the section which was most prominent and important among them. In practice there is nothing more difficult than obtaining exact information of the name of a tribe with its sub-divisions. In Khurasan the difficulty is still greater because there are no distinct sub-dialects, and the idiom of the Kurds appears practically uniform. Many sub-sections are closely connected with the Turks, and experience real difficulty in deciding whether they are of Kurdish or Turkish nationality.

These continual changes of names make it difficult to draw up a systematic table of sub-division. Of the four tribes which are traditionally regarded as the original, namely 'Amarlu, Za'faranlu, Shadillu and Kaiwanlu, the first and last appear to-day as small tribes, while the other two are mostly Turkish-speaking and have ceased to be regarded as Kurds.
003 The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principal

14: Ivanov 5-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd 1911

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The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principle sub-divisions of the Kurdish-speaking tribes; they are mentioned in order from north to south, and according to the area which they inhabit:

1. Melanlu, in Qushkhaneh, the northern part of the districts of Infarsin, Juwain, and the extreme north of Nishapur.
2. Bajgiranlu, a small sub-tribe, living near Bajgiran.
3. Aghanlu, near Aghach and along the frontier.
4. Hiwalanlu, near Quchan, and in Darreh Gaz.
5. Qasmanlu, near Nawukh, Dizawun, etc.
6. Shadillu, in Bujnurd, etc., mostly speaking Turkish only.
7. Za'faranlu, in Shirwan, have now lost their former importance; very few speak Kurdish.
8. Kurnelu, north of Quchan.*
9. Mashkanlu, near Mashkan, in the district of Quchan.
10. Burji, *ibid.*, near Radqan.
11. Kaiwanlu, *ibid.*, in Juwain and in the northern parts of the Nishapur district.
12. Mazbdakanlu, in northern part of Nishapur and the Quchan districts.

K 221 178 621

All these tribes represent forms of transition between pure nomads and the ordinary peasant. Many of them are half-nomads, *i.e.* they cultivate fields in the summer and are nomads in the winter, when they shift to some warmer district. It is specific that the transition from the nomadic to the settled life is very gradual, and that it is going on in every tribe.

Some other tribes consist chiefly of nomads, such as the following:

13. Rashanlu, in Khakistar, Lain, near Kaakhka.
14. Briwanlu, near Kaakhka, and in the summer in Kalat.
15. Hafshalanlu, Darreh Gaz in the winter and Quchan valley in the summer.
16. Badiwanlu, in the same places.
17. Jafkanlu, in the winter at Chamakalur and in the summer at Kuh-i-Daulat.†
18. Karamanlu, in the northern parts of the Nishapur districts.
19. Waranlu, a small tribe in the same place.
20. Tupkanlu, in the district of Juwain, partly in Nishapur; in the winter they migrate to the Dasht-i-Taqi.‡
21. 'Amanlu, north-west from Nishapur, in and around the village of Maruzhk (also called Marush).

* Their name reminds the Gurans of Kurdistan proper, and the connection is quite probable.

† These may be connected with a western Kurdish tribe of Jaf, who are very numerous along the Mesopotamian frontier.

‡ Their migrations extend over a very long distance, taking weeks for a journey with their live-stock. It is remarkable that their passage is never accompanied with any accident or robbery.

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Ban MAI
Kurd MAI
Baluchi MAI

This division probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal

[illegible words and probably copy of 14.—Ivanov]

* The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the nobles dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.

may be traced through either parent, and almost anyone, if genealogies were regularly kept by the commoners, could find some relative from whom the title might be claimed. The only sayyid in Rowanduz who made use of the green turban was a poor and elderly blacksmith, something of an extrovert, who also wore a beard to increase his appearance of saintliness. The chieftains, many of whom have the title, usually avoid these appearances, such as Sayyid Ahmad of Betas who dressed in the same fashion as the other aristocrats. Whether these pedigrees are genuine or bogus is impossible to say, for the Arab penetration of Kurdistan has gone on for many centuries, but one may suspect that, insofar as the title accords a little social distinction, many of these claims, at some point, are as valid as those of some pretentious Englishman who finds ancestors for himself who landed with the Conqueror or an American who discovers forebears on the Mayflower.

The religious phraseology of the townspeople is in the Arabic language. All of their prayers, pious utterances, and, indeed, their expletives are in Arabic, while everyday speech is Kurdish. Prayer will be dealt with below. The most common expletive, heard constantly in the conversation of the day, is simply Wllah, "God." It can be used in a variety of contexts, some of them pious and many quite otherwise. The tired merchant stretching himself on his cushions or bed may utter a long-drawn out Wllah, and the same is applied to a welcome glass of tea, a lovely woman, or the like. It should not be supposed, of course,

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

the idealistic spirit of the time, was at first to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Even before the armistice contract had been established with a certain Shaykh Mahmud, head of the leading Sayyid family of Southern Kurdistan, who was informed that any Kurdish groups or tribes in the three *liwas* of Sulaimani, Kirkuk and Arbil which might wish to accept his leadership would be allowed to do so. It soon became evident, however, that the Sayyid had overestimated his popularity, and his province was eventually restricted to little more than the *liwa* of Sulaimani. No similar initiative was taken in regard to the Kurdish districts in the *liwa* of Mosul, where there was no articulate Kurdish opinion.

[illegible] was not a success. Within six months the Shaykh, resenting the limitations placed on his freedom to do exactly as he liked, rebelled. After a short military operation he was captured and deported, and the *liwa* was brought under the direct administration of the Occupation Authority. But quite apart from Shaykh Mahmud's personal ambitions there was always present at Sulaimani, among all classes of the population, an abiding conviction, rooted in their history, that the place contained the germs of a revived and extensive Kurdish state of which it was the predestined capital. The belief had little justification either in its physical appearance and commercial importance or in the academic attainments and political experience of its citizens, but it was always in the air. The proposal that Sulaimani with the adjacent districts should once more become an autonomous territory, therefore, had not come to the people as anything strange.

For the other political leaders the fall of Mahmud was thus no reason for renouncing the glittering prize brought so near by the Treaty of Sèvres. Assurances had been given in the British Parliament that the Kurds would not be forced to come under an Arab government against their will, and when the Provisional National Government of Iraq was formed in November, 1920, Sulaimani remained under the direct control of the British High Commissioner. Kirkuk (which then included Arbil) did accept a *Mutasarrif* (Governor) nominated by the new government, but he, like all the other officials, was a local man, and Turkish, the language of the educated urban classes (but not of the majority of the inhabitants), continued to be used for official purposes. When in June, 1921, the Amir Faysal arrived in Iraq as the candidate sponsored by the British Government for the throne Sulaimani refused to participate in the referendum; Kirkuk did participate but accounted for most of the

S: Edmonds G-S (1923, 1948) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

even tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old enemy patrols who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the occasional [illegible] or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and shortcomings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Ministers of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the sophisticated behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or xale, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Nancy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Mir Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short poles. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and farrier, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa cavorted before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the mills, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "can be heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowandus were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic <u>ta'adhdhin</u>, after <u>adhan</u>, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowandus this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with naming the child, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the mu'azzin arranges minor matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employed a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for its cleanliness. The mulla himself, as noted in the section treating society, has a place in the highest ranks of the commoners, and is usually surrounded by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for their piety. Inasmuch as Mulla 'Abd el-Karim had a compelling personality, this following was an extensive and powerful segment of local society.

The mullas are responsible for religious education, because, although Islamic history is a part of the curriculum in the primary and intermediate schools, religion is not formally taught in any other place than the mosque. Some parents prefer this training to that of the government schools. The mullas hold classes throughout the year, but give particular emphasis to the summer when those children who have occupied other seasons with their secular education may, at the behest of their parents, take part. This course is almost solely concerned with reading and interpretation of the Quran, and thus entails, initially, the study of the Arabic language. The parents

Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, Salawat, salawat 'ala al-Habib, "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard.

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open during the day. A number of persons make no pretence of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fast in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better terms, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary relationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demands of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters"

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baythal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatrenj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir el-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

timate capacity of 110,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1958 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertized major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Darband-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Bahans of Sulaimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, tend to attach tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting then to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1892 Haji Qadir of Koi (circa 1817-1894),

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Baban principality was, in the words of another poet, 'neither subject to the Persians, nor slave-driven by the House of Osman.'

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Badr Khan and General Sharif Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1909, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the south of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression not only in Iraq but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which went on to the academy and staff-college at Constantinople, and so reached a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these same officers naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's 'programme of the world's peace' enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be 'assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' Sharif Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the north-eastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

IV.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Köprü. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] It was at Sulaimani in 1918 that Kurdish was first made the official language of the administration; a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts later on were Sulaimani men.

Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalists everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, ascetic face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not form the same combination as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Sulaimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Hawar* and *Hilal*.[10] All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

[10] A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Kurdish period, such as *Kurdish* and *Azadi*, *Kurdistan*, official organ of the party, which had a circulation of 5,000 in Iraq as well as Iran.

ft Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 196 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

• 209 the Democrat Party of Kurdistan. The importance Qazi Mo-
156 hammad attached to literature and the Kurdish language may be adduced from the presence on his staff of two young poets, Hazhar and Hiwan, whose poems were published in spite of the paper shortage.

186 Although these efforts did not suffice during the republic's
669 short life to bring it anywhere near the standard of the other two centers of Kurdish culture where Kurdish has been freely written and taught for twenty-five years, politically at least Mahabad was the focal point toward which all Kurdish eyes now were turned. In intellectual Kurdish circles in Beirut, Istanbul, and Baghdad, as well as among the wild mountains of western Asia, all were watching to see whether Qazi Mohammad would succeed or fail. Couriers brought communications to him from groups of Kurds not only in Iraq but in Syria and Turkey as well. His movement appealed especially to the young people, who felt that the older nationalist parties had not accomplished much. In Iraq, for instance, a new secret party, the leftist "Rzgari," was formed of these elements.

ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENT

669 The old nationalist parties, the Hewa in Iraq and the Khoybun
186 in Syria, were not enthusiastic about Qazi Mohammad because
177 of his Soviet connections. Fear and even hatred of the Soviets among the Kurds is strong for several reasons. In the first place, most Kurds are deeply religious and remain distrustful of the Soviet attitude toward religion. Furthermore, many of them have met refugees fresh from the Soviet Union or have talked to Moslems in the Red Army, few of whom paint a rosy picture of the lot of Oriental peoples under Soviet rule. It must also be remembered that the Russians have been traditional enemies of the Kurds since the days of the Tsars. Russian troops in World War I fought over a large part of Kurdistan, leaving a trail of ruin and depopulation still traceable in many Kurdish valleys and villages. In Mahabad itself, Russian troops had been under orders for several days to shoot anyone appearing in the streets, and the town was looted and burned. None of this has been erased from the long oriental memories of the Kurds, who still frighten their crying

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which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced *yard* usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "government" shaykhana (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a bazir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

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To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The *postmaster*, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldean (Uniate), a member of the Christian sect centering around Rwanduz, has several assistants hired from among the town-people and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph are [illegible] officiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and cranking. It follows that the operators may times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

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installations in Rowanduz, the air of the commissionaire's office is heavy with tobacco smoke and the floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the qaimmaqam.

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the serai, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the qaimmaqam's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time secures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings

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been hurt went to the Turkish police, and I was taken to the serai. The gendarme was a Turk named 'Ali Riazi. He asked me what I was doing and what this "army" was. He swore that if I told the truth he would not hurt me. I explained that my army was only a game. He asked to see how this army operated, so I gathered the children before the serai. We stood in straight lines with our wooden rifles and swords. When 'Ali Riazi saw this drill, he was amazed and let me go free.

By this time I was becoming a man, and was perhaps fifteen years of age. I went to a barber in the town and told him I wanted to learn the trade. He was afraid of me, however, because I always joined with him, telling him that I was going to kill the policemen, and I was forced to leave. Then another Turkish pasha, Under Him, came with several hundred soldiers. I took service with him, becoming a postman and a spy for the Turks. I used to carry the mail to Lake Van, a long journey on foot during which I was shot at many times. I also accompanied caravans to Azerbaijan as a muleteer. With one such caravan there was a Jew. One day he took me aside, and asked me to disguise myself as a Jew so that we could collect money from the Jewish community in Iran. To do this I shaved my head, leaving only a lock over one ear, and took the name Isaac Yehuda Khoshe. When we arrived at our destination in Azerbaijan, we went to the synagogue. The Jew kissed the rabbi's hand and spoke with him in Hebrew. He told him that I had threatened to become a Muslim. The rabbi came to me and said, "Isaac, my son, why do you want to become a Muslim?" "I have no money and none of the Jews help me," I said, "I must support my two sisters." The Jews collected fifty tomans and gave it to me. They also brought meat and bread to the synagogue for a banquet. While they were dining, I asked to use the latrine. I locked the latrine door on the inside and jumped from the window. Then I walked around in front of the building where the rabbi and [illegible] sitting inside next to a big window. I shouted up to them, "Do you think I am a Jew? There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the Apostle of God!" Then I walked away, laughing because they dared not touch a Muslim. When they heard this they started beating the first Jew, the one who had asked me to disguise myself and had introduced me, the one who had hoped to gain half of the fifty tomans. Soon the Consuls arrived and they asked this man why he was being beaten. He said, "I am only a poor Jew of Rowandiz who came here to buy goods, and these people have demanded my money.

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people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 159 792 [787]

Sayyid Hamasi, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hamasi was not directly concerned in the feud between Muri Amil Agha and Ismail Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hamasi for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hamasi was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, mukhtar, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop, 159 159 [628] [669] [205] [579] [651] 159 463

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the <u>mitmurgy</u>. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the <u>mitmurgy</u>'s littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officialdom, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

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Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the town, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings

outside <u>shebeens</u> between Kwiniwa and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Nyanza keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kwiniwa, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate screech-drinking by enlisted men in Nyanza. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>shebeen</u>. He was thrown into the gutter, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Kigali or Baghdad, rather than with Rwanda itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rwanda and Jiadina, and some fifty men from Rwanda and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

There is no electricity in Rowandoz, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or chaikhanas open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Asia Siarchi, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have an appreciation of the relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jiaolan, whose father's

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not usually members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmed and Sarim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

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Bush festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the shu'i, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, zurnar'i, 'going in the direction of the leader's right hand,' shumar'i, 'going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and zur'ik 'veiling instead of dancing, and changing step.' The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowanduz played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowanduz. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that the boy tell the man to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

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there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and upper-class families who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the serai, with its important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during hours of business, its guards, and its four-colored ensign flattering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech. But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet of oppression, but of sorrow, for in lorries drawn up before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many will never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the serai, old and young, mothers and wives, dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside, and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Rowanduz has set up an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation.

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building

ually widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains un- 567
married for any length of time. It would be virtually im- 589
possible for her to have an unmarried man in her service
in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with
a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never
countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one.
The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a
family to which he is not related. The investigator lived 123
for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially sep- 589
arated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain sag-
ment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this [208]●
householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the [427]
ruk of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator [554]
that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had
no evil intentions toward his womenfolk and that the veil
of blankets was for "the neighbors" rather than any
practical purposes of segregation. This, incidentally,
provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher
amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after
the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were
received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a
guest with other families, deferred until this time. Al- 589
most all of those unmarried, the teachers and lower 427
officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own.
There are a few exceptions. The pilgrams, unaccompanied 592
by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, in- 357
cluding a widow, in his service. The superiority of his 554
position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

Sl: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

the idealistic spirit of the time, was in fact to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Even before the armistice contract had been established with a certain Shaykh Mahmoud, head of the leading Sayyid family of Southern Kurdistan, who was informed that any Kurdish groups or tribes in the three liwas of Sulaimani, Kirkuk and Arbil which might wish to accept his leadership would be allowed to do so. It soon became evident, however, that the Shaykh had overestimated his popularity, and his province was eventually restricted to little more than the liwa of Sulaimani. No similar initiative was taken in regard to the Kurdish districts in the liwa of Mosul, where there was no articulate Kurdish opinion.

This first experiment in Kurdish autonomy under modern conditions was not a success. Within six months the Shaykh, resenting the limitations placed on his freedom to do exactly as he liked, rebelled. After a short military operation he was captured and deported, and the liwa was brought under the direct administration of the Occupation Authority. But quite apart from Shaykh Mahmoud's personal ambitions there was always present in Sulaimani, among all classes of the population, an abiding conviction, rooted in their history, that the place contained the germs of a revived and expansive Kurdish state of which it was the predestined capital. The belief had little justification either in its physical appearance and commercial importance or in the academic attainments and political experience of its citizens, but it was always in the air. The proposal that Sulaimani with the adjacent districts should once more become an autonomous territory, therefore, had not come to the people as anything strange.

For the other political leaders the fall of Mahmoud was thus no reason for renouncing the glittering prize brought so near by the Treaty of Sèvres. Assurances had been given in the British Parliament that the Kurds would not be forced to come under an Arab government against their will, and when the Provisional National Government of Iraq was formed in November, 1920, Sulaimani remained under the direct control of the British High Commissioner. Kirkuk (which then included Arbil) did accept a Mutasarrif (Governor) nominated by the new government, but he, like all the other officials, was a local man, and Turkish, the language of the educated urban classes (but not of the majority of the inhabitants), continued to be used for official purposes. When in June, 1921, the Amir Faysal arrived in Iraq as the candidate sponsored by the British Government for the throne Sulaimani refused to participate in the referendum; Kirkuk did participate but announced for most of the

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For 85
most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required,
and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh dis-
tributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly
visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes
most often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals 84
of women and children, depending on the status of their 862
husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. 858
There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or
annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said
that these memorial parties of both men and women visited
the grave "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rwaniro occupies the flat crest of 84
the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak
tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be [97]
encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel
lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are
oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot
above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab
of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some
cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the
next. Only a few bore inscriptions, some stained and
others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus [21]
in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal
clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial
plots are separated by low rooms of interlaced thorn.
Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble 86
wall, indicating the grave of a mwami, a descendant of

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Kurdish M810

E
562 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as
701 having been a little shrivelled up old woman.'

K Among the second and peasant Kirds, as might be
571 expected, very little attention is paid to education.
709 The subsistary Kirds in Sulimaniah and other centres, are not, however, wholly unattended, as they have Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.

K The wives and daughters of the latterest Kirds are
[214] also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kirdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mollahs to publish works in that language. The Kirdish tongue

K is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and
187 it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of

S Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feel-
538 ing often manifests itself among Kirdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y The members of the Yezidi sect, who belong to
571 eleven different tribes, and number between seven
703 and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a
542 strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

[illegible]

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, ihwiliri (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the corai are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass here found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the corai open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tramped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few officers boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and conventional corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in winter time. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, the inner wall

of persons is a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a [476]
merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter [454]
practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the
merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
liraq or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
A number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
culties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [874]
some courses along these lines at night, and were very
surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning
their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually [522]
the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
and many place high expectations in the help of their sons
at school.

Before describing in greater detail the rules of 463
the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
here to provide a list of persons according to their
occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
others employed only in the service of those residing in
the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

mentioned. Precious stones and pearls are little in evidence, but coins, of almost any age and variety, are often drilled and included in the ensembles. The silver _bilaq_ or nose-ring, sometimes containing a piece of turquoise, is only affected by women of the villages. Many married couples wear rings, usually of silver and sometimes set with a piece of coloured glass, on the third or fourth finger of the right hand, but they are not a necessary part of engagement or marriage. Men wear little jewelry save a ring and a few sport a silver or imitation gold watch-fob hanging from a breast pocket. There is some aversion on the part of men to wearing gold, and this is said to have a background in Islamic tradition. The elegant seal-rings of Medieval and Ottoman times have almost completely disappeared, except in a few of the older families, such as that of Ra'uf Effendi, where they are preserved as heirlooms.

It has been seen that the townspeople have little regard for intoxicants, nor do they make use of drugs such as the opium of Iran to the east or the _hashish_ of Lebanon and Syria to the west. If there are excesses among the natives of Rowanduz, they are only tea-drinking and smoking, the first of which has been discussed. Cigarettes are the most popular mode of consuming tobacco, and have several varieties. From the merchants British cigarettes and those made in the factories of Baghdad may be obtained. The officials and officers habitually use these, and they are

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line, usually with the common consent of the tribesmen. Beneath them are commoners, shepherds and peasants, and, in the villages, a number of merchants, craftsmen and laborers. Some of these chieftains own little more than their own tents or houses, while others have immense fortunes and estates. Arab leaders of this type are invariably associated with tribes, but some of the Kurdish chiefs are feudal landlords without tribal affiliation, although their ranks and titles are inherited in the same way. Generally speaking, men belonging to this hereditary group may marry beneath their station, but daughters are never allowed to do so. The chieftains themselves may be illiterate and wear the costume of their people, Arab or Kurd, but, insofar as they are powerful or wealthy, they move freely in the highest echelons of society. There is no vertical mobility in this system, and it is nominally impossible for a commoner, no matter what his power and wealth, to become a chieftain, although one suspects that this has happened in the past.

The second system, paralleling the first, is of a different character and is the civilized society of the state. At its base are again shepherds and peasants, with the addition of the urban proletariat, laborers, servants, soldiers, and the like. The great cleavage in this group is the difference between literacy and illiteracy, judged in terms of matriculation in the secondary schools. It is difficult for us to appreciate the overpowering importance of education in this society. An educated man from the

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lower classes enters upon a new and loftier status, be- 565
coming a gentleman. Never again is he allowed to engage 18.12
in menial labor, nor the uses of his inferiors. Only 871
certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is 555
the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower 565
classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and thus honor them, and they endure great sacrifices to this [871]
end, sometimes ill-repaid by the young official who scorns their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the bureaucracy is heavily overburdened with men whose training does not permit them to return to "degrading" toil, and every year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the province of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that some Muslim families who have interested themselves in this way have proven much more enterprising and ruthless than their rivals of other religions and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lesser government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with uneducated merchants and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the poorest

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present, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain can never wed a successful peasant.

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It would be incorrect to assign the Muslim clergy, the mullahs of the Sunnites and the imams of the Shiites, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amusing

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[522]

story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one 793 S22 [S23]
such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a
letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the
pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she
anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the
document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short [785]
time, and the woman tore her garments and went into
mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course
of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter
announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a
message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and
the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim
returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in
mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great
excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "God
is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The
matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole
party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar
revelation. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the
latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she
might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and
all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor 793
and wealthy mulla, and they are able to marry according 582
to their status in this sense. The darvish, as a religious 792
ascetic, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as 795
one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest
status are initiated into the mysteries of the darvish
orders. In Rwanda one could find a darvish in a dressed

any technical device within their means have been received with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We see," said an MSM, "more of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Hutu, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Hutu aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Hutu chieftains of the Rwandan area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rwanda only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of the details are commonplace. Marriages between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the name can be once with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered degrading for one of the "upper" class to work with their hands. The group of persons who are not so talated, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, mullas or priests, and businessmen, such as the wealthier merchants and the owners of the slaughtering and the hotel. Such a person is termed effendi or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two examples are provided by Shukir Effendi and Ra'uf effendi, both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shukir Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Ra'uf Effendi is the mukhtar or representative of the townspeople. The chief mulla of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The marks of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mullā can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, no matter how poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system.

Rowanduz is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the Imam of Imam'li Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Persons of the lower classes, transients or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowanduz enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called chelebis, another Turkish term for "gentleman,"

The use of alcoholic beverages,

gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [279]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [169]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [771
of a Hurdieh tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or [22]
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 905
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their exhortations. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultuous meetings, the dervishes commonly practise white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Turkish trousers and shirt, but discarded the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the police. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the court in connection with firing the Rwandan anthem, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's dervish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd

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al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public.

To illustrate further the character of the narrative, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rwanda. The story was recorded in the garden of Shaikh Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iraq disguised as a Jew, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology.

My real name is Mustafa Amin, but my name as a [351]
Muslim is Shaikh Hajji Mustafa Rwandusi. I am [389]
now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rwanda who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is Amin who helps in my shop and the other is an infant.

I was born in Rwanda and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Amin Hasan 'Uthman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the schoolboys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had [357]

[illegible] SK2 A73

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

COMMON DOMESTIC LIFE

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 WAII Kurd WAII
Rowanduz

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771 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms
778 the social position of the Mullo in the Province as village priest, and give some description of the scope in the relative seclusion of the religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine beliefs or ritual practices in detail.

The Mullo

779 Most of the larger villages have a resident Mullo. The functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write the Arabic language and an extensive knowledge of the Koran. This mental equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a student, during which time he is permitted upon the village in which he lives, begging his keep and assisting all services except labour. Most Mullos have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They are not usually members of the local kinship group, but individuals who through some social entanglement have left their own group and are thus without normal means of support. The student must I believe achieve a certain standard before he 'graduates' as a Mullo, but how this is defined is not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The intellectual attainments of the Mullo vary very greatly. Some have a real understanding of Arabic and Persian and of the written literatures of their own languages others merely learn the Koran by rote and recite portions of it as ritually ordinances without any clear understanding of the meaning. Knowledge of the Koran does not even necessarily imply an ability to read - the Mullo student as Egypt was quite blind but was gradually memorising the whole book. In general however the Mullo may be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. Some of the ordinary commoners are literate; most of the Agha would claim the distinction but I doubt their real ability - all Agha of Bapir the surname called in the Mullo both to read and write his letters, and Ismil Agha of Dargala though he could certainly read was scarcely a flueht. In earlier times one of the Mullo's definite functions was to be scribe and general secretary to the Agha; conditions in this respect are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most Aghas sons are now quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the Agha the Mullo's services to the community are roughly those of village priest. He leads the prayers in the mosque, and on the Sabbath [Friday] supplements this with a brief sermon in Arabic, which is entirely unintelligible to his audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals and recites suitable verses from the Koran. It was hinted further that he is frequently called in to cure sickness - chiefly by means of prayers and charms and exorcism. I have no information at all as to the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and Koranic charms, especially among the women and the smaller children suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

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In return for these services he receives from the Agha a

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means so immature or feminine. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of snare drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians were the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Sheikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Sheikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Moslems in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Taj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Sheikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Sheikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Sheikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

there are many milingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, 202
whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of [447]
duty. There are, to be sure, many Hords of middle and [586]
upper-class families who, on the completion of their
secondary schooling, select the most unpleasant and honorable
career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the corral, with its [349]
important complement of officials, its bustling sound during [46]
hours of business, its guards, and its four-colored cantge [208]
fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of
governmental authority. "The corral prefers this," or "the
corral would never permit that," is heard in popular speech.
But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet
of oppression, but of sorrow, for in hordes drawn up
before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and
prisoners bound for Erkil, and the people know that many
will never return. There is always a number of women to [153]
be found outside the corral, old and young, mothers and wives,
dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside,
and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament
or fall into tears. An enterprising Westerner has set up [205]
an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and
recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the
poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the
long months of separation.

To one side of the corral, on one of the two streets 344
leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building 232
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floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second story. This room, better decorated and entertained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a more family gathering. The furniture may consist of benches and stools, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the Christmas has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the afternoon of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

the mountainside, causing his death. The herdsman had then smote the father of the *Jinni* in fact, for his soul descends to the Inferno. The Kurds also speak of *shaitan* ("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivation of the Hebrew word for "adversary"), devilish beings like the *Jinni*, but of a more congenial and ingenious character than the *Jinni*. "When the first phonograph was heard in Suweidia," Ba'ez Effendi related, "the people said there was a *shaitan* in it." There are also tales of malicious men and women who are able to change themselves into animals, such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against *Jinni*, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent to the mere discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, *chem bad*, "the evil eye," is a subject of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked on the son of a neighbour, that fleeting moment of jealousy and malevolence she experiences, which is, in a way, the evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in question. Ba'ez Effendi's son had sickened and died, and he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye. Further, it is believed that the individual who at one time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khanjirs (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the serai are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the serai open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in wintertime. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

113, 101, 221, 619, 463 Kurd MAll

[For information on the Kurd see l: Coon, Ml Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 215-217.]

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kotchir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kotchir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kotchir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimaqam, such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimaqam of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country. 221 ● 233 [625] [491] [693] [648]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

584 369 family select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[82], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

[691] The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have as well the right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[83].

562 584 In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities permitted in holding out as a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. Whilst in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

582 In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[84]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Halabja I lived in a house where the then 25 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 25[85]. Her first child was born 6-7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around Tawella, to which many families moved just for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, that, failing the protection afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11-12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6-7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

[221] It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour expected of her in her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what Kaberry[86] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9-11 is fully trained in the pattern of behaviour expected of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her wifely duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

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585 *The marriage contract.* A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

the nomads in the South Kurdish area. Their traditions place their origins in the *Djoswro* area of Persian Kurdistan, where in fact some 10—12 Jaf tribes still live. About 230 years ago, the tensions between the *Shi'i* Persian government and the *Sunni* Jaf precipitated conflict, and the tribes which refused subjection were unable to defend themselves, and fled across the border to the Sunni Ottoman Empire. This group of migrants is said to have counted some 500 families. They were given pastures close to the Persian frontier, which they in turn served to protect. As a result of natural growth, and by assimilation of small and broken tribes into their organization, the group grew to the present total of some 60,000 persons. Up till 35—40 years ago, they had remained nomadic. At the present time the nomadic section makes up only a small fraction of the total, numbering some 2—3000 individuals.

The annual migration of the nomadic Jaf carries them ca. 250 km. from their winter camps on the plains to the summer pastures in the high mountains. Unlike the otherwise similar Central Asiatic nomads, the Jaf have no permanent houses for winter use, but live in their black tents all year. Agricultural pursuits are rare, and generally only involve hiring a man to raise a crop of grain, or renting out oxen to the farmers. More typically, the economy is purely pastoral.

ASHIRET. There is some vagueness as to the Kurdish classification of the Jaf unit. If one asks a solitary Jaf to what tribe, *tira*, he belongs, he will tend to answer Jaf. On the other hand, Jaf informants outlining the political structure were unwilling to use the term *tira* for the whole group, and preferred to reserve it for the next smaller unit: the various sections making up the Jaf group. Usually the Arabic term *Ashiret* was preferred, having reference both to a people and to an area (cf. Leach, op.cit., p. 13). Obviously, this is a slight misapplication, considering that the nomadic Jaf share their area with a number of other groups. Due to the above mentioned historical process of growth by assimilation, the Jaf today constitute a federation of groups of diverse origin. They themselves make the distinction between «true» Jaf and later associated groups, but have no special term or organization for the «true» Jaf.

For lack of a better term, the Jaf confederacy as a whole should

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move reasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organisation at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups, though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Soran and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jemil Agha of Bahrika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jemil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MAll
Iraq

132 We have already seen that the Kurds
• 221 are essentially shepherds of the mountains. In the latitude where they live—approximately that of Greece—winter at sea-level may be mild, while in the mountains it is harsh. The cool summer breezes and green meadows of the higher mountains turn to snow, avalanche, and the rigours of a highland winter. So to save his flocks the Kurdish shepherd long ago became nomadic, making annual treks to the warmer valleys in the lower hills to obtain
221 winter grazing. The nomadic life, however, provides but a limited diet and the desire to supplement it by agriculture is a

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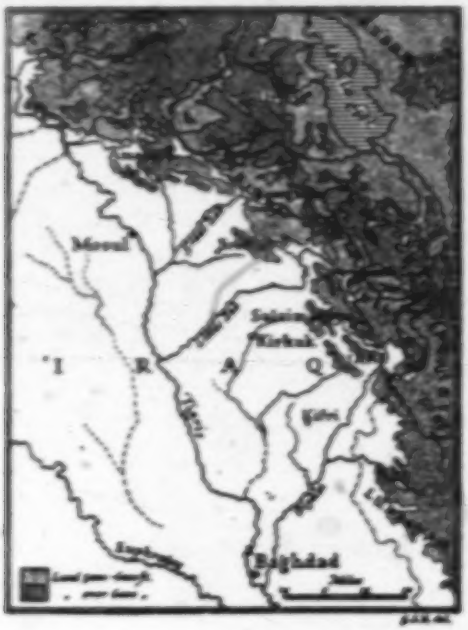

• 22/ natural one. The Kurdish shepherd moves through lands where cereals and vegetables can be grown: barley, wheat, maize, rice, melons and tomatoes are among the crops cultivated in various parts; so the tendency is for the nomad to become semi-nomadic.

This is the term applied to tribes which have built villages in the lower ground into which they retire with their flocks and herds during the severity of the winter. The live-stock are normally crowded into a semi-basement below the living quarters. In the spring, when the grazing near at hand is used up, a portion of the tribe takes the flocks to the highlands, living in the usual black tents of the nomads, while certain members of each tribe remain in the village attending to the crops. Some tribes vacate their villages completely. The family goods and chattels are loaded onto the backs of oxen, donkeys or mules, and nothing is left behind except the four stone walls and mud roofs of the houses.

221 178 A number of Kurdish tribes in Iraq, however, are still entirely nomadic; these include various sections of the Jaf, Herki and other tribes. At the other end of the scale are the 'settled' Kurds, who live in villages in one locality throughout the year. Settled Kurds already outnumber the nomadic Kurds of Iraq, and for several reasons the tendency is for their numbers to increase further.

The first and most important is that in the case of most of the nomadic tribes the mountains of Iraq have been their winter habitat in the past, while for summer grazing they used the fertile slopes of the

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11:Johnson G^3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

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J. C. A. Johnson

An increasing majority of the Kurds are now 'settled', but sections of some tribes, among them the Jaf, are still entirely nomadic. A powerful chief of the Jaf with two of his sons

[51 a]

• 221 /178 higher mountains over the Turkish or Iranian border. With the spread of bureaucratic administration in these countries—especially in Iran—the frontiers have been closed to the passage of nomadic tribes by the imposition of taxes and conditions with which the tribesman cannot economically comply; so he has perforce to give up his summer highlands. Instead he has to use the border districts of Iraq which he formerly passed through in the spring and autumn. But here again the Iraq government policy is to settle the tribes where possible, owing to the difficulty of effective administrative control over nomads and the difficulty of bringing them within the influence of the government's educational and social policies.

000 The 'settling of the tribes' is distasteful to anyone who has lived among them and learned to appreciate the healthy care-free

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

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Springtime exodus of a semi-nomadic tribe and its flocks up the Rowanduz Road, constructed under British supervision in 1927, to higher summer grazing grounds. Cows serve as pack animals

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Encampment of tents occupied by semi-nomads while away from their villages with flocks in summer

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East N/
Kurd MA 11

PRESENT POLITICAL GROUPING

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-A3

It has largely been inevitable that the present national frontiers, drawn in lands where sectarian and social divisions are strong, and where political consciousness is mostly in the first stage of development, should in some instances give incomplete realisation to the political needs and aspirations of Middle Eastern peoples. Although it is probably impossible to devise frontiers which would be even moderately satisfactory in this respect, present boundaries offer a number of outstanding difficulties. Palestine is a problem on its own, but in addition three other communities—the Kurds, the Armenians, and the Assyrian Christians—find themselves without a political future, and present special problems to the national governments of the various states in which they live.

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The Kurds are a semi-nomadic pastoral people, living in the highlands of eastern Anatolia and the north-western Zagros. Transhumance between summer pastures on the higher mountain slopes, and winter quarters in the valleys and lowlands (sometimes involving movement between widely separated districts), has brought the Kurds into conflict with the four national governments, because their homeland is now divided among Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. It has been said of this people that they have claims to racial purity and to continuity of culture that are stronger than those of any European nation, since the Kurds have been settled in their present home since about 2400 B.C.; but the term 'culture' must be taken in a limited sense, for the Kurds are renowned as a fierce and predatory people, and their social organisation has not progressed beyond the level of tribal grouping. Their occupation of eastern Anatolia and the northern Zagros has given them command of a number of important trade-routes, from which they have derived considerable revenue by means of heavy exactions on trading caravans. The Kurds have the reputation of being pre-eminently a people that it is unsafe to trifle with, and their tendency to shoot on sight at moving objects has kept outside interference to a minimum.[1] Even the Ottoman Turks could do little to subjugate them, and they remained free from Turkish taxation and military conscription.

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The Kurds were, however, employed by the Turks as agents in persecuting Christian minorities—chiefly the Armenians. The Kurds

[1] This is the verdict of a succession of travellers in the region, from Alexander the Great and Xenophon to Marco Polo and the Peace Treaty Commission of 1919.

Iran (West Central)
Kurd
Sinjabi

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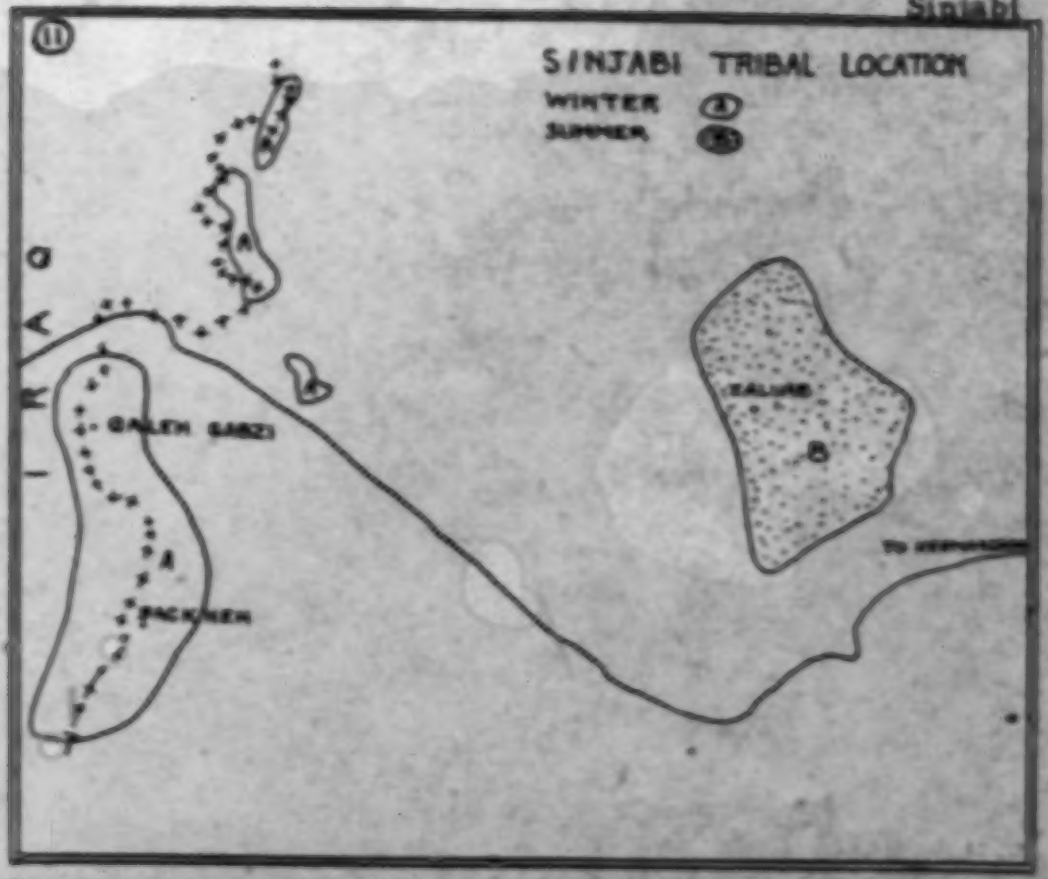

14: Iranov B-6 (no date) 1926 MAI Box MAI
Kurd MAI

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The following list gives an approximate view as to the present principal sub-divisions of the Kurdish-speaking tribes; they are mentioned in order from north to south, and according to the area which they inhabit:

1. Melanlu, in Qubbkhanah, the northern part of the districts of Isfarain, Juwain, and the extreme north of Nishapur.
2. Bajgiranlu, a small sub-tribe, living near Bajgiran.
3. Aghanlu, near Aghach and along the frontier.
4. Hiwalanlu, near Quchan, and in Darreh Gaz.
5. Qaramanlu, near Nawukh, Dizawan, etc.
6. Shadilu, in Bujnurd, etc., mostly speaking Turkish only.
7. Za'faranlu, in Shirwan, have now lost their former importance; very few speak Kurdish.
8. Kuwalu, north of Quchan.*
9. Mashkanlu, near Mashkan, in the district of Quchan.
10. Burji, *ibid.*, near Radqan.
11. Kaiwanlu, *ibid.*, in Juwain and in the northern parts of the Nishapur district.
12. Mashhakanlu, in northern part of Nishapur and the Quchan districts.

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All these tribes represent forms of transition between pure nomads and the ordinary peasant. Many of them are half-nomads, *i.e.* they cultivate fields in the summer and are nomads in the winter, when they shift to some warmer district. It is specific that the transition from the nomadic to the settled life is very gradual, and that it is going on in every tribe.

Some other tribes consist chiefly of nomads, such as the following:

13. Rashanlu, in Khakistar, Lain, near Kashkha.
14. Brimanlu, near Kashkha, and in the summer to Kalat.
15. Hafshalanlu, Darreh Gaz in the winter and Quchan valley in the summer.
16. Badiwanlu, in the same places.
17. Jafkanlu, in the winter at Chamakalur and in the summer at Kuh-i-Dunbat.†
18. Karamanlu, in the northern parts of the Nishapur districts.
19. Waranlu, a small tribe in the same place.
20. Tupkanlu, in the district of Juwain, partly in Nishapur; in the winter they migrate to the Dasht-i-Taqi.‡
21. 'Amarlu, north-west from Nishapur, in and around the village of Marunbi (also called Marunb).

* Their name resembles the Guran of Kurdistan proper, and the connection is quite probable.

† These may be connected with a western Kurdish tribe of Jaf, who are very numerous along the Mesopotamian frontier.

‡ Their migrations extend over a very long distance, taking weeks for a journey with their live-stock. It is remarkable that their passage is never accompanied with any accident or robbery.

44 Wilson G-8 (no date) 1937 MSS Iraq MSS.
Kurd 918

I K 657 648 721 Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish K 725 authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found I 164 166 that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, K [779] where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

I 663 663 K 221 What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowandus road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Hirki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. [I K 648] During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Irani Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other I E 650 nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

I K 938 939 The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

4c Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MIII Iraq MIII
Kurd PIA II

000 of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

K 137 Kurdistan is a beautiful country. It is in the main well wooded, with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Pines grow in two areas only and chinārs (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the 'Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the oldest inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

K 181 The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

K 164 In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is fostered by the cultivation of rice with its invariable ● 221 accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the flock-342 owners move to their "sōzāns" or summer shellings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

I 795 The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

I 795 167 563 648 162 Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their recent history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term "Assyrian" now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church who were domiciled either within what is now the 'Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkari by the Turks during the Great War and refused

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, shikew) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowandus. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
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appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowanduz, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

443 [223] [235]

[234]

554 186 443 548

CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowandus region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide, level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Batas or Dyana, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowandus itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Ibex, the long-horned mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong-smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local huntsmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

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mountain partridge (Kurdish, shikew) makes a regularly favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are obtained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt), butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used in cooking, in competition with industrially produced vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

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are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

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2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
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every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

are utilized for riding. One finds here a revealing comparison with the Arab South. In such a country as Egypt it is commonplace to see a man perched on a donkey while his wife shuffles along behind on foot. In the Rowanduz district, the man walks and the woman rides, a contrast which was several times pointed out by Kurds themselves as evidence of their loftier respect for their women. Almost every village possesses a large number of watchdogs, the typical animal large and fawn-coloured, not unlike an Eskimo husky. In many cases their ears have been cut off, and there are two stories to account for this practice. One holds that it enables the dog to hear prowlers more acutely, and the other claims that the severed ears should be fed to the puppies to make them more ferocious. The town of Rowanduz is more or less taken over by its dog population at night, packs of them running without the houses and environs, often raising a disturbing uproar with their quarrels. They sometimes appear dangerous, but have great respect for a thrown stone. A Kurd approaching a farmhouse will generally equip himself with a handful of pebbles. Dogs are usually ignored after they reach maturity, fending for themselves, but puppies are fondled and made much of by both children and adults. Cats are conspicuous in their absence. It might be mentioned here that, aside from chikaw kept for fighting and dogs, the only other animals kept for amusement are ground-squirrels, carried by some in a pocket and danced on the end of a cord in the chaykhana for the diversion of other customers.

492 [562] 231 [825]

The principal crops of the Rowanduz area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, asbi, from Arabic, hashiya) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlokan, and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

342

a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community [162] was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354] indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings [312] meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 366 village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] [346] the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417 of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231 ● smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342 animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361 "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowandus district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The 342 Kotshir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

or windbreaks, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villager. There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the year "fat" or "lean," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the first World War when a Czarist army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and emergencies since that time have been few. For the surplus, the foci of district marketing have some variation. It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at Rowandus, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Erbil, others bought up in the town of Rowandus, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rowandus exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Iprem, and others a natural response to the requirements

employed by the government, and those without work at all. 463

Bakers	8
Barbers	3
Blacksmiths	2
Bootblacks	2
Brickmaker	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (bazaz)	20
Cobblers	6
Drivers	2
Farriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	10
Hotel-owner (khanchi)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (atar) ... variable:	30-50
Laborers ..... variable:	30-50
Laundresses	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Muleteers	5
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Roasters of meat (kababchie)	3
Seamstresses	6
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tea-shop owners	10
Tinsmiths	3
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	5

It is an interesting characteristic of Rowanduz that no person living in the town is directly employed in agriculture or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay claim to agricultural lands or pasturage, although a dozen or so persons living therein own such property. There are, to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators, seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday

241 [231] [247]

Aside from this

work in building and repair, the only significant production of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by carpenters display a large number of these, and there is always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are fashioned in the households of villagers.

335 322 322 422 415 [583] 412 [439] 322 [764] [854]

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The government veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil service and army, but, although his services are available to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

326 231 [232]

is an event which always attracts a number of spectators. 326
The blacksmiths also forge a few crude agricultural tools [231]
and do a certain amount of repair work. There is extensive
scavenging of iron, and the blacksmith's establishment con-
tains a huge number of odds and ends which might some day
find a customer. Hinges and nails, for example, are pur- [414]
chased by builders and householders. Tinsmiths exercise 326
considerable importance in domestic economy in the fabrica- 415
tion and, particularly, the repair of cooking utensils, and
their workshops in the bazar are daily sought by a large
number of persons, not only from the town, but from the
district at large. The poorly-made metal pots and pans
are always in need of repair, and the tinsmith, much more
so than many of his fellows, has an extremely brisk trade.
One important specialty is the repair of cracked or broken 323
porcelain dishes. Large platters, imported long ago from 415
abroad and used in serving food, are precious family heir-
looms and handed down from generation to generation. A
crack is repaired by drilling a series of tiny holes through
the dish on either side of the break and fastening them
together with metal cleats. One of the dearest possessions 415
of a housewife is her samovar for brewing tea, and those 326
of the wealthier families, of etched brass or pewter,
were brought in by trade from Russia or Iran many years
ago and inherited through the family. The tinsmiths
manufacture a bright, but poorly soldered, tea-urn of
sheet tin which is in great demand among the poorer
villagers. A villager carrying one of these home from 415

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kurdistan.

condition the siting of the villages. Some deep hits—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former use of *qandīs*. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the fetching of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot plough[35], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The foot plough was seen in use down by the Lesser Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for must and dried to *ra'sins*. Around the villages of Sergalu, Balkha and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are: cows and oxen, *gā*, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, *bi'zin*, donkeys, *kār*, and mules, *hanīr*, with ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, *asīp*, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[36]. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[37]. At 5 a.m. the cows are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6–7 p.m. the animals are driven back

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flatly-heaped corn. Topzawa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *jawjarr*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[43], threshing car[44] or threshing
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 243
of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are 407
studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh,
two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades
whose edges are at right angles to each other[45]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests
alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at
right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine
serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven
round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into
chaff.

According to Hay[46] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

through which the right hand pushes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[38].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandūr* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[39]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sibbād*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tāwa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[40]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[41], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *kalīzā* or *kīsā* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Balkha, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, *šīr*, is never used raw[42]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flatbottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *mâst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *mâst* or curds. A clay vase, *dīza*, (E. 2260), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 33. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Topzawa.

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[43]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[44].

Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[45], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *kere*, is churned[46]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *malk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[47] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

461 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 233 132 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm., concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

TABLE I

LIVESTOCK AND FIELDS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN *DECON*

households:	adults	children	oxen	cows	sheep goats	donkeys	horses	wheat	barley	tobacco	rice	other
Hadji Maolud	2	5	5	4	60	2	1	23	27	4	1.5	4
Mahmoud	2	7	4	2	50	4	1	15	15	3	.5	5
Derwish Hassan	3	1	4	5	10	1	—	20	20	2	.5	4
Hadji Aziz	3	4	4	4	20	1	—	25	25	3	.5	5
Karim	3	3	2	3	—	1	—	10	10	2	.5	4
Derwish Hammed	3	—	2	4	1	—	—	15		2	.5	3
Hussein	2	2	—	2	10	—	—	5	7	2	—	—
Ali	2	4	—	2	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—
Rahman	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	2		—	—	—
single woman	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	3		—	—	—
10 households, pop. 51			47		150	10	2	225		18	4	25

(areal measure 1 Donum = 50×50 m. = ¼ hectare)

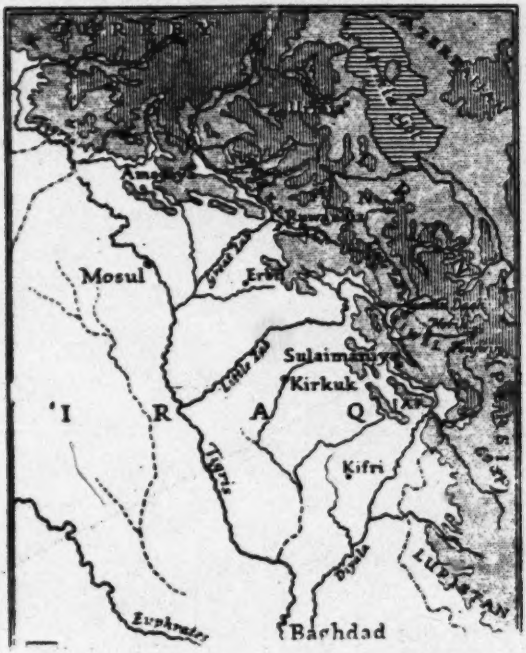
cereal crop. Much reliance is based on the general fitness of this crop to the area. Consequently, the yield is low, and a large area pr. capita must be brought under the plow.

To preserve, in some measure, the fertility of the soil, the fields are left fallow alternate years. These fallow fields should however be plowed at regular intervals, obviously at considerable labor cost. (cf. Appendix I). The plow itself is made of wood, with a conical iron cover over the point. It has a very low level of efficiency, and it is generally necessary to cross-plow all fields. In the hilly areas, the slow moving oxen are the only draft animals, which further extends the period of labor. The outcome of this is that the Kurdish farmer spends a very great amount of time plowing, but whith rather meagre results. Average return in wheat and barley seems to be c. 8/1 in an openly seeded field.

Reaping takes place, according to altitude, between May and July. The grain is cut with a short, curved sicle, and heaped on areas of hard sunbaked clay by or in the field. Threshing is done by the oxen trampling the heaped grain, winnowing with a simple wooden fork.

342 I STIRRED drowsily in bed as the chill of the early dawn penetrated my covering of blankets, then rubbed my eyes and slowly became conscious of the world around me. I was lying on the flat mud roof of a house; on all sides other similar roofs appeared. Each had a screen of bamboo matting facing the wind from the nearby hills, and behind it were piles of multi-coloured blankets.

000 The faint light in the eastern sky grew brighter, and the black shadows of the [231] hills turned green as the crowing of cocks and the barking of dogs heralded the approaching dawn. Gradually the piles



[p.382 (B)]

778 say it was here long before then. It is called the *Shakhs-i-Kani Ba* (The Spring of the Wind); in the time of my father's father a great plane-tree stood over it which was blown down by the wind. But then, as always before, when the tree is destroyed another springs up in its place —and that is the one you see there now."

778 771 In the religion of Zoroaster fire was considered to be the agent which cauterizes and purifies all things, and was regarded as the visible symbol of the God of Purity. Hence it was but a step to endow wood (as the producer of fire), and certain trees, with an atmosphere of sanctity. Thus certain large and solitary trees came to be regarded much as is the shakhs of today. The Zoroastrians even hung pieces of cloth on the branches.

• 231 771 Zoroaster commanded that the dog should be protected and cared for by man even as one of his family; the shepherd looks to his dog for defence against wolves and other marauders. The Kurdish nomad of today, although prevented by his creed from sanctifying the dog, still regards it as a useful ally, and almost a friend. In fact the *tanjiy* (a kind of saluki used for hunting) still remains a member of the household. The Kurd saves his Mohammedan conscience by saying that the tanjiy is not a dog, and nowadays to call a man's tanjiy his 'dog is almost an insult.

231 The Kurds dislike killing dogs. Soon after the Great War stray dogs in Sulaimaniya became such a nuisance that the Political Agent ordered them to be shot; it almost created a riot in the town, and police had to be called out!

197 Travelling among the tribes of Kurdistan one finds a great variety of dialects, but they have a common basic form throughout, especially in the grammar. There is also an affinity between Pushtu (spoken in Afghanistan) and Kurdish—too strong to be classed as a coincidence. By the casual, or politically-biased, philologist. Pushtu and Kurdish are desig-

[p. 384(B)]
[text continued on p. 386(B)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

H. I. Cowan

Among Zoroastrian traditions which have lingered on with the Kurds is the prophet's command that the dog should be cared for as one of the family. But their Moslem faith now forbids such sanctification; so to absolve their conscience they cherish the creature under another name and are accordingly insulted if their tanjiy, a kind of saluki, is referred to as a 'dog'

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[237]

[p. 386(4)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

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J. C. A. Johnson

An agha of the Pizhder tribe on his favourite mare. Among the Kurds an agha holds the position of a feudal baron, offering to the serfs the protection of armed guards and receiving in return various taxes. He will always ride a mare in preference to a horse because it is quieter and more manageable. Pedigree horses are kept by the tribe for breeding purposes; the others are used as pack animals.

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

J. C. A. Johnson

Two Pizhder warriors from the agha's bodyguard. These men are regarded as personal retainers and therefore they rank higher than serfs. Each man has his own horse and rifle

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•281

[p 309 (A)]

there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and upper-class families who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the serai, with its important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during hours of business, its guards, and its four-colored ensign fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech. But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet of oppression, but of sorrow, for in lorries drawn up before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many will never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the serai, old and young, mothers and wives, dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside, and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Nestorian has set up an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation.

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building

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[232]

which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "government" shaikhana (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a kapir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

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[517]

To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldaean (Kaldani, a member of the Christian sect centering around Mosul), has several assistants hired from among the town-people and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and croaking. It follows that the operators many times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

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work in building and repair, the only significant production of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by carpenters display a large number of these, and there is always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The government veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil service and army, but, although his services are available to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and blacksmiths, with their distinctive anvils and charcoal fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Sultan Murad and Siso the Shepherd.[1]

It is well known that the Kūrds lead their sheep in flocks into Syria and Arabia, and even to Constantinople. Once a shepherd named Siso, of the tribe of Bera-Berukān, led his sheep to Constantinople for sale. His shoulders covered with a goatskin, as is the custom among shepherds, he grazed his sheep in the neighbourhood of the capital.

One day Sultan Murad and his *lala*,[2] both disguised as dervishes, were walking in the suburbs, and they came to the spot where Siso was with his sheep. Now Sultan Murad had never in his life seen Kūrds, nor shepherds in such a costume. Seeing Siso so strangely dressed, the Sultan was astonished, and said to his *lala*, "What race of men is this who resemble in no respect the people of Stamboul, with their heads and their eyes covered with goatskins?"

The *lala* replied that it was a Kūrd from Anatolia, who had brought his sheep for sale.

"Let us approach this strange creature," said the Sultan, "and see what manner of man he is."

Then the Sovereign and his *lala* in their dervish disguises came up to the shepherd and saluted him. He returned their salutation, saying, "You are welcome, *baba* (father) dervishes." The Sultan and the *lala* sat down. The shepherd had a pipe with a short stem which he filled and offered to the dervishes, who

[1] Jaba, *Recueil*, &c., p. 62.

[2] Tutor or confidential attendant. This name is also given to a male slave who has the charge of children.

162 361 houses to a much larger number, which explains what may at first appear as abnormally high numbers. To these have been added the figures for nomads, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villages
Markaz Qadha (the central district)				
The town of Rowanduz	2,195	2,359	4,554	
The nahiya	9,012	7,098	16,110	92
Balak	4,047	3,768	7,815	70
Baredost	3,325	2,761	6,086	-
Margasur	-	-	3,078	55
Dara Harir	5,375	5,578	10,953	90
			48,596	
Nomads	2,427	3,123	5,550	
			54,146	

The numbers given for nomads may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less amenable than the villager to the census-taker, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the tax-collector or recruiting officer.

● 233 369 The matter of the nomad--kotchir in Kurdish, as opposed to karmanj, the villager--must give us pause. The term "nomad" has a variety of applications, and, in the Middle East, is given its classical sense in those Arab wanderers of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman horsemen of the northern marches, "true" nomads in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flocks

and herds. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the matter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted to move the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were once nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Medieval days but a generic term for such wanderers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the kotchir, with their mobility and firepower (the nomad of the Middle East emphasizes weapons to a much greater extent then the agriculturist), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with kotchir groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

[1] Mazaheri, 1951, p. 234.

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kotchir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kotchir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kotchir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimmaqam, such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country. 221 233 [625] [491] [693] [648]

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, shikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

the Prophet's Tribe, or a holy man. The identities of 766
these two had been forgotten. In one there was the
conventional white rag tied to a pole leaning against the
wall, and in the other a tattered green banner hanging from
a flagpole whose ornament was a flat metal hand, the [751]
"Hand of Fatima" previously mentioned. Some graves had a 764
large quantity of broken blue porcelain scattered over them,
and it was said that this custom was followed if the
deceased was a young man, both to indicate the grave as
such and to avert further misfortune. There are indica-
tions, however, that breaking porcelain at death is a
cultural trait of some antiquity, and further study might
prove it an interesting index of historical connection. The
townspeople seem to take little care of their graveyard, [233]
and flocks customarily find pasture there, gathering under
the oak for shelter in the summer heat.

The mausoleum of Isma'il Beg might be mentioned 766
separately, because it is not found in the graveyard, but
beside the great house now ruled by Lali Khan, and differs
considerably from the typical Kurdish grave described above.
It is a small, square wooden building with a pitched roof
(itself a rarity in Kurdistan) entered by a door kept
locked during the night. The interior walls and ceiling
are plastered and painted with a light wash. To the
right of the door the sarcophagus stands, covered with
cloth so that identification of its material was not per-
mitted. Against the center of the wall facing the door,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kurdistan.

condition the siting of the villages. Some deep hits—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former use of *qandīs*. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the fetching of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot plough[35], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The foot plough was seen in use down by the Lesser Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for must and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sargalu, Balkha and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are: cows and oxen, *gā*, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, *bīzin*, donkeys, *kār*, and mules, *hestr*, with ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, *asp*, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[36]. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[37]. At 5 a.m. the cows are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6–7 p.m. the animals are driven back

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkha that his wages were 25 fils = 6d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are clipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Scythes are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, *dās*, (E. 2243) about 27 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *qaynāx*,[38] (E. 2242) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[39]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *gurīs*, (E. 2244) about 6.80 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[40], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 8 Harvest implements, sickle (E. 2243), claws (E. 2242), and handmade rope (E. 2244).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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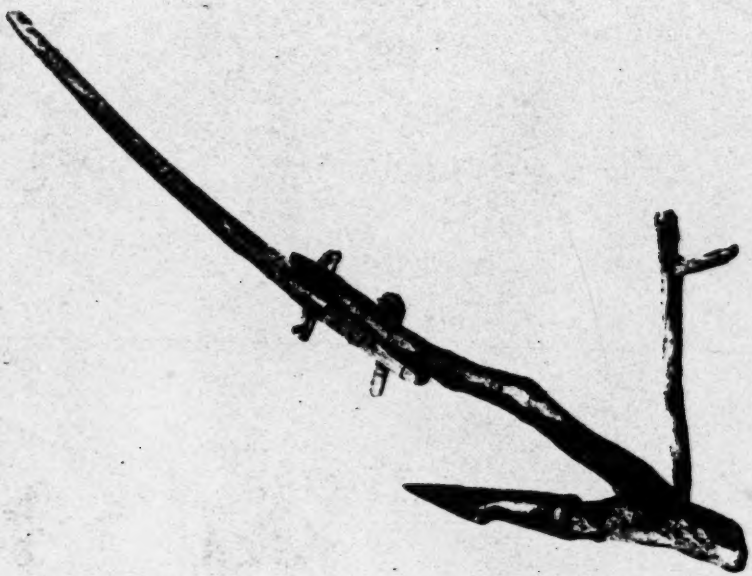

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Topzawa. Sole and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2240).

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is also stressed by Leach[60]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[61].

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The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

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The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-mouldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[62]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as is the case when transporting corn from the field to the home—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[63]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 ($250 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

461 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding
• 233 (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm.
132 concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as ric and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal impor tance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches o vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, an typical only of the tenant villages with an active and intereste landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the importan producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals i plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are use for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultur methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the bas

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

249 As contrasted to grain, where most of the work comes either in
312 winter plowing or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation take constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation system of tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The flow of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

• 233 Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided for the animals, so thus very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

423 The characteristics of subsistence and available techniques should
471 to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the households. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the additional factor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land codes, tribal political organization, or de-facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the farmer is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional usifruct rights, and b/ land on which

619 This whole framework of formal organization may be diagramatically illustrated as below, Diagram 3.

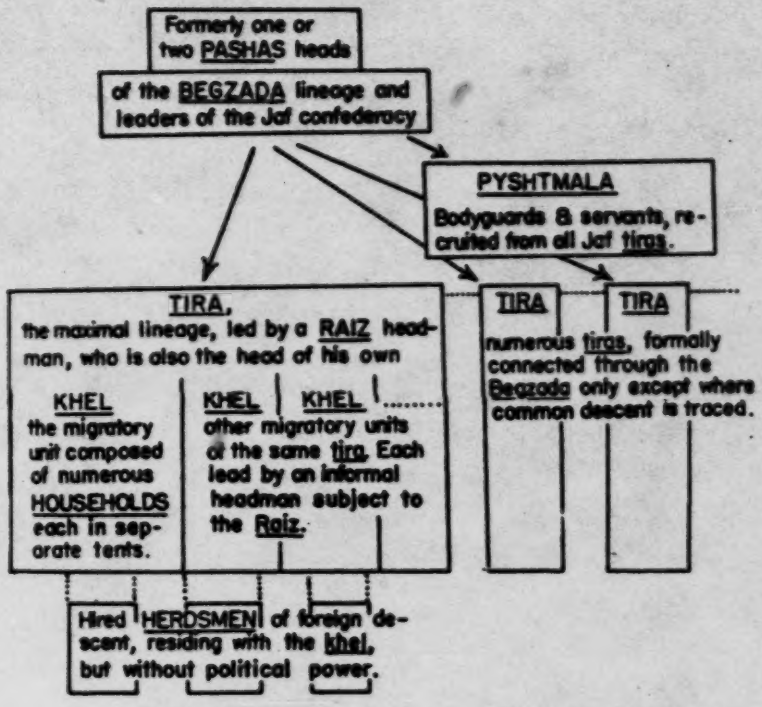

Diagram No. 3. Formal organization of the nomadic Jaf.

556 Within the *khel*, wealth, primarily in the form of herds, is the
• 233 main source of power. Any member of the *tira* has unlimited grazing
rights for his flocks, so there is no legal limit to the accumulation
609 of wealth. The cattle are herded in flocks of 500 or so, with one
• 233 herdsman for each flock. Herdsmen are preferably hired among the
poor people of the *tira*, or they may be «foreigners» associated with
the *khel* purely because of their economic functions. The typical
pattern is to exploit poor relatives for this purpose, a practice familiar
000 from Central Asiatic nomads (e. g. Hudson, 1938, p. 57). Self-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowandus river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organisation at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups* though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Soran and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

*The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jemil Agha of Bahrika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jemil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil liwa. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

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Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to effect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

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In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different commoners, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

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Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Walash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shevdini of Rayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

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[609]
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* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowandus and Erbil.

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information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

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There are few other specialist occupations. Rug making is a specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villagers; the villager must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

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Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - miscefrush, star and bazargan. The miscefrush are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Walash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rast which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The star may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Agha such as Sheikh Mohammad would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an star. Occasionally the star is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandary; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Khalan.

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The bazargan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, calico, tea, coffee, sugar - so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excluded; a debt of £5 incurred today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 5 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite extortionate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in due course to lead to the bankruptcy

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kürdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kürds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *pewrt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandoor*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kûrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is called *djadjik*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

241 The dress of Kûrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gugerat or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *kûsk*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *fûkardé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kûrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *fûkeradia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kûrdish lady. Notwith-

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, chikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowandus. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Qi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the hatshir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowanduz, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 952 962
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [963] pqlawa, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [853] and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234] brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dandog, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favored in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavored with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[39].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandir* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[40]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sifrid*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tawa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[41]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[42], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *halid* or *khd* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Baikha, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, ḥir, is never used raw[43]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled *ḥir* a moment) in a large, flat-bottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *mâst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *mâst* or curds. A clay vase, *dhu*, (E. 2260), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 35. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Topzawa.

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[43]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[44].

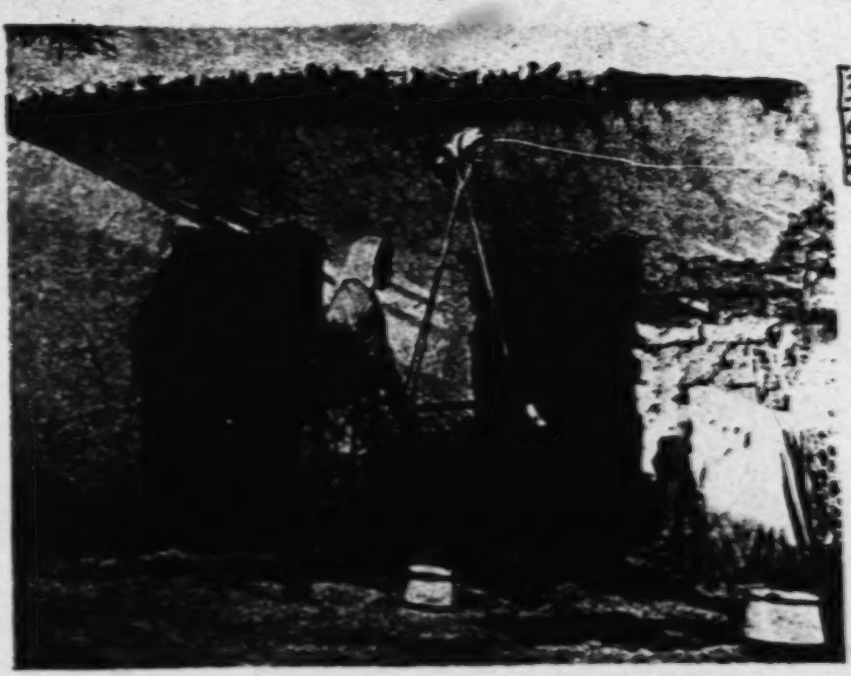
Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[45], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *kere*, is churned[46]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *mašk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[47] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the wall of the cookhouse or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard; it could also be hung up on a tripod, *sepê*, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[49] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *rowgan*[49].

Fig. 36. Woman churning. The leather sack made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Topzawa.



4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūġ*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kəwčik*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūġ* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *lihāfi*, (E. 2256) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samāwar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar waited tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

The churning sack is hung upon a beam in the coolhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dug sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

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Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

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[357
[476]

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

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[235]

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such [234] as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowandux, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village 554 women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified 186 one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is 443 supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast 548 and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

269 on a sheet of bread and gauwal. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[46], but forks
262 and knives were not used[47]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mâstâv* or the less-distinguished *dûg*. These are drunk from glasses if
[272] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water*. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, *kawl*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the women's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply*. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined vaulted earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[48]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [237] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[49]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat earthen pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Baleisuvani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating*. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
374 atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Arkun, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[50] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[51] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a small under a quilt ... formed the "kirsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[52] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus du foyer un tabouret (kursi), ou la mesure d'une cuvette[53] en tôle à moitié ou couche dessous ...".

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kûrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kûrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yoowrt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandoor*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowandus region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of [illegible] level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Batas or Dyana, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowandus itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Ibex, the long-horned mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong-smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local huntsmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, [illegible] are usually kept in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

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The principal crops of the Rwandan area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel matlock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, ḥashiya) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawishkan, and Ashi Bapshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

or windbreaks, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villager. There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer. 313 417 [656]

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the year "fat" or "lean," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the first World War when a Czarist army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and emergencies since that time have been few. For the surplus, the foci of district marketing have some variation. It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at Rowandus, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Erbil, others bought up in the town of Rowandus, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rowandus exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Iyana, and others a natural response to the requirements 241 231 731 443 [655]

employed by the government, and those without work at all. 463

Bakers	8
Barbers	3
Blacksmiths	2
Bootblacks	2
Brickmaker	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (bezaz)	20
Cobblers	6
Drivers	2
Farriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	10
Hotel-owner (khanchi)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (siar)	variable: 30-50
Laborers	variable: 30-50
Laundresses	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Muleteers	5
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Roasters of meat (kababchis)	3
Seamstresses	6
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tea-shop owners	10
Tinsmiths	3
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	5

It is an interesting characteristic of Rowandiz that so 241
person living in the town is directly employed in agricul- [231]
ture or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay
claim to agricultural lands or pasturage, although a dozen
or so persons living therein own such property. There are, [247]
to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and
not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the
soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators,
seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar
towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The
salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or *chayhi* might be considered first. There are ten *chayhanay* in the town. That located beside the *serai* has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the *bazar* area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "sinner's" *chayhana* spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of utensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner.

265 397 [352] [415] [451]

The etiquette of entering a *chayhana* varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In

265 576

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it[A] was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowandux had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jezire plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowandux households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar of Rowandux. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowandux as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

[A] [i.e. the town of Rowandux.—Analyst]

the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowandus has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercantile competitor of Rowandus, arose on lands owned by Lali Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowandus, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often reconstructed. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowandus, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowandus, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowandus and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

438 [241]

[166] [426]

563 467 463

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 7. Rise fields in front of the mountains of Kandinan

The watercourses and springs

condition the siting of the villages. Some deep holes—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former use of qanāts. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the finishing of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot ploughs[1], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The foot plough was seen in use down by the Lower Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for wine and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sargalu, Bellisa and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals here goes and cows, fat, fat-tailed sheep, horses and black goats, (Fig. donkeys, fat, and mules, hens, with ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, only, are kept on a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[2]. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs and fox hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[3]. At 5 a.m. the cattle are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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391
1971

Fig. 9. Harrows drawn from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark. Above, Turkish horse drawn (M. 560). Below, Kurdish mules drawn (E. 2302). To the right, a curved wooden board with rollers for three fingers from the Luru, Iran (E. 557).

343 water from the clay roof of the house after rain. Threshing at the open threshing floors takes place from July to October[42]. It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the flail-heaped corn[43] three to seven domestic animals, such as donkeys, oxen, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was seen most up in the mountains and on the Shehrizor plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 11. Village houses built on the slope. Topzawa.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and some could sell, move away or move in without his consent[6]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[7]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[8] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Lorch[9] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive programme" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietary rights"[10]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1953) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

261 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 233 232. Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm., concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

TABLE 1

LIVESTOCK AND FIELDS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN DECON

Hadji Mouloud	2	1	1	4	40	2	1	23	27	4	1.1	4
Mahmoud	2	7	4	2	30	4	1	11	11	3	.1	1
Derwish Hamma	3	1	4	3	10	1	—	20	20	2	.1	4
Hadji Aziz	3	4	4	4	20	1	—	21	21	3	.1	3
Karim	3	3	2	3	—	1	—	10	10	2	.1	4
Derwish Hammad	3	—	2	4	1	—	—	11		2	.1	3
Hussein	2	2	—	2	30	—	—	1	7	2	—	—
Ali	2	4	—	2	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—
Rahman	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	2		—	—	—
single woman	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	3		—	—	—
10 households, pop. 51			47		170	10	2	221		18	4	21

(areal measure 1 Dunum = 10×10 m. = ¼ hectare)

cereal crop. Much reliance is based on the general fitness of this crop to the area. Consequently, the yield is low, and a large area pr. capita must be brought under the plow.

To preserve, in some measure, the fertility of the soil, the fields are left fallow alternate years. These fallow fields should however be plowed at regular intervals, obviously at considerable labor cost. (cf. Appendix I). The plow itself is made of wood, with a conical iron cover over the point. It has a very low level of efficiency, and it is generally necessary to cross-plow all fields. In the hilly areas, the slow moving oxen are the only draft animals, which further extends the period of labor. The outcome of this is that the Kurdish farmer spends a very great amount of time plowing, but whith rather meagre results. Average return in wheat and barley seems to be c. 8/1 in an openly seeded field.

Reaping takes place, according to altitude, between May and July. The grain is cut with a short, curved sicle, and heaped on areas of hard sunbaked clay by or in the field. Threshing is done by the oxen trampling the heaped grain, winnowing with a simple wooden fork.

469 stipulated, e. g. for reaping 1/6 of the wheat crop, 1/5 of barley
465 for plowing, food plus 100 fils/dy (= 2 shillings)
or 150 fils/day and no food.

427 The large landowner may rent out the rights to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

Diagram No. 1. Shares in division of a cereal crop

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediar capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/5 of the crop on un-irrigated land.

469 At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of
• 241 a tenant village will consequently consist of 5—10 men, in part made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it to the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

312 Attending to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows
249 a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either tend it each in turn, or one man among them may take on the major responsibility.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the tenant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from labourer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hours. The value of this thresher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 mules working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a mule with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the thresher is, in fact, very rarely seen. The labourer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the labourer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such investments for the intermediary or the landowner. Conside-

565 ably, the laborer might save or borrow enough money to procure a
• 291 chamber, and then be in a position to take on more work and thus increase his income. What the laborer with access to such capital in fact does, however, is to become a tenant farmer by obtaining the minimal equipment necessary for farming. He then rises one notch in the class hierarchy, and may employ laborers in the peak season of the harvest!

A class distinction is thus constantly reinforced within each village by these dispositions of capital and labor, dividing it into the distinct groups of tenant farmers and laborers — *sajwi* (harvestmen) in Kurdish terms. Prerequisite to being a tenant farmer is a minimum capital (1951) of ca. £ 10: 2 oxen at £ 10-15, plowing equipment £ 10, and pr. donum of land ca. £ 1. In addition comes the normal stock of productive animals for household use, of which the harvestmen also generally have a certain number.

The frequency of tenant farmers doing all or a major part of the agricultural work themselves was not ascertained, but it is certainly quite high. Thus the daily routine of field labor, and similarly the organization of household units, is essentially similar for the two classes, the tenant farmers and the laborers.

This two-class distinction is sufficient as far as the tenant village is concerned. The landowner and his family, occupying a third class position, are usually residents of a nearby larger town. In the tribal village, a similar two-class distinction tends to grow up between freeholding tribal farmers and conquered non-tribal tenants, though often the situation becomes more complex (see below).

HOUSEHOLDS.

49; [94] The division of labor in the village is thus to a certain extent regulated by a two-class system. But the main division of economic roles and responsibilities is found within each household unit. The household is economically independent, and consists typically of one elementary family: husband, wife, and their children. Among these, the economic roles are distributed along the same lines that will be familiar from rural Europe. It should be unnecessary to enumerate ooo these in detail. The male finds most of his work in the fields; his

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

According to the Kurdish farmers, there are three classes of land for wheat and barley crops; the same field, differently treated, belonging in any of these three classes.

(1) Wexhke warê (dry land). Old fields or new land is plowed once in the winter, while it is raining. In the middle of the spring it is plowed again, after which it is left fallow all summer, during which time it grows over with a number of weeds. When the farm work is finished in the fall, the field is plowed again, the seed is spread by hand, and the field is cross-plowed. Ideally, it should be plowed even once more, but few farmers have the time and animals to accomplish it. This is the best kind of land, and gives by far the best yield. The work should be finished before the winter rains set in, as the fields get the full benefit from them. In the spring, the crops also resist the latter better, since the plants have grown relatively large before the latters appear.

(2) Nîve warê. A simplified form of wexhke warê, in which the farmer for some reason has not done spring plowing (the farmer was sick, his oxen sick, occupied with too much other work, too little winter rains, etc.). The fields are thus plowed once in the winter, and then left fallow all next summer. When the rains set in, the seed is spread (in spite of a considerable stand of grass and weeds on the field), and the field is plowed once over, in consequence of which most of the weeds die. This is not as good as wexhke warê, but better than

(3) Tovra kal (new, immature), in which the field is not given a fallow year. The farmer waits for the first winter rains. After the earth is soaked, the field is plowed once. Some times the seed is spread and the field is cross-plowed as soon as possible. A better procedure is to wait for more rains, some 20 days or so, and then seed and cross-plow. In the meantime, some of the grasses and other wild plants will have sprout and resumed growing; these are because weeded out. Most of the work connected with tovra kal is done in the middle of the winter, in rain, sleet, or even snow, and involves considerable discomfort. Furthermore, the plants being later to develop, they suffer more from locusts; and the fertility of the land

● 2.91 a reduced from not being given a fallow year. The same field can not be used
3.11 as corn land for any longer period of time.

Essentially, then, the pattern is one of alternate year fallow and alternate year grain crop. Since no other major crop is raised on this type of dry, un-irrigated land, any pattern of rotation is impossible. Cow dung, being a major source of fuel, is not available as fertilizer. The constant plowing, in addition to making the land able to absorb and retain the moisture of the winter rains, should also be useful in building up the humus by burying the weeds that develop.

APPENDIX B: A conflict involving revenge.

6.25 The closest approximation to an actual bloodfeud which I observed in progress was concerned with the rights to land, and involved a small lineage which finds itself split between the two villages Tezgeh and Koni Sard, in Hawraman territory. The wronged party being considerably more willing to discuss the situation, the following account may be slightly biased in their favor.

Two brothers, A and B, grandfathers of the present contestants, and both residents of the village of Tezgeh, divided their father's land between them. A sold his field to a third person; B's son, Chattur, later bought it. A's son moved to the neighboring village of Koni Sard, where he worked as a landless laborer. Finally, A's grandson, Fatta, claimed the land back. Chattur, in possession of the land, expressed his willingness to sell; Fatta countered, saying that the crops of the past years were sufficient payment — a not uncommon argument. In the resulting quarrel, Fatta shot Chattur dead.

Kader, the son of Chattur, was then a very small boy, and Fatta was widely known as a competent craftsman, so nothing was done. After killing one more person, unconnected with the present conflict, Fatta became an outlaw.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) I940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation is roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated; - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 312 621

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dergala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Batas where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the Assyrian tenants were new arrivals in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alpine villages of the Bernese Oberland, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there does to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the cash incentive were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such uncleared land rest at present exclusively with the Agha. 428 311

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant occupiers and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the wheat harvest comes in 484 241

464 late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The much smaller rice harvest comes about the end of September. With less • 291 wheat and no rice, threshing could be finished by mid-september leaving labour free for the main work of the tobacco harvest. On the other hand the tobacco plant requires a good deal of finicky attention during the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest. It is possible therefore that any radical increase in the tobacco cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as between different households. Whereas at present each household has approximately the same programme of work, the situation would be greatly complicated if one man's land was devoted to tobacco and his neighbour's only to wheat. The difficulty could be avoided if all the tobacco cultivation were 'owned' by the Agha; - the commoner being under obligation to work for his Agha but not for a fellow commoner. Such a development would never be countenanced by the Government however since the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesman by his chief.*

249 648 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed to cereal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is prepared to supply seed and expert advice; so far as I know the process of drying does not require any special technical apparatus. The re-organisation of the irrigation system would of course be an initial 'capital' expenditure for the community concerned.

Technique. On the other hand the mere statement that Government is prepared to offer expert advice rather oversimplifies the social aspects of the technical problem. I have already mentioned that the native Kurdish tobacco cured in the traditional manner results in a powdery substance that is quite useless for the purposes of a modern factory. In order to produce a marketable product, the farmer has to be taught entirely new methods. The reformer is here up against several types of difficulty. Firstly there is a simple conservative resistance, the dislike of new methods, not simply because they are new but because the practitioner in the old methods thinks he knows best. But there are other difficulties of a much more intricate kind. Here is an example.

249 609 648 The Government are prepared to supply approved villages with a trained expert to supervise the growing and harvesting of tobacco. Such a man was supplied to the village of Balash. He was a Kurd, but a townsman from the plains and by mountain standards a man of low moral

* In Bates, where in functional terms the Assyrian Bishop takes the place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is owned by the Church, and difficulties over individual labour requirements thus avoided. But then a Christian Bishop is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Kewandoz

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Ploughing

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The technical equipment available for land cultivation is extremely rudimentary. The principal implement the plough (see photographs) is of the simplest possible type, though small details of design vary from village to village. The example illustrated comes from the Rayat district. The great advantage from the cultivator's point of view is its extreme lightness; it can be dismantled easily in a few moments and carried about by one man. This is of great importance where in order to reach some of the plots to be cultivated it may be necessary to fjord a stream or climb half way up a mountain. Thus despite its crudity of construction it is doubtful whether any more modern implement could fulfil the special requirements of the environment equally well. In the plains things are different. There in the big wheat areas capital expenditure on large scale mechanical equipment would be well worth while, but in the hills the individual plots of cultivation are so small and the inclines so steep that a small portable implement is essential.

The disadvantage of the existing hill country plough is its appalling slowness. The chief reason for this is that instrument makes a straight furrow and has no curved plough share to turn the soil over as in the European instrument. Each furrow is thus less than half as wide as that of an instrument which turns the soil over. But here again any immediate modification is difficult. To use the European instrument efficiently the land must be divided up into long rectangular strips so that the ploughman can go up one side and down the other. With a primitive straight furrow plough, such as the Kurdish, the ploughman returns on his own track so that it does not much matter how short in each individual furrow. The typical smallholdings resulting from the use of these different instruments are thus of different shape - with the European plough the typical smallholder's cultivation plot becomes as in France or Germany a long narrow strip; with the primitive instrument the typical plot is nearly square. Even if the existing Kurdish plough were to be improved so as to carry a curved blade, it probably could not usefully be employed without a considerable redistribution of existing land holdings. Thus though educated Kurds, when lamenting the backwardness of their people, tend to deplore most of all the primitive inefficiency of their equipment, it seems to me most

• It is of interest to note that the manufacturers of harvesting machinery seem to be unaware of the existence of Iraq. I discussed the matter with the landlord Agha of Imadeva, a village some twenty miles west of Erbil. He was a rich man with advanced ideas. He said that he was quite prepared to invest several thousand pounds in ploughs and harvesting machinery but that so far as he could discover there was only one firm of machinery makers with agents in Baghdad and they carried no spare parts.

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unlikely that there will be any outside modification of the existing type of plough, at any rate in the hill country.

Threshing

For threshing the hill people use no instrument at all; the cattle are merely walked round and round on the piled straw until the chaff is reduced to a fine dust and the straw then winnowed with a fork in a light wind (see photographs). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late October; any drastic change in the economic programme of the village - such as a switch over from rice to tobacco - must as I have shown be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very puzzling is that throughout the plains area, - where the wheat harvest is very large - use is made of a relatively advanced 'threshing machine'. This consists of a horse drawn sled (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for slicing up the chaff. The apparatus is very simple and yet, one would have thought, widely expensive. Yet the curious fact remains that this device is not found in the hill country around Rowanduz at all., though the advantages must be well known to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the wheat production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that so long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in November it was good enough. Whatever the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any rational extension of the tobacco cultivation.

Land Utilisation

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M8
K2

The actual lay-out of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Rice, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently sited, their position being determined by the lay-out of the irrigation system. The wheat on the other land is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram roughly the lay-out of cultivation in Balash at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow lies on one side of the stream and all the (1938) wheat area on the other. Nothing corresponding to this neat symmetry would be observed in the other villages I visited. It explains the fact however that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one piece; - in Balash obviously each working group must have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of re-allotting land to different individuals cultivators in successive years but my informants

[See page 75 - Map]

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decided this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of commoners must hold in separate plots at least the following:- one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of fallow. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my first hand evidence is very slight. As I have shown, it appears that so far as land is concerned the inheritance of the Kurds have scarcely even a nominal reference. Granted however that the Agha as landlord has a nominal right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land tenure among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Agha - this being true at least for Nalesh, Sayat and Dergala. I did not discover what particular individuals are concerned to work this cultivation or how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Nalesh this cultivation is not turned over to tobacco. Sheikh Mohammed actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with his enemy the Mir of Dergala was that the latter owing to better water supplies was also to grow so much more tobacco. Possible political reasons for this conservatism have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Kurdish point of view it just is not worth to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Aghas show remarkable intuitive foresight.

The Mill

An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Dergala, Sayat and Serge. Nalesh has none but there is one at Sayurtan. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very advanced. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked on a horizontal turbine and thus uses the "velocity" head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it dispenses of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were 'precision made' there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the crudity of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about ½ ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

The principal crops of the Kwanatum area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regime, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

Fig. 9. View north to town of the mountains of Kamiloon

The water (qanats) and [illegible]

[illegible] condition the siting of the villages. Some deep low-lying [illegible] Tajamu suggest the [illegible] use of qanats. Watercourses and springs are discussed to form basins for the finishing of water [illegible] for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals instruments (E. 234) and four ploughs[1], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The four ploughs was seen to use down by the Lower Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the village of Tajamu and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for [illegible] wine and dried as raisins. Around the villages of Sargalu, Bakhta and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are cows and oxen, yak, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, Pole, donkeys, fish, and mules, Asiatic, wild ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, asiy, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a rush bit[2]. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs used for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[3]. At 5 a.m. the cows are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkin that his wages were 20 lbs — 1d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 3 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are shipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Reapers are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a wooden-handled sickle, *dik*, (E. 2343) about 37 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *gayakê*,[36] (E. 2342) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[37]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *gurik*, (E. 2344) about 4.00 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a sheaf of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[38], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 3. Kurdish implements, sickle (E. 2343), claws (E. 2342), and hand-made rope (E. 2344).

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Fig. 1. Harness shoes from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnic Department. Left: Iran, Bakhtiari mountains (E. 2341). To the right, a carved wooden board with recess for shoe fingers, from the Caucasus (E. 575).

● 343 water from the clay roof of the house after rain. Threshing or the open threshing floors takes place from July to October[2]. It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the fully-hanged sheaves by oxen, domestic animals, such as donkeys, sheep, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was also used up in the mountains and on the Shahrivar plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

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Fig. 13. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flail-trodden corn. Tripolitania.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal so it is gradually trodden underfoot. The second method employs a machine, *jnjiri*, which can be called a threshing sledge[1], threshing cart[2] or threshing roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross rest. Between the side pieces, which are studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of assorted, flat-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[3]. These blades are so placed that the machine runs alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

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According to Hay[4] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

243 407 18A

a saw is general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Lorch, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill economy style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[1] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[2]. Differing native geography governs the use in Lorraine, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[3]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taffiq, the owner of the village of Tirqasra, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated on an altitude, whilst the horse-drawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sledge on the Qarkirkan plain between Sakrawand and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[4]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

243 B51

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, basalt or wood, placed in a store room[5]. Two forms of silo exist[6]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round covers as lids. The top opening is covered by a flat cover. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor on a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay ends with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of narrow glass and shells. According to Rudé[7] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[8]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain was sold in the village to whom was a well of carpentry and labour on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

B49

352 The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills is by stone and larger maintenance, as Lorch[9] concerning their construction.

480 384 B48

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, pl, has a plough-share, pshare, of iron but no earned mouldboard. The ard and beam are in one piece. In the example (C. 2240) that was brought home, the ard and the lower part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, handle, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a bow-plough, described by Ghib as a "yoked-ard"[10]. Wirth calls its type "Krummpflug" and compares it with the Tripolitanian plough[11] known from Arab tents. Cyprian, according to Wirth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppe, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[12]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish plough of antiquity from Dejbjerg and Vallberg, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Ekeberg-plough, has ard and handle in one piece while the beam or draught is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Wellsted[13], who calls it "Plough with complete beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from perch to perch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

VII

Extramural and nonhousehold urban environments has been mentioned together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sokomuni it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was hot for the day. The 4–5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but some of the women in the house preceding the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, loaves, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sokomuni bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. Water is delivered daily from outside. Some to be got in outside is fetched from the city by one of the lads, carried home on his head, stored under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 30 pot-ul cans, full cooking about 12 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the elders only. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and ejaculator, the basket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Ukhah* is made specially by the husband[?] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *Ukhah* would be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the city by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the smoking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. No extra task, exclusive to the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and cooking. It is put into sacks bleached together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on matspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain-cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The cleansed grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying and then all of it is sent to the grinder.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within each one or somebody else's house. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Eurd MAll

Chapter I

Subsistence and Livelihood

SUBSISTENCE

§1 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

• 2§1 2§2 2§4 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—600 mm., concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden produce of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the warmer villages with an active and innovated landowner.

3§1 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

4§1 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the peasant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from labourer to landowner is only concerned in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hours. The value of this thresher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 males working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a male with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The labourer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the labourer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such investments for the intermediary or the landowner. Consi-

534 previous discussion, and are indeed implicit in the systems of status
631 hierarchies. An attempt will be made to relate the various status positions to ideals expressed on each scales, and in the final paragraphs of the section to outline the main scales on which individuals may be rated.

ECONOMIC CLASSES

546 The village hierarchy of class differences, based on division of
631 labor and attendant differences in wealth, has been discussed above, pp. 20 ff. This hierarchy is, as we saw, produced primarily by the feudal principle of delegation of work on the land, and is conceptualized in terms of distinct social classes, each with traditionally defined rights and privileges in their relations to each other. Each class is thus a status category, and they are arranged in a hierarchy leading from *laborer* through *tenant farmer*, occasionally an *intermediary capitalist*, and culminating in the *landowner*. This is in itself a power hierarchy, since each superior status directly gives opportunity for control over persons of inferior status positions, within the traditional limits. The *freeholding farmer* class, on the other hand, occupies a status partly divorced from this immediate power hierarchy. Characteristically, where such freeholding farmers are found in a village partly controlled by a large landowner, every effort seems to be made on the part of the landowner to secure property rights also to the remaining fraction of land, and thus place all members of the community in the unambiguous hierarchy of control and power. Consequently freeholding farmers with property of any significance are generally found in tribally organized communities, and a dichotomy between only freeholding vs. only tenant communities generally holds true. *Freeholding farmers* as a class tend to be on a par with the *tenant farmer* class in the larger class system, and frequently control a small group of laborers, and in certain areas also the serf class, the *Mezkjin*. The main features of the reciprocal relations between these classes have been sketched previously.

546 The special position of the *shepherd* remains to be discussed. He
631 is essentially a laborer, working for a stipulated annual payment in
• 595 kind (grain), but also receives a share of unborrowed breed daily
609

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1955 MAII Kurd MAII

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats used to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small peasant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
peasant farmers (incl. one mullah)	21	123
laborers	9	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named statuses, less closely hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Darwish, Shaikh, Seyyid, Mullah, and Mela.

Darwishes. The darwish religious fraternities (Tarekas), in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

36

any single village community.

462 The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, baked in thin sheets (nan), and a sour milk product of the yoghourt type (mast) to which by a curious alchemistic process of boiling the whole sheep's milk and then churning it, a sort of butterless butter (mast) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and grain. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Each land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as melons, tomatoes, gherkins, brinjal, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

283 311 [649]

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would overwhelm in the gastronomic map if it could be economically cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the nan if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Shaikh Mohammed of Balisan and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Balisan was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very unscientifically arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Upper purchase additional supplies of corn from outside so as to be able always to secure p'lau as their favorite method of eating.

437 433 In former times this bare self-sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. For commodities had to be imported clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the village called Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of peas, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this we see presumably part of the peas crop in transit.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Rural MAll
Rowandut

If

Ind. this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of commoners must hold in separate plots at least the following:- one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of fallow. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my field evidence is very slight. As I have stated, it appears that as far as land is concerned the rights of the Kavas have severely cross a cognatic reference. Granted however that the Ashe as landlord has a residual right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land tenure among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Ashe - this being true at least for Nalanda, Bagoe and Dongola. I did not discover what particular individuals are concerned in the cultivation, nor how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Nalanda rice cultivation is not turned over to tribesmen. Nalanda himself actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with his enemy the Ashe of Dongola was that the latter owing to better water supplies was able to grow so much more tobacco. Possible political reasons for this concentration have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Nalanda point of view it just is not worth to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Ashes show remarkable intuitive foresight.

The Mill

An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Dongola, Bagoe and Dongo. Nalanda has none but there is one at Kagoshima. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very efficient. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked on a horizontal turbine and thus uses the "velocity" head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it dispenses of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were "precision made" there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the crudity of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about 2 ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 WAII Kurd WAII
Rowanduz

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407

[Opposite p 74- E]

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

• 243

Plate 11.
Skimming Kurd Village

322

Plate 12.
The [illegible] on a skimming kick

[opposite page 79 - F]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MAll
Iraq

• 243

Grain is still broadcast by hand and reaped with a sickle. The first handful is presented to a reaper-by—who must accept it and offer in return a gold or silver coin as a token of thanksgiving

[59 A]

The principal crops of the Rowanduz area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

not found just as strongly in the illiterate Ba'ath peasant of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In Rowandiz all of the wealthier homes have their gardens, surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be entertained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular garden near Rowandiz is that of Hajji Muhammed 'Ali Agha of Zindian, whose house is built over the course of an icy mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel through the plot itself. The agha boasts fruits chilled in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and children of the house, in addition to playing there, are held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater inroads on the produce than those they are set to guard against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, always to be found on the first floor and more or less open to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the hostess of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in the ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of water and rice, sheets of bread baked into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the rice[1], and, rarely, fried eggs, kéfir, consuming in fasten, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only on an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, above 100 F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *Pilaf*, rice, steamed in butter[2], with which is served one or two kinds of savoury thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled; split, covered with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[3], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and mixed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kébáb*—not the Turkish kind[4] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. Three bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bámjá*[5] or ladies' fingers, and *bádjján* or eggplant[6] play glorious, brinjal, bottle, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[7] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in water at the morning meal and also given as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Tripoura, Sokolovani and Bukhty is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[8]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various savouries were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are squares of metal or of wood, about 0.223-0.243 m. long (E. 2246, 47, 48), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damji rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of food are served they are placed

[illegible]

[illegible]

0: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 WAII Kurd WAII
Rowanduz

In
any single village community.

The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is wheatmeal bread, eaten in this state (nan), and a sour milk product of the yoghourt type (mast) in addition to a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (pelaw) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary plain would be with a sweet vegetable or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and goats. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Both land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as onions, pumpkins, tomatoes, lentils, etc. is very approximately one tenth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would undoubtedly be the preferred crop if it could be economically cultivated. The rice yield is values is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the land is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing the rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'law) for the mess if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Shaikh Mohammed of Balook and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Balook was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very satisfactorily arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'law to their guests instead of mess.

In former times this here self sufficiency in primary products was of great benefit to the economics of the community. Raw materials for the local industries were almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of mash, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land to here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the mash crop is traded.

The principal crops of the Kuwandwa area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel matlock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nesterians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

Fig. 1 View from a house of the mountains of Kurdistan

The arable land and fields

311 condition the siting of the villages. Some steep hillsides (5 a 10% or 10 degrees) support the forest
341 cover of gentle. Watercourses and springs are clustered to form basins for the drinking of water and
for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging
these canals mattocks (E. 244) and iron ploughs[1], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The
iron plough was seen in use down by the Lower Zab on the terraced river fields. Around the villages
of Topzawa and Kalawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have
occasional groves of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for
● 245 most and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Bargalu, Bellbo and Tawella, which have ample
water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are hens
231 and cows, yak, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, dogs, donkeys, fish, and snakes, lizards, with
ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, only, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[2]. There are also
big, yellow sheep dogs and fat breeding (white pig and boar) Persian greyhounds[3]. At 5 a.m. the cows
233 are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day
the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

CHAPTER III

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

These forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one comparable, the two others dominant. 342

The comparable form is the black tent, *reshaff*, the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Edelberg[1] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the leaf hut, *kāpān*, only erected for a single summer's habitation, and the permanent house, *shkō* or *mall*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Tergawar and Rekawn at the beginning of June when the summer, *hāwīn*, really begins. They are erected on the *shaliān*'s harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top converge in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones rank around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks or beams on the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To have the walls also extend reaching from the ground to the roof are small laid the ends in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[2], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have flooring or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent homes, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger home. [343]

It is said that in the trading centre of Tsmelle, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, 346
whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had 321
no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. They mentioned that "in Shaqlawa 345
booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[3], but does not further describe them.

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat 342
clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the gabled roof of the Turks). In the mountains 354
near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, later, the walls of the houses are built

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23 -- Analysis]

000 wheat sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

439 277 Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'dags' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq, but unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

• 295 Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlanders never use, one is delighted with grape-vines green the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs flows under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

[273] Were Sulaimaniya provided with transport, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

559 181 181

L: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1850) 1891
MA11 Rare MA11

consumption, all of which are classed in the aggregate [illegible]

[illegible] As Suleymanieh, the Kirdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harimlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of tasty leaves shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Snow, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *takardaks*, or houses, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[illegible] Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kurdish boys their wives in remarkable costumes, bk. iv. chap. iii.

77

employed by the government, and those without work at all. 443

Bakers	8
Barbers	3
Blacksmiths	2
Bookbinders	2
Bricklayers	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (bezaz)	29
Cobblers	6
Drivers	3
Farriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	12
Hotel-owner (ghenati)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (zing) ... variable:	30-50
Laborers ... variable:	30-50
Landowners ...	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Policemen	3
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Smokers of meat (tebeltig)	2
Soapmakers	6
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tea-shop owners	10
Threshing	2
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	3

It is an interesting characteristic of Rawandum that no person living in the town is directly employed in agriculture or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay claim to agricultural lands or pastures, although a dozen or so persons living therein own such property. There are, to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators, seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday

241 [211]

[347]

installations in Rowanduz, the air of the commandatsara office is heavy with tobacco smoke and the floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the mirmuraw.

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the canal, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the mirmuraw's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time assures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings.

84

The principal crops of the Rwandan area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving cows around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Roetarians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and the regular collection of taxes. If the land is cultivated, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the tenure, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of efficiency, but it has quantitatively experienced an administration far different from that of the Turks or the chieftains.

If the changes of the last fifty years which have taken place in Kurdish life are reviewed, it cannot be said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from the society, the areas of discord are few in number. Items of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods, for this dependency on foreign products has apparently been known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the district has, of course, conditioned versatility, but it has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life within the family, and religion almost nothing of a structural nature has been altered or replaced. The locus of modification, then, has been in the economy and the society, for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy,

a can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[49] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[50]. Fellberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[51]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifur, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shekrisar plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, while the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[52]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

"The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of reduced clay, *kandi* or *wenk*, placed in a store room[53]. Two forms of silo exist[54]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as lid. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and shine. According to Reich[55] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[56]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carrycloth and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by creeks and larger watercourses; see Leach[57] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *fit*, has a plough-share, *pisin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kerpit*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a bow-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[58]. Worth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Tripolitanian plough[59] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Worth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[60]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish plough of antiquity from Hesnaes and Vebbestrup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dronup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Hadidy[61], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Tepsawa. Side and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2340).

is also stressed by Leach[49]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[50].

The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-moldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[51]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as in the case when transporting corn from the field to the house—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[52]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

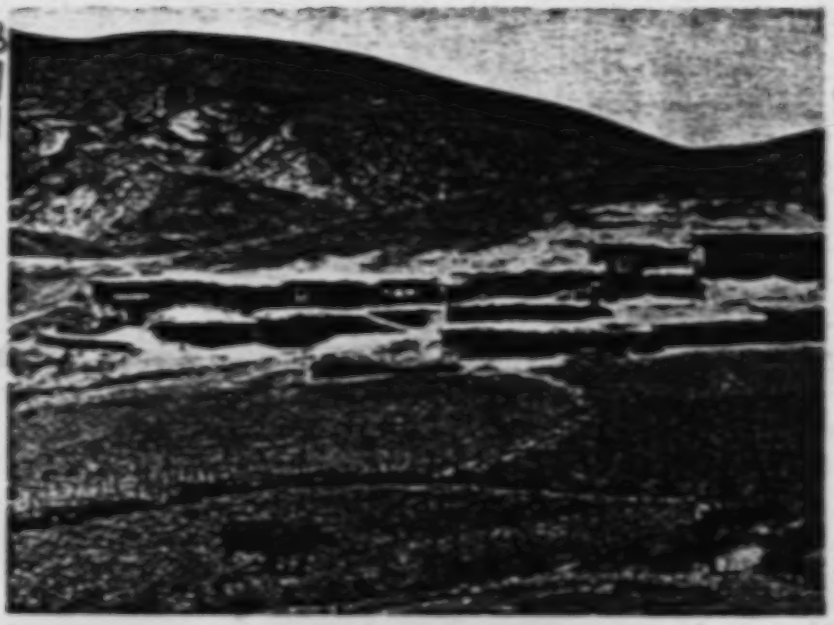

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Tegnere.

Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized. So far as I could discover the tobacco cannot be used for

Tobacco, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the ally in the town. They are placed in vertical grooves on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2345).

Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an aghil or aguyil. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sokimani on the Soukhna plain. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adile's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sokimani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Lundell, a manager "Issikka", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tegnere, Rakana, Bergale and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

5; Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and sun-dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

7: Barth E-: (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

As contrasted to grain, where most of the work comes either in winter plowing or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation tak constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation systemof tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The low of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided forthe animals, so thus very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

The characteristics of subsistence and available techniques should to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the households. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the addition... ...actor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land codes, tribal political organization, or de-facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the farmer is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional usufruct rights, and b/ land on which

stipulated, e. g. for reaping 1/6 of the wheat crop, 1/1 of barley for plowing, food plus 100 fils/day (= 2 shillings) or 150 fils/day and no food.

The large landowner may rent out the rigths to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

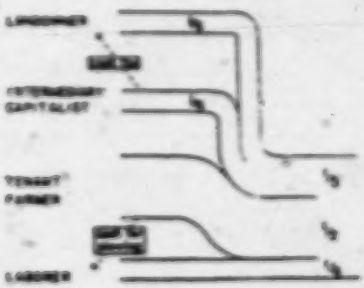

Diagram No. 1. Shares in division of a cereal crop.

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/3 of the crop on un-irrigated land.

At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a tenant village will consequently consist of 5—10 men, in part made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it to the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

Attending to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either tend it each in turn, or one man among them may take on the major responsibility.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part. 464 249 243

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES. 565 241

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the tenant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from laborer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hours. The value of this thresher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 mules working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a mule with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The laborer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the laborer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such «investment» for the intermediary or the landowner. Conceiv-

probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth. 609

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil. 758

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred. 695 249

The independent judiciary functions through its court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Mudir (sub-district magistrate) and then before the Qa'im Maqam (district magistrate) before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil. 635 692

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Rowanduz. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Kurds and Turks and is thus in general inclination Kurdo-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Iraqi-Arabs whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Kurd" can be taken for granted. 635 701 578

The liwa is divided into several districts (khaas) each presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Maqam). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Khaas of Rowanduz. The Qa'im Maqam is responsible for his district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for his liwa. 635

The Khaas in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Balik tribe all reside within the nahiya Balik - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Dergala on the other hand is administered from Rowanduz.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the venality of these junior officials which is the worst feature of the system, and which is the real source of

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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Effects of an Increase in Tobacco Cultivation

276 The Kurds are inveterate smokers and have cultivated their own
• 249 varieties of tobacco for several centuries. Though these particular varieties are still the preferred smoke for the Kurds themselves, they have little or no trade value owing to the crumbly nature of the leaf. In recent years however a number of modern cigarette factories have been started in and around Baghdad, thus creating a good market for a better class leaf. In the main this market is satisfied by the more sophisticated Kurdish areas such as Sulaimani, but the tribesmen of the Rowanduz district are also slowly beginning to adapt their production to the new conditions. In this they receive encouragement from the Government and the factory owners who supply free seed and instruction to those who want it; this service by the Government is of course more than recouped by the ultimate excise on the resulting product.

311 Under these new conditions the improved tobacco leaf has a cash
249 value proportionately vastly in excess of that of wheat or rice. In terms of a money economics it would be sensible to increase the area of land devoted to the production of tobacco at the expense of that devoted to wheat and rice.

Furthermore since, other things being equal, the area of tobacco cultivation would again only be limited by the supply of irrigation water available, the logical thing to do would be to abolish the rice cultivation altogether and substitute tobacco, both on the rice land itself and also on much of the wheat land - (tobacco requiring less water than rice). This development has actually taken place in certain of the lowland villages, notably in the Assyrian community round Batas, and the resulting financial advantage has been very marked; but in the Balik area the increase in tobacco acreage seems so far to have been very slight. In the highest villages such as Khalan and Rayat climatic conditions are probably unfavourable, but lower down in the valleys around Harga and Dergala where tobacco and rice are at present grown side by side there seems to be no immediate technical reason why the former crop should not be expanded. There would of course be certain difficulties in connection with the re-organisation of the water courses, and there is the problem of specialist training in tobacco cultivation but in the main it would appear that the problems involved are social rather than technical. If it were possible for every individual tenant to grow tobacco in equal quantities the transition to a modern cash economy might be simple. But in practice the existing tenancy rights are such that any extension of the tobacco cultivation must affect unequally different sections of the community - those whose land is converted to the new cultivation benefiting at the expense of the rest. We may analyse the problem in economic form in terms of the factors of production involved.

000 Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Lake. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation is roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated; - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 • 312 621

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dargala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Bata where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the Assyrian tenants were new arrivals in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alpine villages of the Bernese Oberland, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there does to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the cash incentive were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'right' over such uncleared land rest at present exclusively with the Agh. 423 311

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant occupiers and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the wheat harvest comes in 464 241

464 late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The
291 much smaller rice harvest comes about the end of September. With less wheat and no rice, threshing could be finished by mid-september leaving labour free for the main work of the tobacco harvest. On the other hand the tobacco plant requires a good deal of finicky attention during the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest. It is possible therefore that any radical increase in the tobacco cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as between different households. Whereas at present each household has approximately the same programme of work, the situation would be greatly complicated if one man's land was devoted to tobacco and his neighbour's only to wheat. The difficulty could be avoided if all the tobacco cultivation were 'owned' by the Agha; - the commoner being under obligation to work for his Agha but not for a fellow commoner. Such a development would never be countenanced by the Government however since the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesman by his chief.*

• 249 648 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed to cereal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is prepared to supply seed and expert advice; so far as I know the process of drying does not require any special technical apparatus. The re-organisation of the irrigation system would of course be an initial 'capital' expenditure for the community concerned.

Technique. On the other hand the mere statement that Government is prepared to offer expert advice rather oversimplifies the social aspects of the technical problem. I have already mentioned that the native Kurdish tobacco cured in the traditional manner results in a powdery substance that is quite useless for the purposes of a modern factory. In order to produce a marketable product, the farmer has to be taught entirely new methods. The reformer is here up against several types of difficulty. Firstly there is a simple conservative resistance, the dislike of new methods, not simply because they are new but because the practitioner in the old methods thinks he knows best. But there are other difficulties of a much more intricate kind. Here is an example.

249 609 648 The Government are prepared to supply approved villages with a trained expert to supervise the growing and harvesting of tobacco. Such a man was supplied to the village of Walash. He was a Kurt, but a townsman from the plains and by mountain standards a man of low moral

* In Betas, where in functional terms the Assyrian Bishop takes the place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is owned by the Church, and difficulties over individual labour requirements thus avoided. But then a Christian Bishop is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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character; it was alleged that he corrupted the villagers with alcohol and gambling and attempted to seduce their daughters, in particular the Malla's daughter, in fact he was altogether a scoundrel. In due course he was found in the high road with two bullets through his body. The police took action. Two harmless looking nomads from another tribe were brought before the courts and on the basis of somewhat elaborate circumstantial evidence convicted of murder. Sentence however was never carried out since the "criminals" curiously disappeared a few days after the trial. Whatever was the truth of this matter, local rumour had no doubts on the subject. The bullet wounds, the arrest and conviction of the nomads were all a frame up by the police, who had the sense not to fish in troubled waters. The murdered man had really died of strangulation - hanged in the Guest House of Sheikh Mohammad, Agha of Walash and chief of the Balik.

This story was told me by Hamid Amin of Hasparism who was always eager to cast a slur on his cousin Sheikh Mohammad. It appeared however to have some general currency since, when I was discussing the maladministration of the local schoolmaster with the Agha of Rayat, he referred to the Walash story. "These small Government servants! What do you expect? They're all scoundrels".

Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant, its effect among the Balik is the same as if it had been true. Even though Sheikh Mohammad's prestige is not so great as formerly, the fact, or even the rumour, that he had to hang his first and only agricultural adviser is a sufficient deterrent for any lesser Aghas who may be contemplating agricultural reform within their own communities. This example brings out well how a problem which on the surface is purely economic may in practice be affected by a mass of seemingly irrelevant considerations in the field of ethics, tribal law, politics and religion.

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To sum up then. We have seen how the necessity for developing an export trade implies the necessity for increasing the tobacco acreage at the expense of cereal acreage, and I have tried to analyse out the forces of resistance which serve to prevent any immediate response to this incentive. Nevertheless the incentive is clearly very great. I was told for instance in Batas that whereas in the old days the crops of the entire village had been worth barely £50 in cash, the tobacco sales in 1937 alone totalled £2,500. I believe therefore that in the hills also some radical alteration in the emphasis of agriculture must take place in the near future.

But it must be recognised that any such development must bring about fundamental changes both in the ideology of the people and of their social organisation. As things are, the hill country farmer sets out first of all to grow sufficient food for himself and his family. Only when he is assured of that does he turn his attention to the cultivation of luxury products such as tobacco. In short he aims at

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

433 being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
• 299 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is so enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the Baghdad market, - hardly a desirable development.

299 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation
427 may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents.
435 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added exasperation that the commoner who trades tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

249 On the analogy with the lowland areas the ultimate line of
622 evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill; thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

299 From the Government's point of view such a development is not
464 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is miri land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

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by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial 249 •
developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds 464
of the Erbil liwa. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole. 421 437

In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different communers, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.* 463 286 184

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shevdini of Bayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no 223 463 [609] 184

* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowandus and Erbil.

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Pr Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

641 considered to be characteristic of the central Iranian Government.

OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBES

If the Soviets kept their overt interference to a minimum in order to reconcile the tribes to the regime, they were certainly unsuccessful. In addition to historical, social, and religious reasons for the tribes' opposition to the Soviet-supported government, there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish tribesmen depended largely on their tobacco crop for their livelihood, and now that their market in the rest of Iran was cut off they suffered considerable hardship. In certain areas food supplies already strained had to be shared with the destitute Barzanis, who had long outworn their welcome.

This tribal discontent was at its strongest in the south where the deceased Qaranei Agha's son, Mam Aziz, chief of the Mamesh, along with his ally, Bayazid Agha of the Mangur, so openly opposed Qazi Mohammad that the Soviet vice-consul finally came down from Rezaieh and threatened to have the Barzanis sent against them. When Mam Aziz continued to resist, the Barzanis did indeed attack him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his tribesmen. From Rezaieh north, the tribes looked to the leadership of Amr Khan Shikak, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and for the time being was keeping aloof in Zindasht, his mountain capital southwest of Shahpur. The only tribes Qazi Mohammad could count on were the Gawrik of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Zeza, in the Ushnuieh region. Even Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis did not get on with Qazi Mohammad, who was no longer able to feed them.

668 Thus it was that Qazi Mohammad, in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitude of the Tehran Government, found himself almost without support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and matériel, in the fall of 1946 Qazi Mohammad was still without either heavy weapons or trained men, or indeed any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly obvious, Qazi sent frantic messages to the tribes, his only hope, say-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The country houses of the Kürds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *bóza*, a liquor called *nardenk*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.[1]

At Sulieemanieh, the Kûrdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harimlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his '*Anabasis*', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kardoni kept their wine in cemented cisterns, bk. iv. chap. ii.

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashiya) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Ewrikana, and Ashi Baybukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawa and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Lesch, 1940, pp. 69-70.

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eltaits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a shaykhana. The bus from Rowandus to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them.

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The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a shaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a shaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from travellers in the town who could find no other place to eat.

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The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is

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unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the woman, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [957]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296]

In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 443 556

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shiwi sarew, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallised lemon, limun duni, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverised "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of undulant fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

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it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Fridberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifür, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandü* or *amär*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *Jit*, has a plough-share, *gäsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *hawjär*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Worth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Worth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

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342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the *hammām*, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *hayvān* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an [251] iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that rotated on a pivot stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accomodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which [252] was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [252] oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[20] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[21] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taifūr's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

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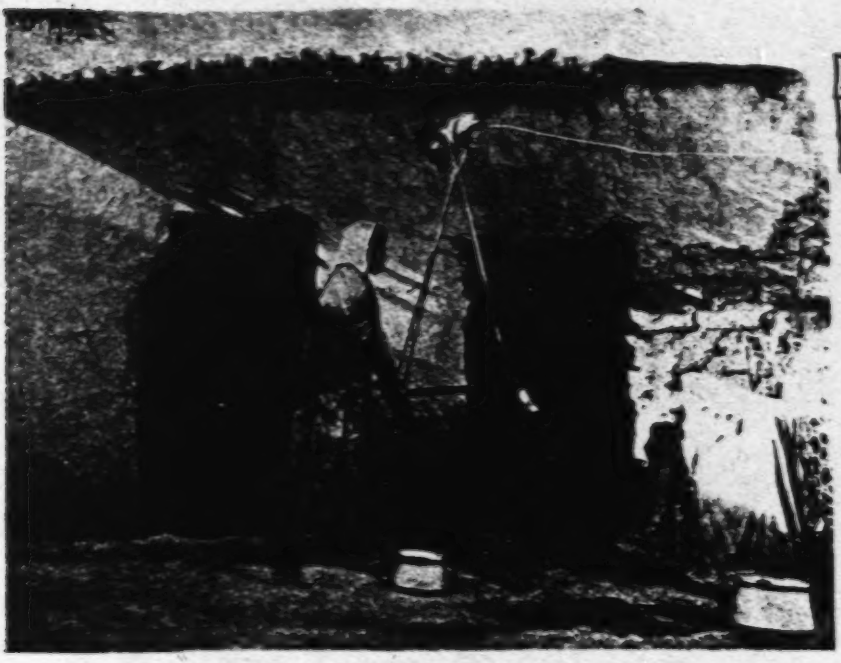
the wall of the cookhouse or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard; it could also be hung up on a tripod, *sepê*, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[48] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *rewgan*[49].

Fig. 36. Woman churning. The leather sack made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Topzawa.



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The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūġ*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčāk*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūġ* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sāq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *libdāl*, (E. 2256) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samāwar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar waisted tea glasses about 5 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sāq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces in a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

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The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *čay*, sheets of bread folded into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[38], and, rarely, fried eggs, *hêka*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[39], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[40], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[41] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmiyê*[42] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdinjân* or eggplant[43] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[44] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Balkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[45]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the sauce bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225–0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

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The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the courthouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dog sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are hld to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 265
implement (tika). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

detailed, examination will show. 262

Meat is used in the larger household almost every day. Beef is rare, as is the biryani, a whole roasted lamb 262 252 stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, and spices, only appearing on the occasion of great feasts, such as the [585] marriage of a chieftain's daughter. On the other hand, smaller quantities of lamb, mutton, or goat-meat, charcoal broiled on iron skewers (kabab, if diced, and tika, if whole pieces of flesh and fat), are everyday favorites. The same type of meat is also prepared as a stew with the addition of vegetables, and, diced and mixed with rice, used to stuff cucumbers, grape leaves, marrow, and tomatoes which are baked. Chicken and chikaw, the mountain partridge, are generally boiled, and the broth is served as a soup. Eggs are either fried in oil or boiled. Most of this cooking is accompanied with a great quantity of gi, clarified butter or vegetable oil, although in summer the townspeople try to avoid greasy foods.

Bread and rice have great importance, some of the latter produced locally, but the better grades imported from Iran. Rice must first be washed to remove dirt and pebbles, while a strong fire is built in the earthen cooking pit. A metal pot is placed over the flames and a quantity of oil and water are added. When this mixture boils, the rice is poured in and the whole is left until most of the liquid has boiled off. When this point is reached, the larger pieces of firewood are removed, and the pot is allowed to

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 952 262
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [263] puqlawa, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [853] and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234] brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dandoq, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favored in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavored with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shiwi sayaw, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallised lemon, limun duzi, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverised "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamon seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of undulant fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

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291
301
252
516
415

Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 43).

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a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[32], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababaile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and malik (king) of Kurdistan.

[93]

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

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responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

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The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 5. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

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it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Fellberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Tailfir, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horse-drawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizor plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kawdl* or *awdr*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *Jiz*, has a plough-share, *gâsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *hawjik*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Werth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Werth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, *adaptation*, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

[3C9]

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin 312 lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. 343 Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

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The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the 342 courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the niche-like, three-walled *liwan*. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

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[Text continues top of p. 34--analyst]

349 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the hammām, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was unpaved when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two easternmost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open keyside by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door, situated on a great stone lid set on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a medium jar-shaped baking [352] oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [362] oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[a] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a few of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, found on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one post.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[b] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taiba's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, chintzy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of this veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

wages from the work at the Hakan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophones.

A quite small house in the village of Bekhe has been chosen as an example of the house round the side of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 5 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short, horizontal beams, nor was it disturbed, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Bekhe peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Cicero is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable sunlight as dignified on the floor as in the chair"[1]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a smoking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the saucepan, circular iron sheet, saj or sâwa, on which the bread sheets, sâc, was baked were placed on the fire. The modern pie-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or in immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down to the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The barrier in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheepdog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

Fig. 38. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 39. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The house now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the sūq with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this house consisted of two wives, 35 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 20, 13, 8, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 23, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Shaikh's property at Tuqaren, the house was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

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in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no stool furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent banquet, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

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appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hawīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, water, *āw*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xīle-dān*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumek*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

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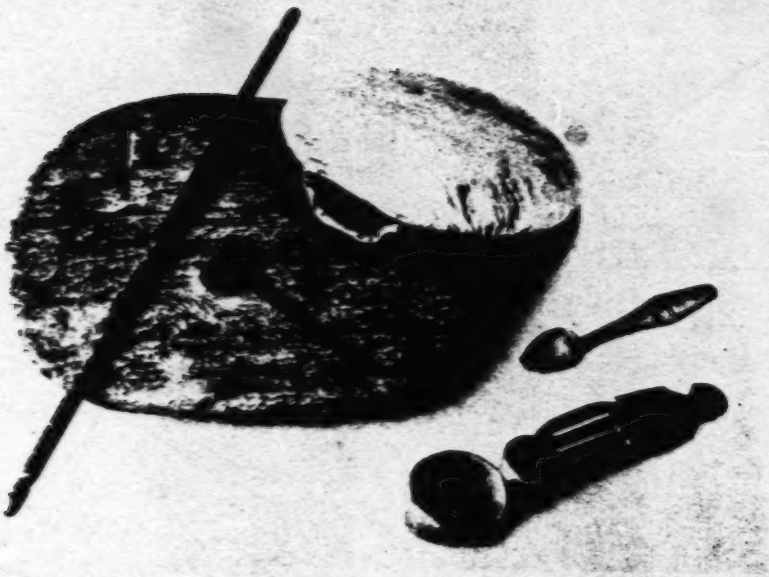

Fig. 34. Baking implements: table (E. 2261), rolling stick (E. 2263), baking pillow (E. 2264), and iron spoon (E. 2265). Small wooden spoon for eating (E. 2269) and wooden ladle for drinking (E. 2268).

252 oven, *tandir*[33], or on an iron sheet, *tāwa*[34] or *sāj*. In both cases the woman, who squats on the floor, uses a low baking table, *pīnu*[35], cut out in one piece from a large block of wood producing a thick, rectangular sheet with rounded corners and a slightly convex surface, supported by four short legs or blocks narrowing towards the floor (E. 2661. sheet 0.365×0.250, height 0.07 m. – E. 2262. sheet 0.50×0.42, height 0.10 m.).

[496] When baking in the earth oven several women, as a rule three, work together[36]. The lumps of dough are rolled out with a rolling pin, a thin wooden stick about 70 cm. in length, *tirāq* (E. 2263)[37], decorated at both ends by 6–7 incised flutes all round. The two women use this implement to roll the dough into quite thin pancakes. During this process the sheet of dough is often lifted from the baking table by means of the stick, more flour being strewn on the surface before the dough is put back to be rolled out still thinner. The skill of the women was evinced in proportion to the thinness to which they could roll out the dough.

The dough is then lifted up, hanging over the stick, and placed on the "baking pillow", *mauk* (?), which is shaped like a thick, rectangular pillow and made of cloth. On the one side is an opening

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through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[39].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandūr* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[39]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sibād*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tāwa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[40]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[41], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *haltzā* or *kbā* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Balkha, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, *šīr*, is never used raw[42]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flatbottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *mâst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *mâst* or curds. A clay vase, *dāza*, (E. 2260), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

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Fig. 35. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Topzawa.

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[43]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[44].

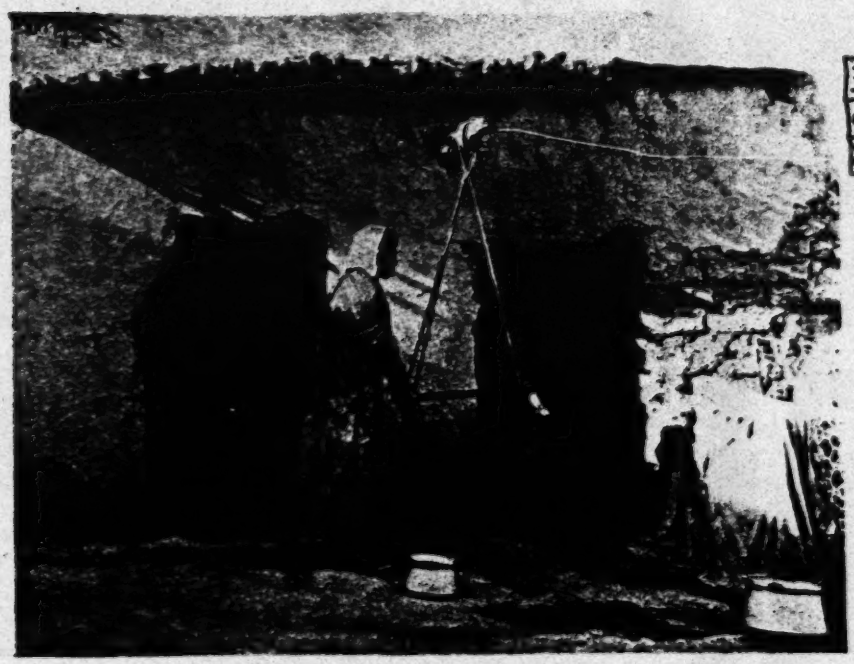
Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[45], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *kere*, is churned[46]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *mašk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[47] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the wall of the cookhouse or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard; it could also be hung up on a tripod, *sepd*, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[48] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *rowgan*[49].

Fig. 36. Woman churning. The leather sack made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Topzawa.



4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dûġ*. It is a beverage inferior to *mâstâw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *mâstâw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčik*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dûġ* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sûq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxâna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *lihâkâ*, (E. 2256) about 1.50×0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samôvar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar waisted tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sûq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces in a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *čay*, sheets of bread folded into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[38], and, rarely, fried eggs, *hilka*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *birinj*, rice, steamed in butter[39], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[40], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[41] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmiyâ*[42] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdinjân* or eggplant[43] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[44] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Balkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[45]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the sauce bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225–0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the coolhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dug sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4–5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sûq* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[73] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sûq* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

554 normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The 788 two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be 292 hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained 788 pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban [565] milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy [292] area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet- [718] covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safâ* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafât which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as [262] in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The [252] dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

788 Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended 527 that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children 857 in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5–6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
571 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apart-
[594] ments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other houses. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Østrup[23] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his house is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a sunken, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the convex iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the house only made purchases in the *sūq* and then only of material, never, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[24].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ur-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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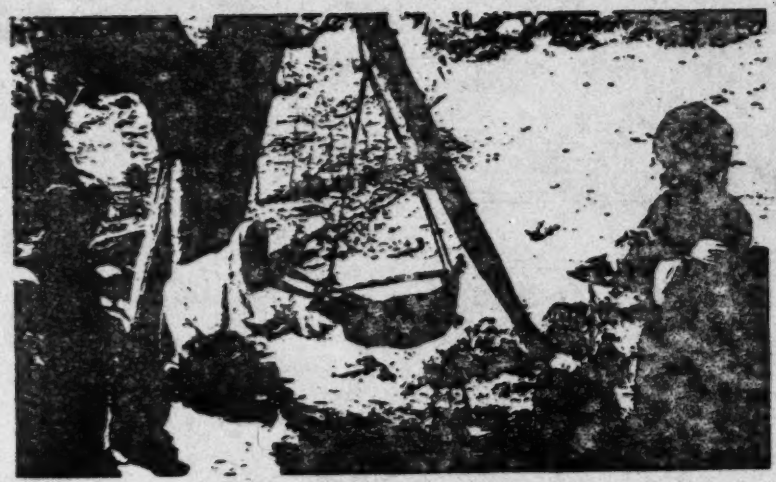

Plate 5.
Food. Girl churning mast, an operation normally carried out at early dawn.

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Plate 6.
Food. A visitor takes his meal. The food consists of thin bread (nan); rice soup; saua pilaw; ghee, and, as drink, mastao (watered-down mast). Note that shoes have been removed before sitting down to eat. Note also the bowl of lump sugar beside the teacups in the background.

[Opposite page 74 - C]

elicits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a chaykhana. The bus from Rowanduz to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them. 265 554 [562] [494]

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a chaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a chaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from transients in the town who could find no other place to eat. 265 [262]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is 253 [251]

carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or kotchir, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of Jayjani Ramazan (the 'Ayd al-saghir, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and Jayjani Qurban (the 'Ayd al-kabir, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fishermen and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the bazar at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with chikaw

and valley according to the seasons. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashing) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlakaw, and Ashi Baykhukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Barir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

fixed and suckled about a metal skewer (isheh) or alternated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same implement (sikk). A charcoal fire is prepared in a rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze, until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a sirdikang. As with the butcher, one must place a request on the day preceding, for after noontime the kebabchi has often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique involves equipping the children of the house, either of baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or millowners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge, flat bottomed tub.

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened clay, is a large beehive-shaped [illegible], open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East, bread or nan is treated with almost religious reverence, and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Discovering this, some of the British troops stationed in Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about their messroom floor. In Rowandus, it is customary when a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which was observed in the streets several times.

The hotel, khan or serraserra, is reached through a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant. It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up

[1]Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, 'aysh, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows: 443 434 [427] [265] [256]

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per annum	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven 443 511

311 241 421 denied this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of commoners must hold in separate plots at least the following:- one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of fallow. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my first hand evidence is very slight. As I have shown, it appears that so far as land is concerned the injunctions of the Koran have scarcely even a nominal relevance. Granted however that the Agha as landlord has a nominal right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land tenure among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

243 671 The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Agha - this being true at least for Walash, Rayat and Dergala. I did not discover what particular individuals are conscripted to work this cultivation or how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Walash this cultivation is not turned over to tobacco. Sheikh Mohammad actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with his enemy the Mir of Dergala was that the latter owing to better water supplies was also to grow so much more tobacco. Possible political reasons for this conservatism have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Kurdish point of view it just is not sense to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Aghas show remarkable intuitive foresight.

The Mill

256 402 An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Dergala, Rayat and Nerga. Walash has none but there is one at Nanpurdan. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very advanced. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked as a horizontal turbine and thus uses the 'velocity' head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it disposes of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were 'precision made' there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the crudity of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about ½ ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Where possible the driving water is obtained by diverting some main stream. This is done at Nauperdan, Bayat and Merga and the operation of the mill then has no effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the cultivation on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some friction arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good kicking from the Agha for cutting the dyke during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hastily thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a near relative of the Agha. In Nauperdan it is the Agha himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the Agha. The terms are in effect that the owner of the wheat hires the mill at a fixed charge for each sack of corn ground. The man who owns the wheat himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The millowner merely obtains a rental for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with up-to-date apparatus in the towns, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the trouble involved in carrying the wheat to Rowanduz and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In outlying districts at any rate then the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

Weaving

"The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the cloth loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "beater in" suspended from a rigid rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 10½ inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. Thus from specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trouserings of commoners, has Warp 19; Weft 22 threads

"The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not considered here since its social relevance seems insignificant.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

1; Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kūrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 262 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is [263] called *djadjk*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

241 The dress of Kūrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gugerat or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *bish*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *libardé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kūrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *tchurókia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from [301] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kūrdish lady. Notwith-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KŪRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kūrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kūrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by *imāms* of their own race, Kūrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kūrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kūrds. To the latter they are,

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The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, chikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salamu aleykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa aleykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodnes of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakhan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

265 576 265 [415] [272] [262] [443] [524] 353 265

elicits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a chaykhana. The bus from Rowanduz to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them. 265 554 [562] [494]

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a chaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a chaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from transients in the town who could find no other place to eat. 265 [262]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is 253 [251]

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 265
implement (tika). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened clay, is a large beehive-shaped affair with its round, open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East, bread or nan is treated with almost religious reverence, and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Discovering this, some of the British troops stationed in Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about their messroom floor. In Rowanduz, it is customary when a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which was observed in the streets several times.

256 [354] 262 ● [735]

The hotel, khan or garvansara, is reached through a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant. It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up 485

[1]Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, 'aysh, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision. 443 556

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more 264 262 [263]

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detailed, examination will show.

Meat is used in the larger household almost every day. Beef is rare, as is the biryani, a whole roasted lamb stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, and spices, only appearing on the occasion of great feasts, such as the marriage of a chieftain's daughter. On the other hand, smaller quantities of lamb, mutton, or goat-meat, charcoal broiled on iron skewers (kabab, if diced, and tika, if whole pieces of flesh and fat), are everyday favorites. The same type of meat is also prepared as a stew with the addition of vegetables, and, diced and mixed with rice, used to stuff cucumbers, grape leaves, marrow, and tomatoes which are baked. Chicken and chikaw, the mountain partridge, are generally boiled, and the broth is served as a soup. Eggs are either fried in oil or boiled. Most of this cooking is accompanied with a great quantity of gi, clarified butter or vegetable oil, although in summer the townspeople try to avoid greasy foods.

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Bread and rice have great importance, some of the latter produced locally, but the better grades imported from Iran. Rice must first be washed to remove dirt and pebbles, while a strong fire is built in the earthen cooking pit. A metal pot is placed over the flames and a quantity of oil and water are added. When this mixture boils, the rice is poured in and the whole is left until most of the liquid has boiled off. When this point is reached, the larger pieces of firewood are removed, and the pot is allowed to

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 952 262
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [263] puqlawa, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [853] and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234] brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dandoq, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favored in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavored with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shiuwi sayaw, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallised lemon, limun dusi, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverised "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamon seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of undulant fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

differs little from that of the townspeople, but it is necessary to mention the drinking parties of the men. The Kurds of this area are not fond of alcoholic beverages, although a few of the chieftains have experimented with them, and it can almost be stated categorically that no person native to Rowanduz makes use of them. A "secret sinner" (the use of intoxicants is forbidden in the Quran) would have a difficult time, for his wife would be sure to find him out and carry the tale to kinsmen, but there seems to be little desire, even among the young men and other persons disgruntled with the unchanging tempo of country life. Bayin Amina, the wife of Shakir Effendi, was married from an Ottoman family in an area of Turkey where drinking, separately, to be sure, of groups of men and woman of the upper class was commonplace. She regretted, not the deficit of potables, but the cheerful women's parties of her youth. With the officials and army officers it is quite otherwise, for many come from the great cities, or have had their training there, where inebriation is a standard form of entertainment. Some of the officers prefer beer, perhaps on the analogy of British officers, but the most popular is arrack (omnipresent in the Eastern Mediterranean: ouzou in Greece, raki in Turkey, zibib in Egypt, and 'arag in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq), a distillate of fermented grapes or dates flavored with anise or mastika, gum arabic, and of great potency. It is poured in small amounts into tumblers and water is added, which, if the

262 ● 273

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flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the meze (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the divankhane, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, bismillah, "in the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever [177]
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous caverns
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 711
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [212]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 905
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the sight a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come. 773 776

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. Rowanduzis make a sweet called Helerwet Khidir Elyas which is exchanged between households at this time. The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all. 745 742 [735] [243] [431] [161]

With the Serrug and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of 792 [771]

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[177] wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

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[342] [343] A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the house round the side of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a layer of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the exterior edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

[184] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cell—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Cows is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the oven-pan, circular iron sheet, sāj or tāwa, on which the bread sheets, nān, was baked were placed on the fire. The tandoor pit-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or in immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

[352] [352] [312] [364] [513]

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appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hawīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, *bez*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xāw-dān*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron-spoon, (E. 2365) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumā*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

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through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sekhmani bakeries stuffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[34]. 252

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The oven is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[35]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sifidd*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2270).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tabaa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not [412] see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are slapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[36]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket. 423 234 412

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[37], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *halhal* or *khal* (E. 2220), made of a whole lamb's hind- or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Rekhke, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking. 412 415

Milk, *Sh*, is never used raw[38]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flat-bottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *mâst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *mâst* or curds. A clay vase, *dhw*, (E. 2269), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production. 234 252 415

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Fig. 35. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Tegarew.

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It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[42]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[43].

[272]

Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[44], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *korr*, is churned[45].

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[415]

Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *mâlk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[46] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

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The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčāk*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a course woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

Her making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *bōdā*, (E. 2256) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samōwar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar washed tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being crammed with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

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The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *čay*, sheets of bread folded into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[28], and, rarely, fried eggs, Milla, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[29], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[30], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[31] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmi(ya)*[32] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdinjân* or eggplant[33] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[34] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Balkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[35]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225–0.245 m. long (E. 3266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

269 on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[66], but forks
262 and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mastāw* or the less-distinguished *dūg*. These are drunk from glasses if
[372] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm: there are also water skins, *kawd*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[68]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [239] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[69]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat earthen pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
379 atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brasier of charcoal", and that "a stand under a quilt ... formed the "korsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Millingen[72] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus du foyer un tabouret (*korsi*), on le recouvre d'une couverture[73] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

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Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sây* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[?] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sây* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and trashing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's house. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

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was rather too interested in *mesar*, an Arab game of chance, at the tea house (Sure 5, verse 91 of the Coran forbids gambling). However, these rumours were denied in strong terms by my interpreter, the young man's sister, who invoked Allah to witness the truth of her refutation. The next question to be discussed was the amount of the bride price and how much of it was to be spent upon jewellery, household utensils and so forth. This bride price and its size was periphrastically referred to by my interpreter as "what one will do for the girl". A third subject also came up for discussion: the young man's appearance. Curiously enough, no photograph was produced although there were photographers in Sulaimani. A plan was concocted whereby the girl's mother—closely veiled of course—should drive in a car slowly past the small electrician's shop owned by the young man's father, where at the time (the summer holidays) the suitor was. In this way the girl's mother would obtain a glimpse of the person to whom she might decide to hand over her daughter.

It was the intention that the third meeting should be the final one between the women, and that the girl's mother would then place the matter before her husband to secure his sanction to the decisions reached by the women, whereafter the matter passes to the men. After that the girl's father would arrange a meeting between himself as his daughter's *wali* on the one hand and the young man and his father, possibly accompanied by some friends[9], on the other. In regard to similar situations in the villages, which, however, I had no opportunity to witness, I was told that at one place 150 men from a young man's village assembled to thank a girl's father for having sanctioned the union. These friends and guarantors for the young man's qualifications were served with tea by the girl's father, the prospective bridegroom having supplied the dearest item, namely the enormous quantity of loaf sugar, chopped into big lumps, used on such occasions. This may have been a Kurdish parallel to the engagement meal of the men of the two families that, according to Granqvist[9], is partaken by the Palestinian Arabs.

Incidentally, after this third and final meeting of women, my interpreter declared that it would be fitting if some time elapsed before the meeting between the men took place, as it did not look well for the young man's family to evince too great an eagerness after the marriage had been arranged. My return to Denmark stopped me from following the matter on the spot, but a letter from Malika brought me further news. She wrote: "*Please you asked me about my brothers wife. She is not the same girl which we wish you went to their house because we did'nt agree with the family, so we took another girl from the best Kurdish family. Her father is Sheikh Mahmoud's cousin which you met his son Baba Ali*". From this letter it appears that it is possible for the young man's family to break off marriage negotiations at a relatively late date. It also seems from the words "*we took ...*" that it was not the young man himself, but the family, in the first instance its female members, which changed the prospective bride. No mention is made of the girl's appearance or qualifications; the most important factor in the urban milieu apparently is to become related to a family of good repute and high social position.

To sum up the question of marriage negotiations in urban circles, it can be said that the bride need not be sought within the family. The father's brother's daughter marriage appeared to be practised by the village aristocracy. Marriage was a matter of family policy, weight being attached to the social prominence of the family with which a marriage alliance is sought. The women of the young man's

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 13. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[141], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[142], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[143], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[144]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[145], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 304 304 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing ! otherwise only saw among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

585 [982] [177] that the husband will have the future mastery in the home[131], an explanation I did not hear given for the blow suffered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the fowl and the blow given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture. As Nikitine points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[132].

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585 369 In urban circles in Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding viewed from the opposite angle to that last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an educated milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergencies in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

At this wedding the family's own men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people most concerned, who both belonged to the educated milieu, wanted some months later to seek positions as school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding this house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken, only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and loggia of this quite small house that the groom's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled to some extent because the arrangement of the two rooms and loggia was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister to such an extent that she locked the three arranged rooms: the bed-room, the guest reception room and the small windowless store room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from upsetting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village aristocracy. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accomodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and in hired cars to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and [142] [971] received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and *Āb-hik*, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception [292] [179] room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

554 788 292 normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

788 [565]

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

[592]

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

[718]

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

[242]

[252]

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5-6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

788 527 857

574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672.

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants	
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expenses of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
263 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
272 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
177 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
435 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities
574 of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilo); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
262. between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of
511 Guest House expenditure in the economic of the group as a whole must

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

not be underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Guest House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. *In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting; it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Guest House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish viewpoint is the upkeep of the Guest House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Guest House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the mast (a milk product similar to yaghourt), it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Guest House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though employing better quality materials than the commoner, stick mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their severely puritan tastes rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Rayat was seen wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowanduz, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for "frills and furbelows" - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by the policy of the Administration after the Great War

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute sawa (see later).

any single village community.

The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, baked in thin slabs (nan), and a sour milk product of the yaghourt type (mast); in addition by a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (sena) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and goats. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as marrows, tomatoes, gherkins, brinjal, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would everywhere be the preferred crop if it could be extensively cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the sena if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Sheikh Mohammad of Balash and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Balash was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very unintelligently arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'lau to their guests instead of sena.

In former times this bare self sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. Few commodities had to be imported; clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of mash, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the mash crop is traded.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

252

Plate 5.
Food. Girl churning mast, an operation normally carried out at early dawn.

264
262 •

Plate 6.
Food. A visitor takes his meal. The food consists of thin bread (nan); rice soup; cous pilaw; ghee, and, as drink, matton (watered-down mast). Note that shoes have been removed before sitting down to eat. Note also the bowl of lump sugar beside the teacups in the background.

[Opposite page 74 - C]

36: Hooper and Field 3-5 (1936) 1937 MAI Iran MAI Iraq MAII Kurd MA II

I-I

Quercus infectoria Olivier (Fagaceae) 824 *

بلوط 278 *

Mazû (Inf.); Affaz (Teh.); Ajoos-nafs (Ar.); Maiphala (Hind.); galls, mad, or Dead Sea apples. 386 281

Field 45A, 447; W.H.M.M. 150783.

These galls are excrescences on the twigs of oak trees, resulting from the deposition of eggs of *Cynips gallae-tinctoriae* Olivier. Oak galls are collected in Asiatic Turkey, as well as in the province of Aleppo, and are known commercially as "Aleppo," "Smyrna," or "Turkey" galls. They are nearly spherical in shape, and vary from 12 to 20 mm. in diameter, bluish green externally and yellowish within. They are hard and heavy, and bear short, bluntly pointed projections. The galls contain from 50 to 70 per cent of gallotannic acid, and consequently are used medicinally as a local astringent, to be dusted on wounds. They find an extensive application technically in dyeing and tanning.—In Kurdistan they are sometimes strung as beads and hung over the cradle to ward off the Evil Eye (H.F.). K [189]

Quercus lusitanica Lam. var. tauricola (Fagaceae)

Talkak (?) (Iraq); Basra galls.

Field 102, 120 (Iraq).

These galls are formed by *Cynips insana* Mayr. on the above oak, and also on *Quercus infectoria*. They are much larger than Aleppo galls, dark brown, oval or subspherical, 4 by 3.5 cm., yellowish brown within, a channel leading to the cavity in the center. They are very astringent and rich in tannic acid.

Quercus persica Jaub. & Spach (Fagaceae) [293] 278 *

بلوط

Balût (Teh.); Glans Quercus Balloteae (Fr. Pers.); acorns.

Field 191; W.H.M.M. 150834.

This is one of the most common species of oak throughout the forests of Kurdistan and the Rowandiz area. The acorns are oblong, 3.5 by 1.7 cm., light brown in color, glabrous, shining, and contain a single seed. Acorns have a styptic action because of the tannin they contain; they are used for colic pains in children, and as a gargle.—In Kurdistan acorns are sometimes eaten raw, but they are usually roasted and the flour made into cakes (H.F.). [262] •

Quercus sp. (Fagaceae)

Ginah mushi (Hamm.); Kina, Kena; spiny galls.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Rare MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kürdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 242 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is
●[243] called *djadjik*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

241 The dress of Kürdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gujerat or Constantinople, or of non-oriental stuffs, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *kirk*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *kherdé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kürdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *kheredéa*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from
[245] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kürdish lady. Notwith-

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision.

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 252
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served 262
accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [263]
gulaney, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is cooked with
[illegible] [263]
and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234]
brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dwaing, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favoured in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavoured with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shirni sarga, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallised lemon, limun hushi, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverised "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Khaiar, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of intestinal fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

30
574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
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3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Kalderwards	Hardly kinsfolk of some sort
6	Kasserwards	
1	Wife	
2	Brother	
3	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as 'the expense of the Guest House', though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

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flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky 273
in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the mezz (from
a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of [262]
a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, [264]
ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled
meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the
officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to [785]
Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the
remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These [525]
gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion,
will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for 264
its character on whether or not guests are present. If
members of the family are alone, they eat together, men,
women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few
cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat,
and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-
room, the divankhana, or the courtyard. The food is [415]
served in large dishes by the women and these are placed
in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and
plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a
piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence
with social status among the wealthy in this matter,
although the poor always eat with their hands. The head
of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, [782]
Bismillah, "In the name of God," and others follow him.
The servants have their meal after the family is finished.
In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and [574]

women are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. When there are male guests formally invited, the women are withdrawn from sight and the food is served in a grand array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quickly, standing around a table in the divankhana or a room neighboring the kitchen. It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater leisure with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the haunches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too ravenously, to serve oneself an outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, and they make greater use of brighter hues and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often intermingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

its cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
rments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth
ropean jacket. The dress of the children of officials
d officers is much like that of their Kurdish play-
llows, at the same time more European in character,
rticularly for the boys who sometimes wear slacks and
irts. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large
rt of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the
nter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
unger children are confined to the houses in extremely
ld weather, and the problem for them does not exist.
ere is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden
st put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the
rents insist on the veil whenever they feel the
ighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys,
n adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is
upled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of
ieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in
e eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under con-
iderable pressure to influence the father for money to
ck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 186
llows a government career in the secondary schools and 291
lleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such
tions to the condemning adjective heladi, "rustic,"
ithough he may retain a certain admiration for the
shing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
t least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (Wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is najis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Unobserved married woman and educated girl taking sun in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the shaikh houses in Topzawa, Shaikhan, Bergalu and Serkan. I visited peasant houses in Topzawa, Khawa, inlaw Rustem and Bekhle. The police official's house I dwelt in at the fairy town of inlaw Rustem was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Lion capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Kermanshar. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughter had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāv*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a wooden cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāv* in Sulaimani change of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[1]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčā*[2], cf. 2240, about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Rāniya).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high cf., 2270[3], was bought in a second-hand shop in the city in Sulaimani. It was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čay-xāne*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made repeatedly for these occasions, is also offered to guests[4], and in the evening contributes much to relaxation and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, *xaw mat* or felt rug, *šāšāk*, cf. 2256) about 1.30 - 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the *jar-čayeyā* samāwar of pewter or brass[5] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the *xwānčakan*, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an ascending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar stand tea glasses about 8 cm. high with upper-brass flowered saucers and spoons[6] by to a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the city in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[7]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[8]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is inverted and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the benefit of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of water and dry, sheets of bread folded into quarters to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[M], and, rarely, fried eggs, *kâka*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[M], with which is served one or two kinds of *salonze* thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[M], is used as a substitute for rice. Kisi is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[M] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are packed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmjân*[M] or *bâtin*' fingers, and *bâmjân* or *eggplants*[M] plus gherkins, brinjal, beets, carrots, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[M] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is never finely-sliced to make at the morning meal and also grows as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Tsapurra, Sulaimani and Bâkhe is rice-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[M]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225-0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 68), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of food are served they are placed

269 on a sheet of bread and gravied. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from stone bowls[a], but forks and knives were not used[b]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is mainly or the less distinguished sort. These are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a bulb from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2239), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, hand, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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392 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the settlements, both the clay-
354 lined earthen earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[a]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the tannour. Of other forms of fuel there are
[339] rolls of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[b]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, flat cooker pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was sometimes extremely
394 warm, of up to 38°C (122° F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a tannur. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[a] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open firepiece in the centre; the smoke passes out (on three sides, as the room only has) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[b] refers to "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a wood cutter a quilt ... formed the "Gorsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Hitchins[c] writes that: "En hiver, pour durcir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret (kursi), on le recouvre d'une couverture[d] et tout le monde se couche dessus ...".

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soapless sand for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water or the tea glasses while tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white or brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a or pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the taps. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the metals used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the colored silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming intermittent with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton-stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish women. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal as in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing ironing is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the houses I set in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani.Clay floor, countryside and roofs were swept with a broom, *pexi* (E. 2278), made of two palm leaves set together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembles fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The broom, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is kept in the sky. The dust swept up, the glass and refuse out, for example, in just in a paved run and carried. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered wit a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dust. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacks on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the downdraws who shout, but there is no carpet beating

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Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a permanent fact. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning.The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the façade, [illegible] few chained to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four paved ears. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the cover-sac, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

restored the institution which, as far as I could understand, hardly worked higher than one pantheon of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of ramadān began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from each time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day in a month of a promise to do so[1], following that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the shaikh or Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connection with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the sacred and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sura 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". One of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the environment urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane: Damascus-Jedda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jedda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jeddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (see [2]).

In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experiences of their lives and their intangible guidance in matters of [illegible], so Kurdish women must observe certain ceremonial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the hand must never again be henā'ed. The light henā will, should, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowandus

252

Plate 1.
Kurd. Girl churning curd, an operation normally carried out in early June.

248 ✓
262

Plate 2.
Kurd. A routine taken in road. The load consists of [illegible] the whole was given, given, and, as usual, [illegible] road. Note the shoes have been removed before sitting down to eat. Note also the need of [illegible] the village in the background.

[Opposite page 78 - C]

brothers and hillmen from remote villages--sworn in on a cloth-covered Quran for their long-winded depositions. In the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate any offense which may have taken place within his grounds or to vouch for a suspect, the little chaykhana or tea-shop across from the government building is full of his body-guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town. 695 [265]

Those tribes having connections in the Rowanduz district, while not necessarily confined to it, include the Baleki under Mulla Musa Agha, the Barzinet under Mahmud Beg Khalifa Zeaid, the Barti under Fatah Agha, the Barzni under Hajji Nuray Agha, the Khayloni under Salim Agha, the Hamawi under Muhammad Sayidi, the Sartati under Fatah Agha, and the Surchi under Khidir Agha. The most important and numerous are the Baleki, the Barzinet, the Barti, and the Surchi. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be seen later that a chieftain need have no connection with a tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views of the names of tribes and their leaders, that of the government and that of the local inhabitants. The list given here is that officially furnished by the qaida of Rowanduz, and does not necessarily correspond with some segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain "lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized, while others, such as As'ad Agha who keeps to a well-guarded house in Rowanduz, are unable to return to their villages because of a feud. 619 622 619 [628]

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowandum, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowandux itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowandux, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "Government" chaikhana (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a bazir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldean (Kaldani, a member of the Christian sect centering around Mosul), has several assistants hired from among the town-people and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and cranking. It follows that the operators may times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

ther was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel 701
ude a large number of conscripts assigned there for 563
ining, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equip-
nt, like organization, are derived from the British army, 205
d the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern [177]
m, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be
ught that the district would gain from the supply of such
nit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from
e quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training 202
ld not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see
company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in
nsurree, and in the summer the valleys may resound with
rtillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, 701
d it is from this fact that they exercise an important 517
cial influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting
hose few non-commissioned officers who have homes there,
re not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours
f Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for di-
rsion that so many make the long climb to the town on
riday, simply to sit in a chaikhana where they can drink [272]
a, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli is colloquial [524]
raqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of [703]
owanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week.
owever, enlisted men have much freer access to Rowanduz, 341
he small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks 701
he site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a 265

roadside <u>shebeens</u> between Kwitoka and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Ruwanda keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kwitoka, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Ruwanda. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>shebeen</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Kigali or England, rather than with Ruwanda itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilise local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Ruwanda and Jiadina, and some fifty men from Ruwanda and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or *chayhi* might be considered first. There are ten *chayKhanay* in the town. That located beside the canal has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the *bazar* area. The buildings may considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "winner's" *chayKhana* spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a *yard* on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The *yard*, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of utensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which to make change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in small-way and alleged served the customers and brought the money to the owner. 265 ● 347 [352] [405] [451]

The etiquette of entering a *chayKhana* varies somewhat according to the personalities of the customers. In 265 576

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Selamu alaikum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," we alaikum as-Selam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the greetings of God," Tilah bikherr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a shaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istikan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some shaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the shaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or lawik, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Koran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A shaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string.

The maintenance of a *shebeen* can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of people in the *shebeen*, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The *shebeen*, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the prisoners or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would any army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the soldiers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer a town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. Men of the higher echelons of society is expected to entertain a *Kimushitsya* or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in *shebeens* will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk of these places being homosexuals (*kaiba kaa*. "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which

(left blank)

ellaire knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a <u>shorkhana</u>. The bus from Kawandus to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain while on over the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them.

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a <u>shorkhana</u>, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain <u>pelaw</u> (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronised the place, save as a <u>shorkhana</u>, and its custom was solely derived from travellers in the town who could find no other place to eat.

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is cut immediately sent to private customers is

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fellahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Dalikan has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kebabchi. The kebabchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kebabchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

closed and meshed about a metal skewer (jeng) or alternated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same implement (jig). A charcoal fire is prepared in a rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze, until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a gjrilling. As with the butcher, one must place a request on the day preceding, for after noontime the jebichi has often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this occupation can be used in Kurdi, and has much the same meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique involves equipping the children of the house, either of baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or millowners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,

[illegible]

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rwanda.

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Petah-Ellah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Petah-Ellah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 *fils* a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 *dinars* a month. In addition he has a contract with the mayor to furnish prisoners in the jail with bread and stew, at about 60 *fils* for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Petah-Ellah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 *fils* every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows:

(1000 *fils* : 1 Iraqi *dinar* : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per annum		Per annum	
Shop	250 *fils*	6.250	*dinars*	75.000	*dinars*
Rental		4.000	*dinars*	48.000	*dinars*
Contract	200 *fils*	5.000	*dinars*	60.000	*dinars*
Bread	200 *fils*	5.000	*dinars*	60.000	*dinars*
		20.250	*dinars*	243.000	*dinars*
		($56.70)		($680.40)	

Against this, Petah-Ellah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khanjars (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the court are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the court open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tramped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpolished, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Trays, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in winter. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, the inner wall

There is no electricity in Ruwenda, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few stops or shortbeam open late and a rare door-lantern waving for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Ariti Sherifi, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jealously attributed by the latter educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the fifteenth caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Rurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have an appreciation of its relative purity. Sheikh Agha of Jiadin, whose father's

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Ruhengeri, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, so it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer houses carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the steeper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open lunettes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and pallets from which the beds are made on the floor, a

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ~~xx xxxx~~ Fatih, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that since a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the soldier's sandal is dipped in the blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Kigali. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the Iwacu, so much a feature of life in Ruhengeri and Byumba times, has largely disappeared in modern Kordofan.[1] Bathing in Rwanda is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the Klog or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a basket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

[1] Nachtigal, 1951, p. 175.

set invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of mat brushes and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used however, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in these poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of the sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any one other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The khanabaz or guest-room is necessary for express of social pretension and is found in most cases on the flats

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The Kurds, too, generally leave to the women the business of settling accounts with that regular, but unwelcome, visitor, the tax-gatherer.

On the arrival on one occasion of this functionary at the camp of the Haidaranlu, a large and wealthy tribe established in the plains to the north-west of Van, he was politely received and treated with black coffee and tobacco in the tent of the chief, Ali Agha, who courteously informed him that he was at liberty to enter the different tents for the collection of the sheep tax. Once in the tents, however, the tax-gatherer soon perceived that while he was striving to get hold of everything he could detect, the object of the women was to conceal from him all they could. Out of interests so opposed a collision naturally soon arose, and a shower of vituperation, followed by an attack with sticks and stones, assailed the unlucky official, who was finally rescued from the hands of those his furies by the men of the tribe, and carried for safety to the tent of the chief. Ali Agha now gave him the friendly advice to get from the women all they were willing to give and return at once to Van, thanking Allah that no worse had befallen him. "My good fellow," he concluded, "what can you do with women? They will have their way. Take the money and be off."

In 1834 there passed through Constantinople on their way to the seat of war a band of Kurdish cavalry led by a woman named Kara ("Black") Fatma Hanim. Save for the decoration for which Hamid in her eyes there was, however, nothing Amazonian in the

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER II.

KURDISH WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

KURDISH maidens are, as a rule, allowed to choose their own husbands, and the practice of courtship is not unknown. The father's consent is necessary, though couples sometimes dispense with it by running away together when, for pecuniary or other reasons, it is withheld. Among the families of the chieftains, however, marriages *de convenance* are usual, and the parties are frequently comparative strangers to each other. The ceremony of betrothal consists of a reception at which refreshments are served. The expression "To drink sherbet"* signifies with the Kurds to celebrate a betrothal. The bridegroom's presence at this ceremony is not necessary, or even usual, and he is generally represented by a near relative, a brother if he has one, who brings with him the customary presents to the bride and her parents.

The great feature of a Kurdish wedding is the performance of the *tokpee*, or national dance, of which the women are quite as fond as are the peasants of Macedonia and Bulgaria. During marriage festivities,

* This favourite Oriental beverage is made of the juice of fruits, cooked with ice or snow.

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consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruptice until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a *chaykhana* where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (*tawli* in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and decked with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such as sherbet or *mastaw* (a mixture of curdled milk, *mast*, and water, *aw*, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow brambles which are constructed into summer arbors

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some greeting from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," ser-helaq sirtan, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," we sirtan ser-helaq. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Xilek bibegr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a shaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some shaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the shaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often have bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A shaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second storey. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a more family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the *chaykhana* has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the *chaykhana* of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in 252
the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there 262
are no means of preserving them, and have little other [351]
preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked
with sugar, ubumi mpome, are considered a delicacy.

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three 272 ●
times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more [405]
simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small
glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There
are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that
in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, limau guli- [863]
is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor.
Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the [574]
household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of
the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling [263]
water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for
aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee
and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in
small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet
consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although
some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a
tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is
also found in the summer. Yaghut, curdled milk thinned with [853]
water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save
in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed
them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of catalast
fever.

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-house is the girls' [585]
ground floor partitioned by a simple of mud and woven, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, building each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small [594]
drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests here most offerings of food, and the father [431]
of the youth in return favours them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the others, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is [292]
carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white handkerch which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Various chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, [431]
the latter is equipped with a present, a cola or a piece [272]
of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The fundamental consuming, that is, when served with water, is called *dilg*. It is a beverage (above all in summer), that is used daily at a three-quarters and a drink between meals. It is wholesome and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the observing each one. Also the water, stirred by a wooden rod around the walls, it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of materials in Sabarmati storage of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[illegible]. In the villages the drink is offered in greens in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big carved wooden ladle, *kaw*[illegible], cf. 23th, about 0.35 cm. long, of which 0.12 cm. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dilg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse wooden sieve. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be used for the winter base of *Balimbo*.

For making of tea, in the part of Kandiawa in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper *ushpuzen*, tinned outside and inside, with a bamboo lid and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high cf. 23791[illegible], was bought in a second-hand shop in the city in Sabalmanti; it was a foreign (Turkish) utensil which I never saw in use. In certain shops along the highroads were a *dyrukka*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, etc. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a commonly refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made especially for these occasions, is also offered as *gaest*[illegible], and to the making accordingly such a ceremonial and circumstances. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

In a rich one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, when not on bit rug. *Shaldi*, cf. 2299) about 1.20 - 0.70 m. in front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the *perapul samahar* of glasses or brass[illegible] standing on low legs and filled with water. A large pair of glasses is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the workhouse, or with charcoal heated on a fire, rectangular iron basin with short legs. On the face of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small shelving is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served to an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar instead are glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[illegible] for tea in a tea bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the city in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with *granulated sugar* (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces [illegible] by a special sugar hammer[illegible]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[illegible]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is inverted and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the hostess of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of cake and tea, sheets of bread, folded into pockets to be used as spoons when eating the cake[1], and, rarely, fried eggs, tallow, consuming in fashion, the women prepare two more meals in the course of the day. The one is taken a little past noon, the other at about 4 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the morning meal are only to an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, above 100 F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is (rice), steamed to haggish[2], with which is served one or two kinds of russian thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled, split, covered with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grains, crushed in a revolving grinder[3], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and mixed before it is covered with boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is kibab—see the Turkish kind[4] consisting of small pieces of meat skewered and grilled—the meat of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, kiteyki[5] or ladies' fingers, and baklajan or eggplant[6] also glutinous, brinjal, bonds, capsicums, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[7] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is never cooked always sliced in water at the morning meal and also given as a sort of fruit, split into small beans covered with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Tirgarma, Sokolowsk and Sokha is rice-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[8]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served as a fish dish accompanied by bonds with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two cook bonds with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the cases bonds are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.220-0.240 m. long (8, 22ch, 6", 6ft), for lifting sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable heap of the damji rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of food are served they are placed

[illegible]

as a dish of bread and peanuts. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from some families, but forks and knives were not [illegible]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is called [illegible] or the less distinguished [illegible]. These are drunk from glasses of red [illegible] with a bulb from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

Fetching of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds: clay jars about 0.45 m. high with a handle on the one side (S. 2289), home-manufactured and slightly [illegible], or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, lined, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a leg sheet, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the sheet on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the sheet, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin over [illegible] turning off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the workhouse, both the charcoal cooking earth oven and the wood-cooker cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches broken from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits. The fuel consumptions of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [illegible] of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, the cooker pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimaniyah and in the villages there are petrol stoves in the forest in bigger households, but in all these places they and firelers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

Heating. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was warmer with temperatures of up to 38°C (100 F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cold morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a fire-[illegible] in the wall under a [illegible]. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must ignore the reports of other travellers. [illegible] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre, the smoke passes out (as does ours, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". [illegible] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a wood cooker a quick ... burned the "tirrez" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". [illegible] writes that: "En hiver, pour donner, on place au-dessus de l'âtre un tabouret (kursi), on le recouvre d'une couverture et tout le monde se couche dessus...".

[illegible] the husband will have the lower mastery in the home"[1]. As explanation I did not have given for the dore offered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the lord and the dore given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture, for Hellenic parlors can, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and death[2].

In urban circles in Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding crowd from the opposite bank in the last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an urbanized milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergences in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several economic strata.

At this wedding the family's were men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed room house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people were unmarried, who both belonged to the urbanized milieu, married some months back in such preference to school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding the house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for the family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and toilet of this quite small house that the ground's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled in some ways because the arrangements of the two rooms and toilet was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister in such an extent that she looked the three arranged rooms: the bedroom, the guest reception room and the small combination room-room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who then all over the place. From reporting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the existing village environment. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accommodate were invited to the groom on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and to finally see to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and sweets, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for the hospitable *hyle* (Leach op. cit., pp. 29—31).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from the ideal — it would be a very important man who were to the expense of keeping an open house in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *hyle* among the Pizdeshwadi will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all persons who would have a right to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common center of the village, to which all the important men repair, it has become in fact the center of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance attempts to collect a certain room as open-house, playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

No matter what time of day a visitor arrives, he should at least be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a sitting. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige ranks by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific title to one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

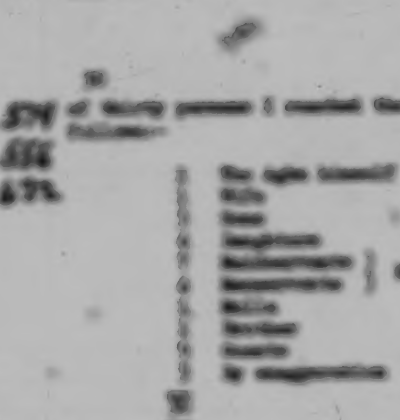
The persons assembling normally in the guestfilled room are the police makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest are discussed, the actions of the various members of the group coordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige a

community concerned, and rivalry between members is directed towards one-doing each other in the eyes of the group as a whole. 641 179

Sporting society. An other immediately apparent type of informal group which is commonly formed is that of sporting society. The established town houses a more public and essentially closed society; sporting society includes more diverse persons, and emerges from practically any aggregation of individuals who are not engaged in productive pursuits. There is a tendency for the individuals of the highest prestige to stay away from such groups, since the joking and horse-play may be rather personal and quite free, and the rules of opponent behavior easily forgotten. Thus, though formed from an open aggregation of individuals, which any male stranger as well as villager may join, it develops in practice into a gang of village youths and men, primarily the younger and more irresponsible, and the men of lower class status.

The same problems that are debated in the established community may also be discussed here, but with less stress on policy forming and more stress on the anecdotal. Prestige differences in the group emerge very clearly from who is made fun of and who feels in a position to conform. At the same time, the group serves as a forum for complaints against abuses. Here the attitudes of the less privileged sections of the village to specific issues become coordinated; pressures are applied and sentiments created that may lead to concerted action where persons feel they have been badly wronged.

Women's groups. Women are excluded from both these types of groups, as well as from political activities in general. Though they prepare the food that may be consumed in the established manner, they should not show themselves there, and, for example, ox-hewing, which should be done on the spot, is in the hands of a younger male kinsman of the host. In fact, when a visitor arrives in whose duty rule he interest, they may find domestic work to do within earshot though out of sight, or a small son of the house is dispatched as an informant. The actual extent to which women contribute in shaping the opinions of their men is difficult to evaluate, and surely varies considerably, but is usually probably slight. On the other hand, they have access to information, especially gossip, 561 573 [121]



In fact it became quite clear that by lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact the expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

However the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not the kilning of a hog or two, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the American style of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Melanesia. The tea is brewed very strong over sugar and served with extreme quantities of lump sugar. The sugar is bought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served on persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about £3/- a bag (of 56 kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Langalo about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £37 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to the host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and most frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an Ngwa to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite "social exile" continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Ngwa in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship between the Guest House and the Ngwa who host them, the importance of Guest House expenditure to the economics of the group as a whole must

In Chrestomathy 3-4, 5 (pp. [illegible]) 1991
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The country houses of the Khâs are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, closely clustered—quadrangular dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the mândil, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an[illegible] immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of dung[illegible] the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small[illegible] modicum of light with which the interior contents themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few felt carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined; three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a mounted cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a[illegible] number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest[illegible] quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek amphora.[illegible] The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called boza, a liquor called sherbet, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

consumption, all of which are stated in the equations [sec.].

At Salonica, the Turkish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, but the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the selamlik, in one court, and the back, the haremlik, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of lofty leaves shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with vine-trellises, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment in the latter, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Snow, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in colanders, or hovers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the flies, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the selamlik is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

* Examples, in his Traditions, or Sayings of the Mohammedan, mention that the Moslem kept their wives in separate chambers, lib. iv. chap. 6.

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes gasparly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the north no excise and customs directorate which supervises the collection of duties from the customs points at Jinsiba, Sayet, and Mejji there on the Irwaian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Irwa is not large, one of the most important imports being Irwaian rice, and is probably but a fraction of the former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offense) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Easterians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Arbil and Kirkuk, but this is an

possible *sleeping* between Europeans and the barrack. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Ruhengeri keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Europeans, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate screen-drinking by enlisted men in Ruhengeri. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and quite loud and unseemly remarks in a *sleeping*. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the laundry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Kabgayi or Bughoki, rather than with Ruhengeri itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Ruhengeri and Biaisa, and some fifty men from Ruhengeri and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

The principal crops of the Rowandus area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

241 243 [249] [439] 249 245 [439] 273 231

differs little from that of the townspeople, but it is necessary to mention the drinking parties of the men. The Kurds of this area are not fond of alcoholic beverages, although a few of the chieftains have experimented with them, and it can almost be stated categorically that no person native to Rowandus makes use of them. A "secret sinner" (the use of intoxicants is forbidden in the Quran) would have a difficult time, for his wife would be sure to find him out and carry the tale to kinsmen, but there seems to be little desire, even among the young men and other persons disgruntled with the unchanging tempo of country life. Bayin Amina, the wife of Shakir Effendi, was married from an Ottoman family in an area of Turkey where drinking, separately, to be sure, of groups of men and women of the upper class was commonplace. She regretted, not the deficit of potables, but the cheerful woman's parties of her youth. With the officials and army officers it is quite otherwise, for many come from the great cities, or have had their training there, where inebriation is a standard form of entertainment. Some of the officers prefer beer, perhaps on the analogy of British officers, but the most popular is arrack (omnipresent in the Eastern Mediterranean: ouzo in Greece, raki in Turkey, zibib in Egypt, and 'araq in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq), a distillate of fermented grapes or dates flavored with anise or mastika, gum arabic, and of great potency. It is poured in small amounts into tumblers and water is added, which, if the

262 273 [701]

flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the mezza (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the divankhane, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, bismillah, "in the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

that the number of times the name of the deity is enunciated 782
indicates the piety of the population. With the Prophet
it is quite different, for one never hears him spoken of
irreverently or in a secular context. It is not customary
to call him by name, but rather al-Rasul, "the Apostle,"
or al-Nabi, "the Prophet," and either the speaker or someone
else present adds, sala Ilahu 'alayhi wa salam, "the prayer
(blessing) of God upon him and the peace," whenever he is
mentioned. The Quran is held in similar respect. The 778
volume must never be handled with levity, or left uncovered
when not in use. An official told how his servant removed
his copy of the Quran from the room in which he was drinking
arrack, in some way personifying the book, in which the use [273]
of alcoholic beverages is forbidden, as God himself. Metal
cases or cloth envelopes, usually green in color, are used
to enclose it, or else it is tied up in a scarf or handker-
chief.

The great mosque, Jame'a al-Kabir, in Rowandus is a 946
large, square building of rubble on the central square of
the bazar or mercantile area, its rear wall facing the qibla,
the direction of Mecca, to which prayer is addressed. The
building on its front is raised about six feet above the
square and one reaches its porch by a series of roughly cut
stone stairs. The roof is of mud rolled on bundles of
poles and twigs, and covers the porch as well as the main
room and the annex. This is to the right of the main door,
a small door of the room opening on the porch and large un-
glassed windows overlooking the square. It is used for

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowandus were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic mu'adhdhin, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowandus this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

305 The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [773
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [212]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 805
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

pagan, have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant. 771

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the amateur theologians was not of increasing impiety, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of puritan with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be denoted, the lack of condemnation of the government elite for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the faith, in which the townspeople find no interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Kurdish life has evoked conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, alcoholic beverages are not retailed openly in the town and the government elite amuses itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible defamation. Similarly, the most articulate demagogues of Kurdish independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their Arab colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the revolts of the past were partially phrased in religious terms, but it

177 771 [688] [273] 668

000 winter sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

439 277 Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'rings' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq. But unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

245 Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlander never sees, wide hillsides covered with grape-vines greet the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs flows under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

• [273] Were Mohammedan prejudice overcome, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I

554 181 have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting

181 to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

over the years without reference to any plan, surrounding a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business is a Nestorian who lives in Dyana and who, in addition to other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of bottled beer and arrack to the civil servants and officers. He comes to Rowanduz only two or three times each week, and, during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is foresworn by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself offers the transient little more than a room and a bedstead. He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find nourishment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is little more than "a roof overhead and lesser animiculae within," in this, a modern descendant of the khan or funduq of Medieval days, so often described and so often cursed by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees normally find accommodations with one of the local civil servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley and Kurds, as well as Nestorians, who must spend a night in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great house of Isma'il Beg. It follows that the khan is little used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers from Erbil or beyond, too low in social status to apply to the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of Kurdish hospitality.

[1]Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 193-194.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kûrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kûrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by *imâms* of their own race, Kûrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kûrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kûrds. To the latter they are,

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installations in Rowanduz, the air of the communications office is heavy with tobacco smoke and its floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the qaimmaqam.

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the serai, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the qaimmaqam's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time assures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings.

mentioned. Precious stones and pearls are little in 301
evidence, but coins, of almost any age and variety, are often drilled and included in the ensembles. The silver khizam or nose-ring, sometimes containing a piece of turquoise, is only affected by women of the villages. Many married couples wear rings, usually of silver and sometimes set with a piece of coloured glass, on the third or fourth finger of the right hand, but they are not a necessary part of engagement or marriage. Men wear little jewelry save a ring and a few sport a silver or imitation gold watch-fob hanging from a breast pocket. [562]
There is some aversion on the part of men to wearing gold, and this is said to have a background in Islamic tradition. The elegant seal-rings of Medieval and Ottoman [212]
times have almost completely disappeared, except in a few of the older families, such as that of Ra'uf Effendi where they are preserved as heirlooms.

It has been seen that the townspeople have little 276
regard for intoxicants, nor do they make use of drugs such as the opium of Iran to the east or the hashish of Lebanon and Syria to the west. If there are excesses among the natives of Rowanduz, they are only tea-drinking and smoking, the first of which has been discussed. Cigarettes are the most popular mode of consuming tobacco, and have several varieties. From the merchants British cigarettes and those made in the factories of Baghdad may be obtained. The officials and officers habitually use these, and they are

usually offered to guests in wealthy homes or to visitors 276
to a shop in the bazar. Most of the populace, however,
smoke those prepared from local leaf in the houses by the
women. These are made in great quantity by filling manu-
factured paper tubes, about four inches in length, and
folding down the paper remaining at one end. A number of
persons possess small Austrian cigarette-rollers, devices
which can be carried on the person enclosing a certain
amount of tobacco and a book of papers. Factory-made
cigarettes are kept in their pasteboard boxes, and
Baghdadis, some of the government personnel, have nowadays [302]
the habit, probably ephemeral, of letting the nail of the
little finger on the left hand grow long with which to
slit open the package. The longer domestic product is
typically carried in a silvered metal box, resembling a
covered soap-dish, imported from abroad. A number of
persons use heavy cigarette holders of wood or imported
amberoid, out of proportion to the cigarette in thickness.
In Ottoman times, many had pipes with long stems, two or
three feet in length, but they have largely disappeared.
It is still possible to buy pottery bowls in the bazar
to which a drilled wooden shaft can be attached as a
stem, but they are not popular. The water-pipe is not
remembered as ever having had much use in the area. A
smaller pipe survives among the villagers and men of the
lower class, a stubby form in baked clay of curious design
with an overall length of about five inches and the height

of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, insofar as their inroads are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Homes of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flea. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Scorpions and snakes sometimes turn up, and are killed with the greatest possible dispatch.

keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[9]. Aael Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[10]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni mentioned by the Cossa and known in other Muslim areas, Eagar[11] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[12] "For intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish women of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning women's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[13]. Khanum Cossa Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[14] of the Ardalan Yazir family, married to Cossa Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the qa'im maqam in Halabja. Even whilst he gave alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussein Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, a spy she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Sarkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Sarkan. (See p. 10).

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Topzawa. Side and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 1240).

is also stressed by Lerch[69]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[70].

The plough is drawn by two animals, an ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a hook on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-mouldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[71]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as in the case when transporting corn from the field to the house—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[72]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is principal with corn, Tequesta.

So far as I could discover the Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized Tobacco cannot be taken by

316 Tobacco is not fermented, but is pressed by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the city in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2343).

562 Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

491 The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an [illegible] or equivalent. He had no need to
525 live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sukelmani on the Sarakina plain[illegible]. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not
GT reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adile's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sukelmani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Lambi[illegible], a manager "kokiba", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tequesta, Rabawa,
[154] Bargalo and Sarkam the chefdiks were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 15. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[45], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[46], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[47], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[48]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[49], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseau, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dowries given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her 304 finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent 305 moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing ? otherwise only seen among Turkish women in Mosul, 292 so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Effects of an Increase in Tobacco Cultivation

276 249 The Kurds are inveterate smokers and have cultivated their own varieties of tobacco for several centuries. Though these particular varieties are still the preferred smoke for the Kurds themselves, they have little or no trade value owing to the crumbly nature of the leaf. In recent years however a number of modern cigarette factories have been started in and around Baghdad, thus creating a good market for a better class leaf. In the main this market is satisfied by the more sophisticated Kurdish areas such as Sulaimani, but the tribesmen of the Rowanduz district are also slowly beginning to adapt their production to the new conditions. In this they receive encouragement from the Government and the factory owners who supply free seed and instruction to those who want it; this service by the Government is of course more than recouped by the ultimate excise on the resulting product.

311 249 Under these new conditions the improved tobacco leaf has a cash value proportionately vastly in excess of that of wheat or rice. In terms of a money economics it would be sensible to increase the area of land devoted to the production of tobacco at the expense of that devoted to wheat and rice.

Furthermore since, other things being equal, the area of tobacco cultivation would again only be limited by the supply of irrigation water available, the logical thing to do would be to abolish the rice cultivation altogether and substitute tobacco, both on the rice land itself and also on much of the wheat land - (tobacco requiring less water than rice). This development has actually taken place in certain of the lowland villages, notably in the Assyrian community round Betas, and the resulting financial advantage has been very marked; but in the Balik area the increase in tobacco acreage seems so far to have been very slight. In the highest villages such as Khalan and Rayat climatic conditions are probably unfavourable, but lower down in the valleys around Barga and Dergala where tobacco and rice are at present grown side by side there seems to be no immediate technical reason why the former crop should not be expanded. There would of course be certain difficulties in connection with the re-organisation of the water courses, and there is the problem of specialist training in tobacco cultivation but in the main it would appear that the problems involved are social rather than technical. If it were possible for every individual tenant to grow tobacco in equal quantities the transition to a modern cash economy might be simple. But in practice the existing tenancy rights are such that any extension of the tobacco cultivation must affect unequally different sections of the community - those whose land is converted to the new cultivation benefiting at the expense of the rest. We may analyse the problem in economic form in terms of the factors of production involved.

630 Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation

4a Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI

a severe slump in the camel market. Slowly and very reluctantly the bedouin are turning to cultivation and feel themselves immeasurably lowered in the process. Strangely enough, they are also to be found in greasy overalls, working on the rigs of the Mosul Oil Companies. In this work they do not lose caste as they do if they become cultivators.

Shaikh Ajil al Yawar is the paramount Shaikh of the 'Iraqi Shammar. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular astuteness he has managed to control his tribesmen, keep on the right side of successive governments and at the same time amass a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab steed or liver-shaking "dhillool" (trotting camel).

Turkomans

Leaving the Arabs, we come to the Turkomans. They are the remnants of ancient immigration and are to be found in Tël Affar town between Mosul and Sinjar and in a string of villages across to Altun Keupri and Kirkuk. Arbil is also largely a Turkoman town. The village of Nainawa, the ancient Nineveh, just across the Tigris from Mosul, is Turkoman. In a mosque built on uncxcavated Assyrian remains it contains the reputed tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the vertebræ of the whale!

Kurds

Next we come to the Kurds, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages well south of the mountains. The Kurds are Aryan in origin and Sunni Muslims by religion. The mountain Kurds and in fact all the mountaineers of Kurdistan bear a close resemblance to the Scottish clans of two hundred years ago. They are still organized on a tribal or clan basis, though the increase in government control and influence is naturally tending to destroy this organization and undermine the power of the chiefs, or Aghas as they are called. Aghas may, however, still be seen proceeding to town or market with a "tail" of armed henchmen and even a pipebearer. The Kurdish pipebearer is, however, concerned with the Agha's tobacco pipe and not with music. Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe

of either the Aghas or the traders, - it is hard to judge which is the most vulnerable. Thus, Said, son of Sheikh Mohammad of Walash, assured me that he personally was in debt to the tune of £300 and wanted me to get him a job with the oil company in Kirkuk so that he could work off his indebtedness; on the other hand in Dergala I met a rather pathetic little Rowanduz trader who complained that he had £150 out at credit, some of it for over three years, and though he had just been round to dun all his clients he had only managed to collect £3!

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Tobacco Marketing

In a previous section I emphasised the growing importance of tobacco for the economy of this part of Kurdistan. It is now necessary to consider how this tobacco crop is actually marketed. My enquiries on this subject led to somewhat contradictory results and the matter needs further investigation; in general I think the divergence of view was primarily due to the rapidly changing conditions in the tobacco trade. My notes reveal three distinct methods of marketing. The first is that now generally practiced in the sophisticated areas of Kurdistan around Sulaimani and in the lowland districts of the Erbil liwa. This method does not at present apply to the Rowanduz area but may be expected to do so as the tobacco crop is increased.

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Marketing procedure 1. The big tobacco factories of Baghdad have their own agents in Kurdistan, who contract with the Aghas for the whole saleable surplus of the village crop. If required the Agha can obtain a substantial cash advance at the time of sowing the crop. Seed and technical advice is often provided by the merchant's agents who presumably work in cooperation with the Government departments concerned. 50% of the crop is the Agha's own by virtue of his land title, the other 50% belongs to individual cultivators. Since however the buyers' agent deals only with the Agha, the latter is in a position to take a substantial commission on the cultivators' share as well. On the other hand the individual cultivator need not sell his crop through the Agha if he does not think he is getting a fair price. But his only alternative is to trade with the attar, who as a middleman, can only offer a much lower price than the buyers' agent offers the Agha. The tobacco is transported from village to town at the buyers' expense in each case.

The second method was described to me as that practiced in the old days before the coming of the Baghdad cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Sulaimani man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Rowanduz area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agha's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

• 277 442 effect of greatly reducing the ultimate return for the producer. Thus a cultivator who sold his crop for a cash advance at the time of sowing would only get about 60% of the market value of his ultimate crop. Merchants would pay substantial gifts - either in cash or kind - to the Agha for the right to trade and in return the Agha would in effect guarantee the contract. Thus if an individual cultivator failed to meet his contract the Agha could force him to sell his personal goods to meet the bond, though for reasons of kinship it seems likely that the Agha would in many cases prefer to meet the liability himself.

Marketing procedure 3. Detailed enquiries in Walash revealed that the tobacco surplus for that village is fairly small and is disposed of either through individual tobacco dealers operating from Erbil or else through the ordinary store; terms of trade are for cash only, and there is no system of advances. From Dergala, where the tobacco cultivation is much more extensive, I unfortunately obtained no information concerning marketing methods.

Having dealt with the various individual contacts between members of the village and those outside it, there remain for examination those forms of exchange within the group itself which have an essentially social rather than an economic basis. Owing to lack of empirical data I can do little more than point out what are the principal occasions for these exchanges.

689 [584] Marriage. A bride price is payable by the bridegroom to the bride's father. I was told that if the wife ran away or otherwise misbehaved herself the husband could claim back part of the bride price, but the information was not specific. * In the event of a divorce the husband is responsible for the maintenance of his former wife at any rate during her pregnancy and frequently longer. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures concerning the amount of bride price paid. Hay quotes the figure of £500 for a wealthy Agha. There is a natural tendency to exaggerate the figures both as flattery for the lady and to create an air of affluence about the informant. When I pointed out that in the case of the marriage of ortho-cousins living as close neighbours in the same village the payment of bride price, whatever its amount, could be little more than a nominal transaction, this was admitted; nevertheless, it was argued, every girl's self

* Hay (p. 44) says the husband is responsible only for three months after divorce or during pregnancy whichever is the longer and this is good Mohammedan law. According to my interpreter important Aghas wishing to increase the number of their household will sometimes divorce one of their wives merely in order to marry a fifth; in such a case the divorced wife would remain a member of the Agha's household indefinitely, though whether her position would be that of concubine was not made clear. The situation however is hypothetical as I obtained no concrete examples.

000 winter sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

439 Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'rings' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq. But unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

245 Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlander never sees, wide hillsides covered with grape-vines greet the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs flows under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

[273] Were Mohammedan prejudice overcome, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I 554 have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish 181 aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting 181 to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, *xastexâne*, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabjá and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[173]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Topzawa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[174], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, reappearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[175]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resulting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Serkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Topzawa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[176].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the house.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirza Rustam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was lent out for three days to the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unsewn costume and wrapped in the cerements, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[177]. The same type is found in Arabia[178] and Egypt[179].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

of distance. In the presence of enterprising merchants, particularly the atar or itinerant traders who will be discussed below, a cultivator in some outlying village need not undertake the arduous journey across broken country to Rowanduz to retail his products and to purchase the materials required by his home. 443

The agricultural village can enjoy a certain amount of self-sufficiency insofar as its food supply is concerned, although the specialization in tobacco has transformed this to some extent, but there are a number of other requirements which only the merchant can satisfy, many of them "necessary luxuries" without which life is hardly bearable. For reasons which can only be speculated upon, the Kurdish villager is today far from being the master of his environment, and there are undoubtedly present a number of mineral, vegetable, and animal products which could be utilized to good advantage. He is no innovator and his knowledge of what we call woodcraft, the ingenious exploitation of the environment at a primitive level, is practically nothing. Once a young agha exhibited as a trophy an ibex skin, dried hard and stiff, which, if properly tanned, would have made an excellent rug or covering. An inquiry, and later investigation, revealed that only a few villagers knew the techniques of preparing skins; almost all of the leather which is locally produced and put into use is what is commonly called rawhide. The villager thus requires a great complex of things, of which only a few are cigarette papers, cloth, cooking utensils, iron or steel 433 [176] 281 432

although he has nothing to do with the office of mukhtar described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters, a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A more exact description of these reciprocal duties will follow.

The villagers and kotchir fashion almost nothing which has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will be seen more completely with reference to Rowanduz, indigenous crafts are simple and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this material is wholly used in the fabrication of local garments. Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the upper part of the town of Rowanduz, the only craftsmen of their religion laboring in the community. Their wooden loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs. The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, although the women preferred the more familiar spindle and

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such as sherbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and water, aw, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkha that his wages were 25 fils – 6d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are clipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Scythes are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, *dâz*, (E. 2243) about 27 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *qaymâx*,[38] (E. 2242) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[39]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *garîs*, (E. 2244) about 6.80 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[40], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

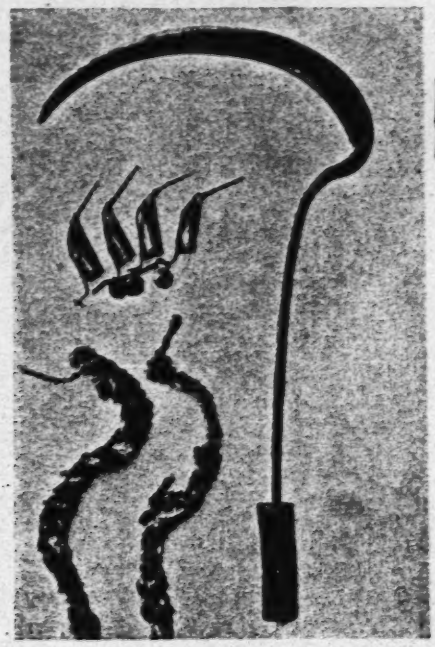

Fig. 8 Harvest implements, sickle (E. 2243), claws (E. 2242), and handmade rope (E. 2244).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 MA11

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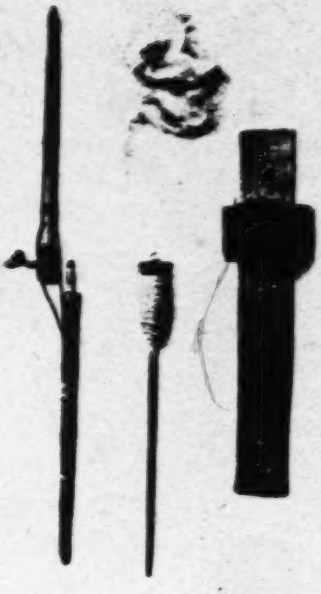

Fig. 40. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in drum-making (Cf. p. 8). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E.2250), round which folded material is wound and boild to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

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A62
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[323]

Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vesels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawella the women even span during their long walk to and from the orchads.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *tâll*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindlewhorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstreched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

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Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-wover rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balikh.

be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type are sold in the *sūq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[87]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yazidis MA50

or furniture. The use of such vegetables as cabbages and lettuces as food is also rigidly prohibited among them. Like the Moslems, they hold Jesus (*Isa*) in great reverence, and regard wine as the symbol of His blood. When drinking it they always hold the cup with both hands to avoid spilling its contents, and should a drop fall to the ground they are said to suck it with the lips and swallow the dust with which it has mingled. The Yezidis and Kûrdish sectarians are, indeed, generally said to be less hostile to Christians than to Moslems, and it is averred that, though they never enter an Armenian church, they often stop when passing one and repeat some prayer or invocation.

A curious form of confession and penance is also practised by these "infidels." Ten men form themselves into a kind of brotherhood, and select one of their number by lot as a scapegoat. If any one of the number is guilty of a grave sin, he confesses it to this substitute, who must vicariously expiate it by prayer, fasting, and mortification. In return for this service he is supported by the rest, who perform for him all his worldly duties, pasture his sheep, and maintain his family.

The sacerdotal order of the Yezidis is very numerous, and is divided into castes, which do not intermarry with each other, and thus are kept permanently distinct. The office of Sheikh Nâsir, or High Priest, is hereditary in one family, and generally descends to the eldest son. This hierophant is, like the Dervish Sheikhs, believed to be endowed with supernatural powers, and his skill is resorted to, not only by his

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

of his hole, he looks about for the Wolf, but, not seeing him, he ventures forth, and seizes the gourd, which he ties to his tail. By-and-by he goes to the fountain, and, his tail hanging over the side, the gourd falls into the water, and the Fox, in his efforts to pull it out again, tumbles in himself. 537

The transcriber of the next story, M. Jaba, suggests that "Sări-Salté" must have been an old Crusader, who knew of the existence of the treasure, and had come from Europe, disguised as a dervish, to secure it. I venture, however, to think it much more probable that he was the famous warrior-monk, Sări-Saltík, one of the Moslem "Saints" who took part in the Ottoman Conquest, and of whom many extraordinary legends are related by the Turks.[1] 538 171

The Armenian and the Dervish.[2]

An Armenian named Sătir once lived in the town of Begiriv, which is situated in one of the *kazas* (districts) of Van. One day a wandering dervish was passing through the town, and received hospitality in the house of this Armenian. By the will of Allah, this dervish, whose name was Sări-Salté, fell sick, and remained a long time confined to his bed in the house of his host, who, with his wife and all the people of his household, took the greatest care of him. Every possible attention was paid to the dervish Sări-Salté. 539 286

[1] Some of these legends are to be found in the *Narrative* of Evliya Effendi, published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Among other feats the saint destroyed a seven-headed monster, and delivered a king's daughter whom he was about to devour. He is said to have travelled about from country to country, borne over the sea on his dervish's sheepskin mat.

[2] *Recueil de Notices et Récits Kourdes*, p. 94.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

539 In about two months the dervish got well and re-
216 covered his strength. One day he said to Sātir, "Get ready by to-night a sack, a cord, flint and steel, a candle, and some matches. Have all these things in readiness, for we are going somewhere. Thou hast put thyself to much trouble for me, and it is but right that I should do thee a good turn."

The Armenian, Sātir, got ready the sack and the other articles mentioned by Sāri-Salté, and, as soon as it was night, he and the dervish took them, and left the town. At an hour's distance from Begirlv, near the village of Kūrzūt, on the top of a hill, are the ruins of a castle, which dates from the time of the Infidels (*i.e.*, the Christians), the architecture and walls of which are very ancient. The dervish Sāri-Salté and the Armenian Sātir penetrated together into the interior of the ruins.

The dervish said to Sātir, "Knowest thou why I have led thee hither?"

"I know nothing about it, thou only knowest," replied the Armenian.

539 Then the dervish revealed to him that in the centre of this fortress, which has remained from the times of the Infidels, a treasure lay hidden. "I am going," he said, "to remove the spell which guards it; we will enter, and thou shalt take some of the gold. But utter not a word." After this caution to Sātir, the dervish pronounced some words, when a noise, accompanied by an earthquake, was heard within the walls. A few moments afterwards a door opened, and both entered the treasure chamber. Sātir lighted a candle, and saw indeed a large room where gold and coins of

although he has nothing to do with the office of mukhtar described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters, a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A more exact description of these reciprocal duties will follow.

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The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowandus, particularly for chilling drinks such as sherbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and water, qv, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

bazar of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both townspeople and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 40. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in dress-making (Cf. p. 82). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

286
A12
329
[323]

Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawelle the women even span during their long walk to and from the orchads.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *dêll*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindlewhorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but

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used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstretched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

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Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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production of knotted carpets with dyed yarn I had no opportunity of observing as they are not made in the area I visited.

Weaving was done on two different types of loom, *tiwan*, the one vertical, the other horizontal. The verticle type is a Penelope loom and, as Poul Andersen[76] stresses, is not so much a cohesive implement as an "arrangement" carrying a vertically-hung warp. The device is placed in front of a wall in the work room, which in the two cases I had an opportunity to study this type of loom, was the windowless storeroom of the house, the light being obtained from the door. The room also contained clay corn silos, sacks with wool, a sitting hen and so forth. The loom consists of two man-high, barked, irregular tree trunks, *kalaka*, ending at the top in a fork. They are placed at a distance from each other of about 1.50 m. At the top they lean against the ceiling, and at the bottom each is planted in a built-up clay cone. These two side poles carry a transverse bar, *sir-dir*, over which the warp, *pu*[77], is hung, and below, inserted into two holes just above the clay cones, another transverse bar, *Sir-dir*, to which the lowest part of the warp is attached by a rope wound round the pole. The vertical interval between the transverse bars is about 2.80 m. The warping board for the arrangement of the warp before it is hung up on the loom, consists only of two wooden sticks, about 2.80 m. distant from each other, stuck into the ground in the courtyard[78] outside the room. On them the weaving yarn is wound. Here two women work together. The warp is then lifted off the sticks, and tied to the loom. In order to be able to distribute the threads of the warp regularly on the upper bar, the weaver ascends a scaffold between the loom and the wall. This consists of two forks about 1 m. high planted in clay cones. They carry a transverse stick roughly 1.40 m. long on which the woman can move backwards and forwards. The shaft, about 1.60 m. long, is suspended in front of the warp by strings fastened to the forks of the two side poles. When every other warp thread has been attached to the shaft by means of the heddles, the former is pulled forward to form the shed, and 2-3 cloth slippers are stuck in at each end between the side poles and the shaft to ensure that the shed is firm. The shed-stick, *pa?-gurd*, is a thin bamboo stick about 1.50 m. long inserted into the warp above the shaft. During weaving the shed stick is moved whilst the shaft is secured. Only when the weaving, which begins from the bottom, necessitates it, is the shaft loosened by removing the slippers, the suspending strings shortened, and the shaft tightened again. The passage of the ball of wool that introduces the weft is prepared by a long iron needle passed horizontally in between the threads. A shuttle is not

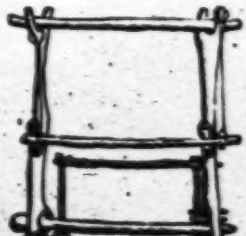

Fig. 41. Construction of the vertical loom. Two man-high trunks planted in clay cones and carrying two horizontal bars for the warp. In front hangs the shaft. Behind: a scaffold upon which the woman ascends to hang up the warp.

4: Hansen F.-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

286 used with this type of weaving. The weft is beaten in with a hand-shaped iron comb fitted with a cylindrical wooden handle mounted at right angles, *kāltit*[79].

[191] This vertical loom, known also from Armenia[80], is used for the making of the plain-woollen rugs that are used to cover the heaped bedclothes during the day. One such rug (E. 2253), measures 1.48 m. × 2.80 m., has a warp of sheep's wool, *xārī* (?), and a weft of goat's wool, *frāt*. This type of loom I only saw worked by women. So far as I could ascertain there is only one female weaver in each village. At Topzawa the loom was owned by a widow, who apparently possessed no family and [589] kept herself and her daughter by working the loom with the wool spun by the women of the village. The loom in the twin village of Rakawa was worked by an elderly woman whose son, with whom she lived, was the village *mexādr*.

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[191] The horizontal loom is a pit-treadle loom[81]. According to Ling Roth[82] it is the normal Hindu loom. Leach provides an excellently-drawn and thorough description of a loom of this kind in the Rowanduz district[83], though on a few points it differs from the example brought back from Tawella (E. 2249a–v). The loom type is a hand-treadle loom with finite warp. On being set up the floor forms a horizontal plane through the loom's mechanism, as certain parts of the loom, such as the warp-beam, the raddle-beam, a stand that swings back the sley-reed, and the cloth-beam rest on the ground, whilst a pit under the loom houses the treadles and the weaver's legs which are thus below the surface of the floor. At the same time the heddle, counterheddle and sley reed hang from the ceiling over the loom. The cord that keeps the warp taut passes from the warp-beam, fastened to the floor, up to a hook in the ceiling. From there the cord runs down by the side, or rear, of the weaver where it is fastened so close to him that it easily can be loosened, thus prolonging the warp, as the work proceeds[84].

The individual parts of the loom are as follows: Nearest to the weaver is the square-sectioned cloth- or breast-beam, which, in an oblong groove, takes the approx. 0.43 m. long rod, hidden by the wound-up material, to which the warp is fastened. The cloth- or breast-beam, 0.735 m. in length, attached to a pair of small uprights, can be locked at each revolution. The suspended sley-reed can be swung towards the weaver. The sley[85] is a rectangular frame 0.89 m. × 0.29 m. that can be dismantled so that combs or reeds, *šāna*, of various degrees of fineness can be changed. The sley-reed is inserted between two split bamboo sticks, 0.595 m. long, connected with two forked uprights on an 0.83 m. long transverse stick, fastened to the ground, which serves to swing back the sley-reed when this is released by the weaver. The sley-reed is suspended from a rope 2.80 m. long that passes through a hook in the ceiling. The other end of the rope carries two pear-shaped pulley-blocks which again carry by a short rope the heddle and counter heddle, each consisting of two transverse sticks with threads between. In the middle of the heddles there is an eye through which passes the thread of the warp, which is led through a reed in the sley-reed, so that every other warp thread passes through an eye on the one shaft and every other one through an eye on the other. From the lowest transverse stick on the shafts hang two transverse wooden sticks round which leather straps are stretched which in turn carry the treadles, a pair of wooden blocks about 0.25 m. long connected by a transverse stick. By alternately depressing these treadles the warp is divided so that every other warp thread is raised

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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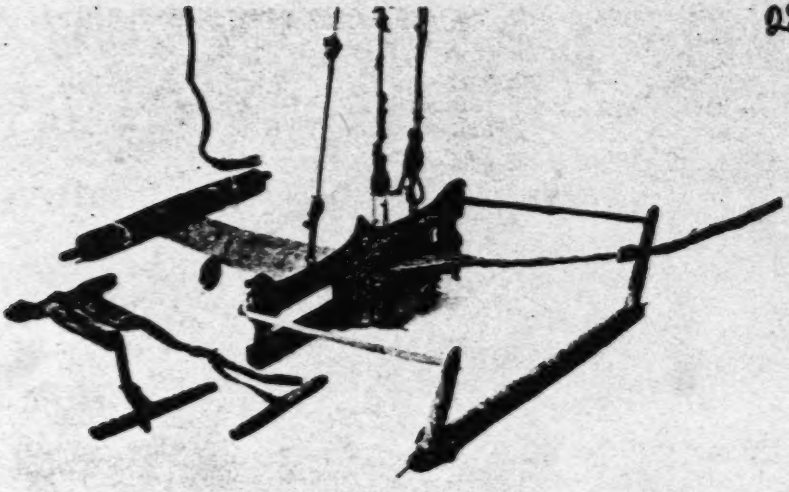

Fig. 42. Transportable parts of the horizontal pit-treadle loom (E. 2249a-v). Left: the breast-beam. Beside the warp lays the shuttle. Centre: the sley-reed, the heddle and counter heddle. Right: the stand that swings the sley-reed. The treadles with leather straps are spread out in front.

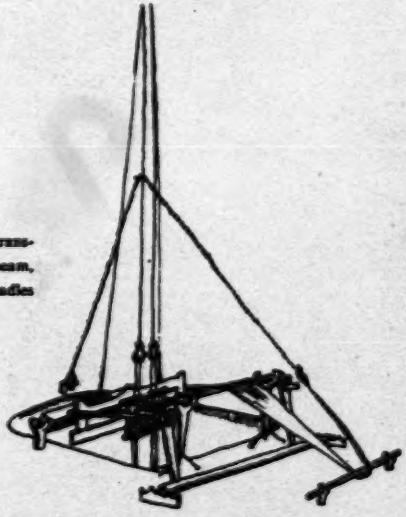

Fig. 43. Construction of the horizontal pit-treadle loom. The transportable parts (cf. fig. 42) have been supplemented by raddle-beam, warp-beam and two small uprights for the breast-beam. The treadles hang down into the pit.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

286 and every other lowered, an opening being thus formed for the introduction of the woof. Behind the suspended shafts the warp continues over the raddle-beam, a round stick about 0.75 m. placed horizontally upon two forks anchored in two clay cones, then passes under the warp beam resting on the ground, whereafter it continues in a rope some 7 m. in length which, as mentioned above, passes over a fixture in the ceiling and descends by the side of the operator where the rope is fastened to a hook and can be loosened at will thus releasing more warp as this gradually becomes necessary.

The woof is introduced with the help of a boat-shaped shuttle of wood, *makδ*, (E. 2248), 0.165 m. long, containing an iron spool, *lûla*, round which the yarn is wound[86]. The material woven on this vertical pit treadle loom can be 0.30 m. wide and be used, for example, for sacks, *kerâre*, (E. 2251), or it can be woven only 0.16 m. wide, quite thin, and be used for men's clothing. In the latter case the yarn is stretched beforehand in an open space in the village (Sargalu) on 17 forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Men and women work together at this, and weaving could

Fig. 44. Before weaving, the yarn is stretched out in an open place on forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Sargalu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balkha.

286 [962]

e done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). fter the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers 12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of s width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. he wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched ut to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp leats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

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he production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type re sold in the *sāq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various ings, including butter.

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The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking ater into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local ay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of pecially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-haped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[87]. They are then polished side and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions n the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

323 415 [463] [531] 000

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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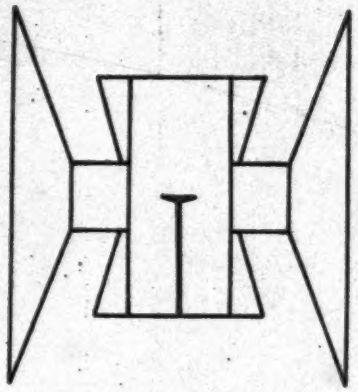

Fig. 72. Diagram. Cut of man's white cotton shirt (E. 2314). (Cf. cut of woman's kirtle fig. 61).

291 the forearm like a broad, folded white band[44]. Wedge-shaped pieces of material are let into the sides of the shirt. These are 0.19 m. broad at the bottom and end at the top with a square gusset sewn to the armpit. The cuffs, so characteristic of Kurdish men's dress, could be loose, independent elements of pure silk or nylon on sale in the *sāq* of towns like Sulaimani or Halabja, and used in conjunction with a shirt of European pattern in order to retain this typical Kurdish feature even after European elements have made their entry into the dress of men.

Drawers, *dirpyr*[45], (E. 2315) are made of close-woven white cotton material. In cut they are bag-shaped breech-cloth trousers[46] of the same type as those typical of Turkish male dress[47]. However, from the point of view of cut they vary. In the middle of the bag, a rhomboid of material is cut out, turned 45 degrees, and then sewn on again as a gusset (see diagram). By so doing the drawers are given tapering legs whilst the great breadth around the hips and posterior is retained, a shape Edmonds calls "peg top cut"[48]. The width at the top is 2.00 m. and each leg, 0.95 m. long, is 0.40 m. wide. The drawers have a casing at the top with a tape running through it that gathers the fullness around the man's waist. These drawers are peculiar in that, as noticed by Chardin as early as 1711[49], they are quite closed having no fly in the front.

[435] The outer garment, is "a suit", *rihit-o-čāqā*[50], consisting of jacket and trousers made of the same material, home-woven woollen[51] cloth, price about 2½ din. = £2/10/0. Such suits can be purchased ready-made in the *sāq* and, as mentioned, appeared in two different types typical of the Sulaimani and Rowanduz areas, respectively.

[286] Trousers, *rihit*, from the Sulaimani district (E. 2316b). The material is woven of goat's wool, dark-brown, light-brown or yellowish-white. The weaving breadth is only 0.165 m., and the trousers therefore consist of 12 lengths of material sewn together. Before being sewn the material is folded together and boiled (cf. p. 55), so that each length of material obtains two sharp longitudinal creases which,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Admal*, (E. 2254)-of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60×1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 96.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. 2254). Topzawa.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sure of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Juynboll[6], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3–8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven position to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

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[788]

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The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 6 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9–10 p.m.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 ($250 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil liwa. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

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Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to effect the basis economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

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In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different commoners, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind*

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Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Walash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shevdini of Hayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

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* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowandus and Erbil.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Where possible the driving water is obtained by diverting some main stream. This is done at Haupurdan, Hayat and Merga and the operation of the mill then has no effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the cultivation on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some friction arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good kicking from the Agha for cutting the dyke during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hastily thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a near relative of the Agha. In Haupurdan it is the Agha himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the Agha. The terms are in effect that the owner of the wheat hires the mill at a fixed charge for each sack of corn ground. The man who owns the wheat himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The millowner merely obtains a rental for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with up-to-date apparatus in the towns, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the trouble involved in carrying the wheat to Rowandus and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In outlying districts at any rate then the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

Weaving

"The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the cloth loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "beater in" suspended from a rigid rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 10½ inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. Thus from specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trouserings of commoners, has Warp 19; Weft 22 threads

"The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not considered here since its social relevance seems insignificant.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

402 per inch; while a good quality coloured cloth such as worn by Aghas has
• 286 Warp 44; Weft 28 threads per inch.

As mentioned already the village weaver, where there is one, now
462 has to face serious competition not only from the cloth dealers of the
178 town but also from certain large scale weaving concerns in Rowanduz and
286 Erbil. The latter still use the ordinary Kurdish looms but seem to be able to produce a better quality product than the village craftsman. The difference may be due to the fact that the town craftsman uses a mechanically spun thread, whereas the village weaver in the main works with a hand spun article. But there is no definite tradition that the town made material is superior. The clothes worn by the Mir while I was in Dergala had been made from local cloth, his son Jelal, on the other hand, had purchased the stuff for his new blue trousers in Rowanduz. My impression is however that with the ever increasing facilities for contact with traders from the town the functions of the village weaver will soon become superfluous and the community will become completely dependent upon outside sources in yet one further respect.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

page 65

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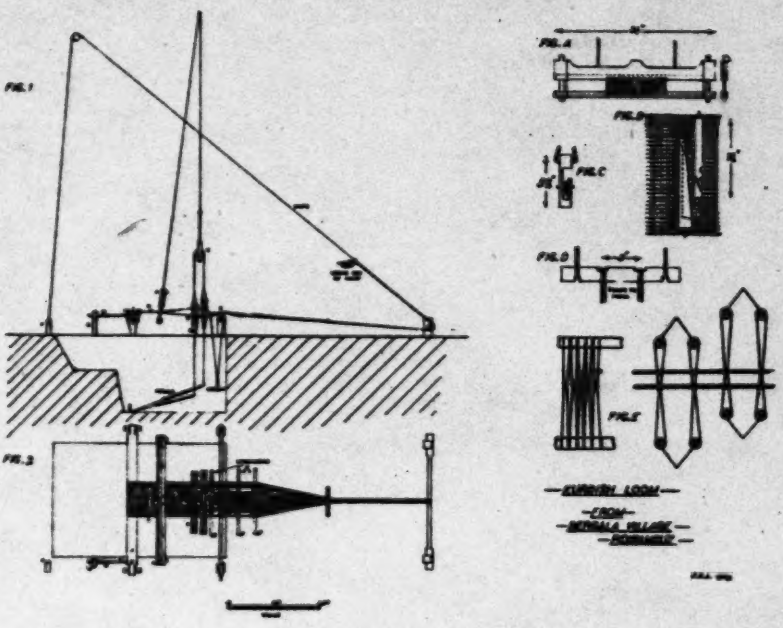

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Kurdish Loom

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• 256

The Kurdish Loom illustrated on the opposite page has not, so far as I can discover, been described in detail before. *Ling Roth mentions the Hindu Pit Treadle Loom as a variation of the Horizontal Narrow Band Treadle Loom but does not describe it. The Kurdish Pit Treadle Loom, here shown, is similar to that used in Central Mesopotamia except that the latter has the sley slung from a rigid rectangular framework thus allowing of a wider warp.

Taken in conjunction with the photographs (unfortunately blurred owing to overexposure) the diagrams opposite should be more or less self explanatory.

The weaver sits in a pit beneath the loom. He operates the heddle mechanism with his feet by means of a treadle and works the shuttle and sley with his hands.

Fig. 1 is a section through the loom and Fig. 2 is the corresponding plan. Portions of the apparatus marked A.B.C.D.E. in small letters are shown in larger scale in the subsidiary figures to the right of the diagram. The scales for figures A.B.C.D. are as indicated; Fig.E is diagrammatic only.

Fig.A shows the sley (reed, beater in). As can be seen it can be readily taken to pieces. The comb of the reed is not rigidly attached to the batten frame but runs freely in grooved slots indicated by the dotted lines. This prevents the warp being 'dragged' on one side if the weaver fails to pull the sley quite straight.

The woof (weft) on the finished cloth immediately behind the shed is kept taut by the device shown in Fig.B. I am unaware of the English technical term for this device. It can be seen in position in one of the photographs. It consists of two pieces of wood, each with a steel needle at one end, joined together with string at the other. By adjusting the length of the string the two pieces can be made to form a rigid bar of variable length. The diagram shows the pieces in position on the cloth before looking one inside the other.

Fig.C shows one of the two pulley blocks supporting the heddle rocker.

Fig.D shows one of the bars from which the pedal straps are suspended; it appears in cross section in figure 1 at the point D.

Fig.E shows (diagrammatically) the way the warp threads are threaded through the leashes of the heddle. Note from figure 1 that both heddle and counter-heddle are double, the odd threads passing through both sets of leashes on one side of the rocker and the even threads through those of the other. I did not obtain precise details of how the leash strings are knotted and looped.

*H. Ling Roth - Studies in Primitive Looms

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The finished cloth is rolled on the square sectioned breast beam (J). This is held in position by the rod H which fits into one of four holes in the sides of J and is hooked under the fixed ground peg F. To adjust the warp the rope is freed at F, and H and J can then be adjusted at will. It should be noted that for convenience F.G.H. have been shown in Fig.1 as well as in Fig.2 though they are positioned on the weavers right hand side as indicated in the plan. 402 2860

There are three spreaders (lase rods), the front one of which is in front of the raddle beam K. This last is held down by the weight shown in figure 1; this prevents the spreader slipping forward into the heddle mechanism and prevents the warp 'bouncing' on K. Without this device the rear spreaders would require constant adjustment.

The raddle beam K is slightly grooved on the top face so as to keep the threads in place; it serves the same function as the spreaders - that of keeping the warp threads taut and spread out. Its occurrence is unusual in primitive loom designs.

[p 68 is blank]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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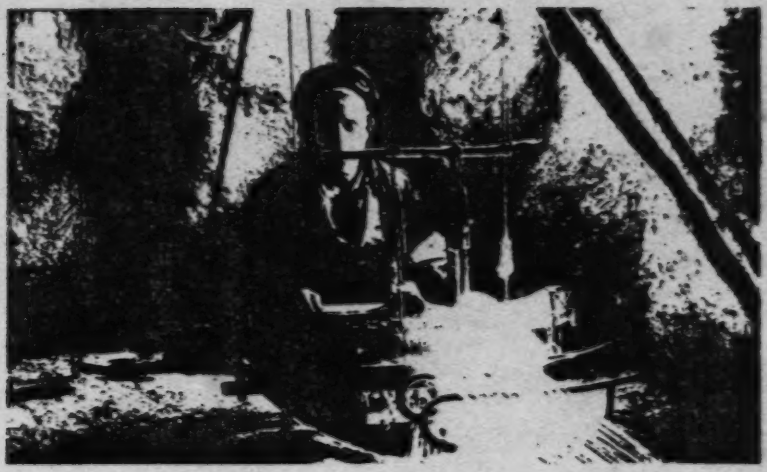

Plate 13.
Loom. (For comparison with diagrams.)

Plate 14.
Loom. (For comparison with diagrams.)

[Opposite page 74 - E]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kûrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 242 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is [243] called *ôjaflt*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

● 241 The dress of Kûrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Guguret or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *kûk*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *kûrdî*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kûrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *tchoradia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from [245] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kûrdish lady. Notwith-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1860) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the 291
baldness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at
night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form,
but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the
tchorakkie, or cloak, is of a darker shade of blue, with
white stripes round the bottom, the corners being
knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small
cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the
face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kûrdish women 291
do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In 542
large towns like Sulèmanieh the ladies wear a blue
checked sheet, and a screen of black horsehair, like
the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however,
seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest
rank, who may wish to pass through the streets
incognito; and the lower class women generally go
about with their faces uncovered. The village women
veil themselves when they leave their houses; and
the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their
faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Menservants 291
are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms 579
occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors
are freely received by the assembled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom 181
of manners, Kûrdish women conduct themselves with 542
the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither
the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the for-
wardness too often seen in the behaviour of the
Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, 434
exceptionally high among the races of the country.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

relays of performers, the men dancing first, and then 535
the women. Mr. Rich thus graphically describes the 585
part taken by ladies in this national recreation:

"The music struck up again the notes of the *tekepee*, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, [292]
hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplendent with gold spangles and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to me, who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab tribeswomen are more scrupulous.

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and waringly round the enclosure, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The tune was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their [293]
homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Sulimania."

The Kûrds, being nominally Moslems, the marriage 585
contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an imâm. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of [713]
his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Sultan Murad and Siso the Shepherd.[1]

It is well known that the Kûrds lead their sheep in flocks into Syria and Arabia, and even to Constantinople. Once a shepherd named Siso, of the tribe of Bera-Berukân, led his sheep to Constantinople for sale. His shoulders covered with a goatskin, as is the custom among shepherds, he grazed his sheep in the neighbourhood of the capital.

One day Sultan Murad and his *lala*,[2] both disguised as dervishes, were walking in the suburbs, and they came to the spot where Siso was with his sheep. Now Sultan Murad had never in his life seen Kûrds, nor shepherds in such a costume. Seeing Siso so strangely dressed, the Sultan was astonished, and said to his *lala*, "What race of men is this who resemble in no respect the people of Stamboul, with their heads and their eyes covered with goatskins?"

The *lala* replied that it was a Kûrd from Anatolia, who had brought his sheep for sale.

"Let us approach this strange creature," said the Sultan, "and see what manner of man he is."

Then the Sovereign and his *lala* in their dervish disguises came up to the shepherd and saluted him. He returned their salutation, saying, "You are welcome, *lords* (father) dervishes." The Sultan and the *lala* sat down. The shepherd had a pipe with a short stem which he filled and offered to the dervishes, who

[1] Jules, *Journal, &c.*, p. 62.

[2] Tutor or confidential attendant. This name is also given to a male slave who has the charge of children.

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its arrival an event of great joy in his household. 45

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and chaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter. 294 29 443 [439] 296 [521]

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

bazaz of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both townspeople and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazaz, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a men's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jayjani Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

294 437 [443] [292] 294 291 [435] 294 855 796

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

women are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. 264 574
When there are male guests formally invited, the women are withdrawn from sight and the food is served in a grand array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quickly, standing around a table in the diwankhana or a room neighboring the kitchen. 264 516 It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater leisure with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the haunches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too voraciously, to serve oneself an outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, 291 in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, and they make greater use of brighter hues and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often intermingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

Iraq, and that which is European. It need not be thought 291 ●
that the Kurdish element is something wholly unique, for [178]
there is an abundance of evidence, for example, almost any
Persian miniature painting, to indicate that colourful dyes,
if not the styles themselves, had a greater province in
centuries gone by than are in evidence today, a change
bound up in the impoverishment of the area and coupled
with the impact of European civilization.

Turning first to the Kurdish townsmen of Rowanduz,
dressed in native clothing, the basic undergarment is a
pair of baggy, white cotton drawers, bound at the waist
by a draw-string, which fall a few inches below the knees.
A cotton undershirt may or may not be worn, and the next
mandatory item is a white cotton shirt without a collar,
closed at the neck by a series of round cloth buttons.
The salient characteristic of this shirt is its sleeve which
extends almost a foot beyond the wrist and is split to the
elbow. When a jacket is worn, this long end is turned
back and tied around the forearm, just below the elbow.
For washing, or for fighting, the two ends are tied to- [515] [579]
gether behind the neck, drawing up the sleeves of both
shirt and jacket above the elbows. A sleeveless vest,
of European style and fastened with a number of buttons,
is often worn over the shirt. Its fabric is either
identical with the jacket or of striped cotton, but it
is not exposed to view in outdoor attire.

The outer garments consist of trousers and jacket,

both of which are worn in Rowanduz with no apparent regard to their several regional styles. The trousers are full, usually gathered at the waist with a cord, and may have wide bell-bottoms, the mode of the district, or be narrowed slightly at the ankle, the general Kurdish type. In no case are these tightly bound about the calf, as in the Turkish shirwal still seen in Syria and Egypt. The jacket, tucked in the trousers, has two forms, of which the first is collarless, although its edges have a wide embroidered border, and is single-breasted, one side folded slightly over the other without fasteners. The second is in the style of a doubled-breasted military tunic of the last century, with a collar about an inch high of stitched thicknesses of material, flaring lapels, parallel rows of buttons on the front, and two pleated pockets with pointed flaps. These outer garments need not be of the same colour. For a time Rashid Agha of Jindian, one of many examples, wore a jacket of white and trousers of dark blue. The materials are either European or local fabrics, and the tailoring is professional, although the embroidery is done in the homes by the women, some of it in intricately-executed bands along the seams and the hems. A typical suit consists of both trousers and jacket in the same colour, made of squares of locally woven wool cloth, light tan or blue, stitched and embroidered with thread of the same hue. 291 [294] [462]

The type of footgear for men has been indicated above,

low-cut European shoes or the woven sandals with rubber soles. Stockings are by no means thought necessary, although the villagers almost always appear in a coarse domestic product which is worn according to the taste and resources of the individual concerned. It is commonplace for poorer men of the town to go without, but this is not confined to the class. The waist is bound with a sash, a rolled strip of material one or two feet in width, and perhaps four or five yards in length. The cloth itself is often a flowered cotton print, a typical example showing red blossoms outlined in white on a black background, and is tied by holding immobile in front of the torso a foot or two of one end of the goods around which, tautly circling and recircling the waist, the longer part is entwined in a series of loops until the cloth is exhausted and the ends may be tucked under the resulting girdle. This sash is used to carry a number of items, money, cigarettes, and the like, inasmuch as the only other pockets usually found in the costume are in the vest or the military-type jacket. A leather belt is often buckled over it, particularly when weapons are carried. 291 [482]

The headdress is composed of an embroidered skullcap and two rolled scarves bound about it to form a turban. Although the embroidered cap, known throughout Iraq, was present in the town in Ottoman times, the older type was of felt and peaked, with a tassel ornamenting the top. This has now disappeared, replaced by the round embroidered form, manufactured commercially outside the area. The scarves are

also imports, but their fringes must be prepared by local seamstresses. Folded diagonally and rolled, the scarves are bound around the head one next to the other, and one or more of the ends usually hang down to the shoulders. The cap is of white crocheted cloth and decorated with simple patterns in variously coloured thread, sometimes of gilt or silver. The scarves are characteristically an open black and white print, the same as used in the chafiya or head-cloth of the Arabs to the south, although some are a solid grey or black. The green turban which indicates a descendant of the tribe of the Prophet is worn in the same way, but is infrequently encountered. Only one man in Rowanduz, an elderly blacksmith of humble station, appeared in it regularly. The tarbush, the red felt Turkish "fez," has a limited and curious survival in Iraq, among the imams or priests of the Shiite (Muslim) faith and Jewish money-changers. It is never seen in the town. A peculiar type of woolen cap, with a cloth bill in front, a round tassel on top, and a loose hanging which falls over the back of the neck, is found occasionally, affected by chieftains and their bodyguards. It is a peculiarity of a mountain tribal group, the Skikak. In the Rowanduz district it is taken to indicate a pugnacious or formidable character. It is difficult to decide on its origins. There is an old and extremely widespread prejudice throughout the Islamic world against headgear with brims or bills "because they do not permit the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground in prayer."

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Indoors, in a private home, a person dressed in this fashion may discard his turban, placing it on the seat beside him, wearing only his cap. In his own house, particularly during summer, the sash, jacket, and outer trousers are also removed. As far as headdress is concerned, few townsmen remain completely uncovered except when sleeping, and the cap is worn, with or without the turban, a large part of the day. 291

Several persons in the town wear the Arab style, a dishdasha (colloquial Arabic of Iraq), a full-length cassock of wool or cotton buttoned at the neck, and a simple turban of a single scarf would flatly about the skullcap. Over the cassock is sometimes seen the 'aba or rida, a loosely-fitting collarless mantle with short, full sleeves, woven in wide wool mesh and decorated with a thicker border of gold and silver thread. The mullas or town priests always use this garb. In contrast to Arab garments, the incursion in recent years of European cotton pajamas, obtained from the tailors or from Erbil, has been marked. These are worn over the undergarments and are for lounging rather than sleeping. Some of the youths wear them on the streets, and an older student in pajamas and a European cloth jacket is not an uncommon sight in a shaykhana. They are not, however, considered polite outdoor attire for persons of dignity. In winter the townsmen put on few unique items of clothing, unless they possess a European overcoat, and bundle up in additional shirts, vests, and 177 291 [793]

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. 177

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding 291
the necktie during the summer. A number affect the black wool forage cap instituted by King Feisal I. to replace the red tarbush of Ottoman connotation, rather than the usual European headgear, and others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Kurdish officials of higher rank prefer the European felt hat, rarely worn by Arab civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Kurdish resistance" to Arab rule. For un- [668]
dress attire, the official divests himself of his outer garments and puts on pajamas or the dishdasha, the cassock, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Bedouin type, these last not generally used by the townsmen. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains 291
to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Kurdish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for indoor use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because almost any garment is passed through the family until finally worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy [431] [735]
to the poor, for clothing is a favorite benefice at the time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

army officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective baladi (from balad, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an official or an officer has entered a higher class of society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing, say, a skullcap, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," baladi, who has no understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be interpreted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolutionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing as far as the government service and the governed are concerned.

Most of the men of the district are armed and appear frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most widespread is the khunjir or dagger which is a curved blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

forbidden in the Rowanduz area and an investigation of their sources might prove embarrassing to the government itself. Most of the modern items, however, have an Iranian Army history. The adulation of weapons, common to the youth of many countries, is a prominent feature of Kurdish adolescence, and a lad who by diligence or a stroke of good fortune has obtained an elderly pistol or a rifle has a treasure indeed. The skill of the Kurds with arms is open to some question, in view of the high price of illicit ammunition, but several demonstrations were witnessed on vultures (whom it is strictly forbidden to shoot) which gave evidence of capability. 411 [656] [136] [656]

In treating the costume of the women of the town, it is important to remember that three different categories must be dealt with, the wives of the civil officials, Kurdish townswomen of the upper class, and those of humbler stations, although the difference in dress between the latter two groups is largely a matter of the quality of the material and the wearing of the veil. To describe first the garments of a Kurdish woman of the lower classes, the basic undergarment, as in the case of the men, is a pair of white cotton drawers falling below the knees, although in these the bottoms are more tightly bound about the calves. Above this a simple cotton shirt may appear. Over the drawers full trousers of dark-coloured cloth, drawn in at the ankles, may be worn, an invariable item in the attire of village women. To build up the outer garment a series of chemises and simple dresses with long, 291

open sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put on, although in the case of village women only one or two outer dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For a headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, townswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with a turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as embroidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together by the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the hemispherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of the men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark blue in colour, a single roll of cloth. 291 ●

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a restriction which, of course, has no existence among the women themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish women of the upper class may only appear uncovered before the men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and dignity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, women of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their life, working in the fields and going to market, are always unveiled and a trip to the bazar crowded with men affords them no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially prominent or alien person may cause them to hide their heads. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears in a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save in the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the sustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural Kurdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to run. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also 291 562 [754] [576] [609]

a matter of social status, and many women, flattering themselves, will hide their faces although their station does not warrant it, to the amusement and sometimes the respect of others. One noticed from a distance that an elderly woman of the lower class turned against a wall and concealed her face from Hashid Agha of Jindian. "The old fool," he said, "she thinks herself still a girl." The townswomen of wealthier houses never appear in the streets unveiled; and the old, heavy covering of Ottoman times has been replaced completely by the lighter pacha, derived from the Arab cities. This garment is easily formed by knotting together two corners of a large piece of black cloth so as to make a tight circle at one end in the dimension of the head. This circle is placed around the skull with the knot at the nape of the neck and the whole cloth is tossed backwards, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. The forward edges can be controlled with the hands and drawn across the face whenever necessary. Within their homes, most women use a simple headcloth, usually of white gauze, which falls over the shoulders and hangs to the waist, and, just as the men, are infrequently without something on their heads. Among the Kurds, however, it is a much greater shame for a girl to have her legs observed by a stranger than her face. 291 562 [177]

The rich garments of a wedding or the festival, particularly in wealthy houses, are of much the same type, with the addition of a few items and the better quality of 292

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowanduz the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in shapeless black, and in the ten or twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

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Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their footwear includes European models, some simple slippers, and the kabkabs. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

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[411]
[579]

rarely wear stockings, for there is little need of them with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often use them, obtained from the local merchants or Erbil. 291

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the pacha or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their mothers, but most have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular youngster, however to all appearances European, one must note the piece of blue porcelain pinned on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the town wear [301] [751] [754]

white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
garments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth European jacket. The dress of the children of officials and officers is much like that of their Kurdish playfellows, at the same time more European in character, particularly for the boys who sometimes wear slacks and jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the winter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
younger children are confined to the houses in extremely cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist. There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys, the adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in the eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under considerable pressure to influence the father for money to deck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 186
follows a government career in the secondary schools and 291
colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such notions to the condemning adjective _haleti_, "rustic," although he may retain a certain admiration for the dashing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We say," said an Effi, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissensions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowandus area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowandus only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Issa'il

advise or scold their employers.

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalil Khoshnaw, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalil Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
xwuhki mirî, "sister of husband," rather than mirîtiwhk. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [536]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [537]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even they are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is re- 593
turned for some reason to her parental home, it is as 577
much a reflection on her brothers as on herself. 554

In all of the situations outlined thus far there 291
has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal 882
uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not per- 574
mitted to associate freely with all of the women of the 602
house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. 835
The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even 605
alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [514]

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, 854
can be carried about easily by this last. The child is [352]
laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps
of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece
of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the
urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin.
In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze
to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross-
piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye, [751]
verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces
of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded orna-
ments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple 291
dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a 854
little apron. No undergarments are in use. The
shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like
those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia,
much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, 553
an event which is not marked in Rowandus by an elaborate 852
ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend,
and entertains them in the guest-room with light refresh-
ments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is
placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name
selected previously by one of the family. He holds the
child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear.
He gently intones what was described in Rowandus as the Iman
(Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

855
[291]
il. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing
ferentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the
s, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The elder 864
ldren teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs
public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six 863
ths, by the repetition of a nonsense word which
nifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use
a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its
r of water is learned. After two or three years the
her and others of the family begin to punish a child
soils himself. For six months after birth the nails 302
a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped 855
the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the
ls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained
ficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are [804]
rced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of 852
r and six years is circumcision, which, although not 304
tioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attri-
e of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in
andum tells a son who has undergone the operation.
erally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of
appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the
s in the town who are in need of it. The operation
lf is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering
wish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the
ointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

346 [352] [353] [217] [718] [576] [291] [353] [793] [789]

ted and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their [792]
ovenants. They are also supposed to be able to "read" [789]
those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their [158] [755].
. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which
ain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar
elieved to confer the power of snake-charming. They
other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in [304]
ous ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa
bited his forearms which were covered with scars from
demonstrations. In addition to these displays and
r tumultous meetings, the darwishes commonly practice
e magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the
part engaged in everyday employment.

The darwishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. [792]
ji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but dis- [291]
ed the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap
a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the
ag. On formal errands, for example, when he was called
the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon,
ji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a [293]
ring-stick or staff. Some darwishes bind their waists [788]
the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji
tafa's darwish activities, observed in his house, con-
ted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine
aps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the
ditional badge of the darwish) made of a large hollowed
d with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and
attered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd [212]

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195 648 by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[5], which, however, was never ratified. At the final conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shattered, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Shereef of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Brussels or Branting line[6] by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. The justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had seen their dream of an independent Kurdistan born at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had aired their feelings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[7], Iran[8] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[9], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1861, d. 1956)[10] *hukmdar* in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed subsidies. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government, proclaiming himself *malik*, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[11], who as early as 1906 had accepted Islam and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[12] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1921 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the peace negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922-24, 1927 and in 1930-31, and under Achmad of Barzan in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrigg and Stoakes[13], and Edmonds[14].

184 648 My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I lived with in 1957 can be summarized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan, look to the north, to Soviet Russia[15]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (about one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Hoybun Committee[16] still existed, the Kurds, whilst I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realised from that quarter.

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562 291 What has previously been written about Kurdish women comes from the pens of men. Having given the following description of the Arab women in Baghad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which slip about in little yellow boots, and which you are told are women," adding: "... in fact no better disguise than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to snare away prying eyes and damp the spirit of libertinism ..."[17] Fraser, 1840, says concerning the Kurdish women that "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, the utmost practised in this way being to bring the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

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Fig. 1. Village aristocracy. Married women fetching wine leaves. Serkan.

and chins ..."[18]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"[19]. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[20], in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

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[123]

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bleibtreu, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und geniessen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten anders morgenländischen Völkern"[21]. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947; "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[22]. Some insistence that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds[23], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the bazaar"[24]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a smaller treatment ... than is seen among Mussleman races"[25]. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chiefs

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keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qā'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Husain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).

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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 45).

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a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[32], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababaile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *malik* (king) of Kurdistan.

[493]

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

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responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

[622]

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

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The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 5. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

[142 516 252 291 412 415 302]

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rban milieu. Uneducated married woman
cated girl taking tea in the courtyard.
ai.

Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be d under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such rela- imited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can ated to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, on different principles.

village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes zawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry f Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given ing, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These oups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my ter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters tended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

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part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub- l zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a inless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th . The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part ogether in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat f the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications t of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out water- s. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round in flaily-heaped corn. Tepasuwa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *lonjav*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[45], threshing car[46] or threshing
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 243
of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross-seat. Between the side pieces, which are 407
studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[47]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

According to Hay[48] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

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Fig. 16. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tweilla.

of this, with a kind of timber frame consisting of short, sleeper-like, wooden beams placed horizontally in the stone walls though not joined together. The stones in the wall have either no binding agent or clay is used as mortar. In the newest houses cement has been adopted. The interior walls in some of the rooms are covered by a clay or gypsum layer applied by the women, which is afterwards polished with flat stones[6]. It appears like a thick white oil paint. In villages and in the older houses in Sulaimani, on the other hand, the walls are made of mud bricks, *zill*. The newer houses in Sulaimani are built of burnt brick. In the villages the bricks are first formed from the clay available on the building site, mixed with water and thoroughly kneaded by the feet of men. Water for the kneading process is obtained by directing an irrigation channel to the building site, or fetched in goatskins which are hung in pairs on the back of a donkey. Pebbles for the foundation, and for the rear wall if the house is built out of the side of a hill, are also transported by donkeys, being carried in basket-shaped frames. The kneaded mass of clay is formed into the individual brick in a rectangular wooden frame, in the same way as we form raw peat. The brick is put out on the hillside to dry for some days without much attention being paid as to whether the surface is really flat. After the foundation of the wall has been

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342 pairs, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about ½ metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in less well-to-do homes this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[9]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[9] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, *labun*. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. At many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sargalu, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden nails[10]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 19. Wall of mud bricks. Tepsawa.

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Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topsawa.

The most important "piece of *furniture*" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *kilâ*[39], and what we call orients[1]—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fûrš*, (E. 2257)[40] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *mahwa'a* or *sînî*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *haywân* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood ceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bâwbâw*, 0,333 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

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in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not immortalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the erratic light from the lamp. In the clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The house now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth. 369 342 [363]

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 35 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home. 592 [595]

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut 342 361 369 341

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a complete room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, rolls, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[1]. The dough, *hawir*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ard*, sifted through a coarse sieve, water, *ave*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xêr-dân*,[2] of knotted or woven material (E. 2207). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish (*tasê*) on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2202) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumê*, about the size of a chunked fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways, the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a pit-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough shown is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

Fig. 11. Cows at well in dairy are without bars behind. Tripoli.

It was noted that the first water strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in rapid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[1]. Milk could be eaten with sliced[illegible] in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It would also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[2].

Milk diluted with water becomes sakeeb[1], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. Milk is also the material from which butter, ḥimi, is churned[2]. Every day at 3 a.m. in the villages, water is poured into the churning sack, mašk, made of a whole goat-skin turned in salt bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the milk down the neck opening of the skin, which is then knot even, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[3] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

the wall of the entrance or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard, it would also be hung up on a tripod, rapid, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 30 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[28] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly until the impurities evaporate. In this clarified state it is called *nsigiri*[29].

Fig. 34. Woman churning. The butter sack, made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Tongo-ma.

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

village environment. In Tzipanos the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle remain home in the morning. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. Milk is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the vestibule or on a beam

Fig. 16. Woman grinding before the fire, Tzipanos.

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Fig. 28. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Tsepawm.

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the house. Whenever grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in procession. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. Where the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Bekhlie was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various houses in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the house and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Bekhlie the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

and every other lowermost, an opening being thus formed for the introduction of the weaft. Behind the suspended shafts the warp continues over the middle beam, a round stick about 0.75 m. placed horizontally upon two forks anchored in two clay cones, then passes under the warp beam resting on the ground, whereafter it continues in a rope some 7 m. in length which, as mentioned above, passes over a groove in the ceiling and descends by the side of the operator where the rope is fastened to a hook and can be loosened or will thus releasing more warp as this gradually becomes necessary.

The weaft is introduced with the help of a boat-shaped shuttle of wood, *wakii*, (E. 2340), 0.307 m. long, containing an iron spool, *fâka*, round which the yarn is wound[1]. The material woven on this vertical pit treadle loom can be 0.30 m. wide and be used, for example, for sacks, *kwâno*, (E. 2351), or it can be woven only 0.16 m. wide, quite thin, and be used for men's clothing. In the latter case the yarn is stretched beforehand in an open space in the village (*bangale*) on 17 forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of *kwac*. Men and women work together at this, and weaving could

Fig. 44. Before weaving, the yarn is stretched out in an open place on forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of *kwac*. Sangaia.

Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 46). Sangelo.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the fiber is used both by men and women. Sulaka.

done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Akrun Kurmanj, for the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (3 yds.) and trousers (4 yds.), respectively, it is "planed". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2230), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp folds in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 45)".

The production of clay vessels. There are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type is sold in the city of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2199) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced at home in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of especially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[1]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a loop handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

CHAPTER III

APPEARANCE

Women's dress. The appearance of Kurdish women is created by her dress, her jewellery and beauty culture. For the prosperous the dress materials are: silk, artificial silk, brocade, satin and velvet. Light colours for the young, dark for their elders. The predominant colours are: crimson, purple, turquoise, rose and green. Women's dress, *fûstan*, consists of elements essentially Kurdish in form and composition, elements connected with Islam, and elements introduced from Western culture.

Kurdish elements. Trousers, *derâ'i-tirâk*, (E. 2333, E. 2338) are about 1 m. long and about 2.50 m. wide at the top. Here they are gathered with a casing and rest on the hips. At the extremities each trouser leg is 1.15 m. wide and gathered around the ankles with a draw string. From the point of view of cut they are legging trousers with an inserted square gusset 0.25 m. x 0.25 m. The upper part of the trousers is of white cotton material, the lower part of coloured cloth of, say, cotton, taffeta or brocade[1].

Shift or petticoat, *kin-i-tirâk*, (E. 2334) is about 0.80 m. long with large arm openings and large, round neckline, identical front and back. The width above is 1.20 m., below 1.70 m. so that it does not tighten when the woman sits tailor fashion. It comes down over the knees hiding the upper white section of the trousers. The material is shiny, coloured artificial silk.

The gown or kirtle, *kirâ'i*, (E. 2335, 2340, 2350), is 1.20 m. to 1.30 m. long and drags along the ground. In cut it is a poncho gown[2] with inserted side gores, small circular neck line with short vent[3]. The sleeves are 0.40 m. wide, attached to the body at right angles and ending in funnel-shaped cuffs, the length of which, is 0.85 m. to 1.10 m. These cuffs are pulled out through the sleeves of garments worn on top in cold weather (coat or caftan, or both) and wound around the under arm. In warm weather, when there are no outer garments, the cuffs are tied in a knot at the points and thrown over the back, leaving the sleeves open and half-length[4]. During prayer the tied cuffs are undone so that they hang out over the hands, the tips reaching the ground. The material of the kirtle can be dark, flowered cotton or patterned chiffon. During work the kirtle may be shortened by being pushed down half-way under the casing of the trousers.

The waistcoat, *sexmê*, (E. 2336, E. 2341) 0.36 m. to 0.40 m. long and 0.40 m. broad consists of two bodice fronts and one back, joined by slanting shoulder seams and straight side seams, or cut out of one piece of material bent in from each side so that it only has the slanting shoulder seams. It has big, enlarged armholes. The material is cotton or brocade in strong colours, lined with white cotton.

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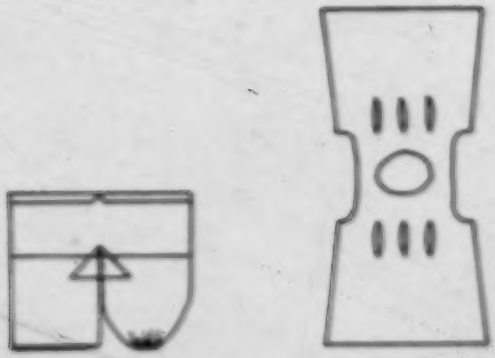

Fig. 49. Diagram. Cut of woman's trousers (E. 2355). Scale 1:30.
Fig. 49. Diagram. Cut of woman's shift (E. 2354). Front and back in one piece. Scale 1:30.

Fig. 50. Women's trousers (E. 2355) of pink taffeta and white cotton, shift (E. 2354) of pink artificial silk.

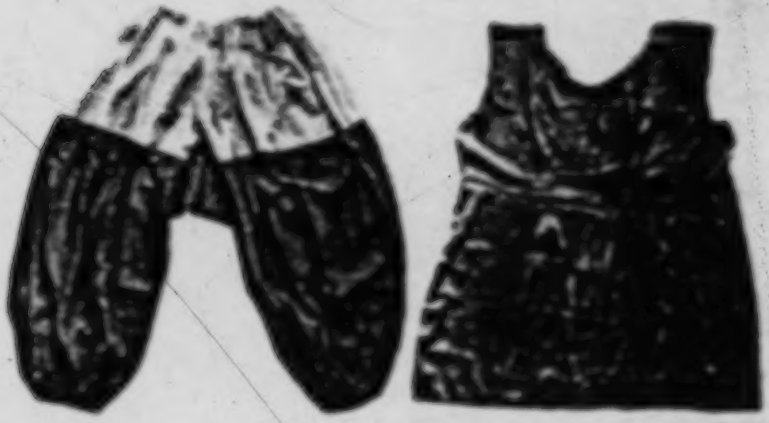

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Fig. 11. Women's kaftan (E. 2330) of pink chiffon with white flowers. (Cf. diagram fig. 12).

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Fig. 12. Diagram
Cut of material
(E. 2330). Scale 1:20.

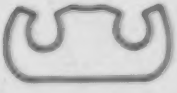

Fig. 13. Waistcoat (E. 2330) of rose brocade lined
with white cotton.

391 In a few instances the bodice front is of finer material than the back, which is intended to be covered by other articles of clothing. (E. 2341).

The *salwar*, *salvar*[1], is a little longer than the waistcoat and has long, rather narrow sleeves. In cut it is a cornered poncho *salwar*[2] with sleeves cut in prolongation of the body with added sleeve length; no shoulder seams, straight side seams. The material coloured brocade lined with white cotton, slightly padded between lining and outer cloth.

The *sallaw*, *kawa*[3], (E. 2342, E. 2301) is 1.36 m. to 1.43 m. long and a span of 1.56 m. to 1.60 m. In cut it is a poncho *sallaw*[4] with inserted side gores. Narrow sleeves cut in prolongation of the body with added sleeve length. Along the vertical opening at the front of this overgown-like piece of clothing two pins are added which overlap each other when the garment is put on; it thus has a "false crossed opening"[5]. The lowest part of the flowing side seams are open, and at hip height there is a vertical hook into a pocket and also serves to take the lower corners of the bodice front when the calico is pinned up in order not to drag. The material is brocade interwoven with metal, lined with white cotton stuff. Between the cloth and the lining there is quilted padding[6].

The cap, *kʷlāw*, (E. 2344) is a black felt cloth-cap with slightly sloping sides, containing black stitching overhead. Gimpe along the edge. Its height is c. about 0.10 m., diameter about 0.20 m. At the top of the crown a silver coin is sewn from which to hang the neck veil. At the side is sewn the one end of a chin cranial the chin, about 0.30 m. long, consisting either of glass beads or of coins placed quite close to each other. The chain ends in a big metal hook that is set firmly into the cap. The cap may

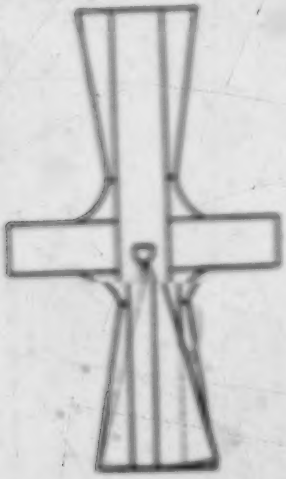

Fig. 61. Diagram. Cut of the *sallaw* (E. 2342). Scale 1:30.

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Fig. 11. Cotton (E. 242) of white brocade, woolled and quilted, lined with white cotton.

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The cap may

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have a small amulet pocket sewn on to it, and genuine or imitation jewels. In a provincial town like, say, Halebja, the cap (E. 2352) was not concealed by any form of wound turban and could be seen all over with large Persian silver coins overlapping each other like tiles (E. 2296). At most other places, however, the turban and brow cloth belonged to the headdress.

The neck veil, *dawnê*, possibly also *khwarê*[1], (E. 2342) is triangular. It is attached by a loop in the middle of the long side to a coin on the top of the cap, and covers the neck. The point of the neck veil hangs down the back, whilst the two long narrowing ends are crossed in front, led over the shoulders, and tied together at the neck. The material is coarse, coloured cotton tulle[2].

The shoulder cloth (E. 2343) is rectangular, 0.96 m. x 0.96 m. There are 27 tassels in a row on each side of the two opposite sides. The cloth is placed over the shoulders so that the tasselled sides hang vertically down the back[3], the two upper corners being pinned together under the chin[4]. The material is unlined brocade.

The turban cloth[5], *akhêlak*, (E. 2346), is 1.50 m. long, sewn of two layers of narrow blue strips of brocade. In the centre it is 0.13 m. wide and tapers away to both ends, the one side being straight, the other forming a concave arc. Along the straight side 22 tassels are distributed. The turban cloth ends as a double plait at both ends, being finished off with tassels. Its full length is then 2.30 m. The turban cloth is folded double along its length with the tassels outside, and is wound like a broad band twice around the cap. The centre of the cloth is placed on the neck. It crosses over the brow and is

Fig. 16. Neck veil (E. 2342) of light blue cotton tulle interwoven with silver threads. Fastened to the cap by a loop, hanging down the back, whilst the two narrowing ends are crossed over the breast and tied behind the neck.

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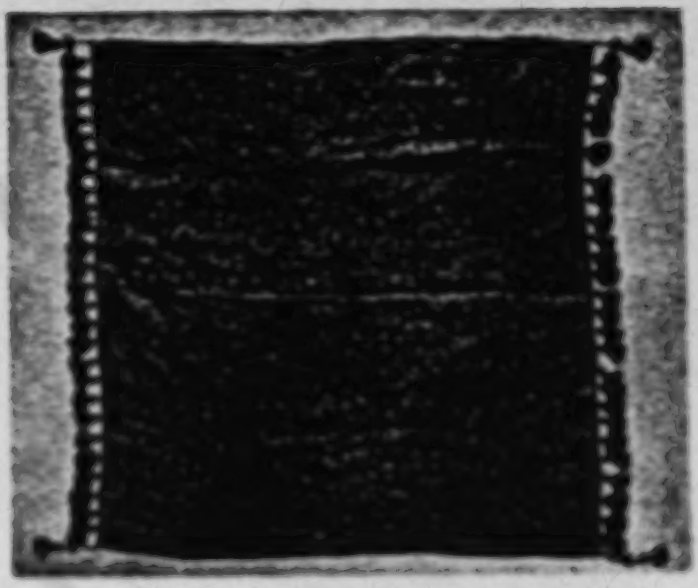

Fig. 11. Rectangular cloth (E. 2342) of kurtosis. The seams of the two square cottons are tied together and the cloth hangs around the shoulders covering the back.

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headed together at the neck so that the plaits with the tassels hang down the back outside the neck veil. The material is brocade. The turban cloth has salmet around the head in circles[1], and outside is headed[2] the forehead cloth (E. 2347), 0.83 m. × 0.80 m., made of thin silk, black with brown and white patterns, a quite different colour scheme from that distinguishing the other elements of the dress, where indistinct, crimson and turquoise predominate. It is folded diagonally and tied shawlwise over the brow in the opposite direction to the turban cloth, is knotted at the neck, the ends being crossed under the veiled cloth. Outside the turban, pinned salmet, are chains of jewellery inset turquoise and Persian coins.

The head cloth or head veil, *shyeh*, (E. 2337, E. 2340) is 1.80 m. to 2.00 m. long and 0.75 m. to 0.84 m. wide, of thin gauze, white or coloured, sometimes and hanging loose. A married woman places it over the turban, whilst an unmarried girl wears it direct on the hair where it constitutes her only headgear. Scarves or kefis can be worn, but are not essential. The value of a married woman's dress of this kind, apart from jewellery, is about 30 Dns. = £10.

There was either no or footwear, if the women prefer to go bare-footed as is often the case at home, or wooden clippers with a heel and a strap over the instep, *qabqab*, (E. 2338) 0.23 m. long, or perhaps

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Fig. 10. The elements of the married woman's turban arrangement: cap (E. 2344) of black felt with chain (E. 2346) of blue glass beads, turban cloth (E. 2345) of brocade with tassels, and headband cloth (E. 2347) of black, white, and brown patterned cotton silk.

embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, gumlike oxygoal, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left feet are identical. European footwear of "Boni"'s ranks, from high-heeled black patent leather to common shoes, was also seen. Women who were unseen in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture.

Elements connected with fabrics. External garment and veil in Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, abā-w-pilli, which completely conceals both the face and body.

The face veil, pilli, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.40 m. × 0.5 m., made of thin, black, homespun-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole fac.

The cloak, abā, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.35 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.30 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk gauze-veil, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running over the finished garment. In this fashion

[text continues top of p 95—Qualter]

Fig. 20. Woman wearing the black veil and the black cloak, abā, dressed for leaving the house. Sulaimani.

Fig. 48. Diagram showing the cut of the abā (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the fold. Scale 1 : 50.

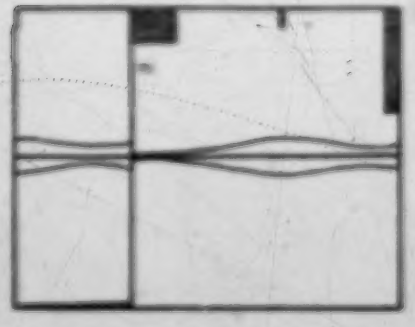

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Fig. 61. Vest (E. 2775) and skirt (E. 2776). The vest and the construction of the skirt are indicated by means of white lines.

the cloth is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the women sew in a tuck along the transverse seams. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and shape it trailing at the sides. The cloth is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled around the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from below to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 391

Loose from Western culture. Long nightgown with pulled sleeves and sometimes an appertenant jacket both of rose silk. In used as home dress, in error at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dressing or blouse and skirt. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 391 (417)

Distribution of the elements of women's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress items from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village environment. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, cloth or gathered, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, sarkan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also shoulder cloth, turban cloth and loose cloth, worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and printed nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 349 325 391 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is not set customs that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the district's home in Tagawra called out enough and indeed in sunlight-green brocade trousers, with gathered of the same colour, and black voile kirtle with garden of gold thread. She called the garment for absolutely magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and best worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 77) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads 391 [513]
combed to a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and loose cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, cloth and trousers easily be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. [396]
The most recent in European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based [411]
on magnificent material, which consisted in splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which later would be considered essential in western European [illegible]
were always worn under the kirtle, the cloth also. Only the padded outer gowns of clothing were put on or taken off in sudden or warmer weather.

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Fig. 42. Village aristocracy. Married women's dress, front and back. Tegueste.

The clothing elements discussed with Islote: the black face veil and the black shift, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Salamanca or places further distant like Kabuk and Mirsal.

The ordinary peasant environment. Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried women and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja as turban, but the whole shift cap covered with silver coins (E. 2002) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant women did not lie in the form or number of the garments, but in their colour and materials. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of homespun cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Tegueste and Balyan are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Serkan is vermillion, and in Mirsa Rassam black, very oil, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver chain[9]. During work at Tegueste the lower

peculiar to that village, is always used by the present women on their way to the fruit plantations at Tawella. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this headdle on the back, an attitude similar to that found in Europe in the days of the bustle. During work in the fields I saw a kind of apron in use. This consisted of a large piece of canvas wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Darkon whilst threshing tobacco leaves on a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—so far as I was given to understand—by new arrivals in Tegucara, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an extra long Little Wind up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver 'leaves'[1]. No turban was worn with this dress, but a hood with two long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Hasanmun[2]. As with the village aristocracy the plain peasant women dons the black veil and shift when visiting towns.

The educated urban environment evinces a highly heterogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[3]. If I review the various dress types in which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the house, were, as for other urban women unlike the women in the two village environments, the black face veil and shift. Under this her dress could be a costume composed of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the aristocratic village milieu, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, whilst at the same time retaining as usual the trouser cords round her hips—an arrangement she transferred to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her teacher colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer bodies of coarsely-woven tulle or transparent that they disdained the fashioned European petticoats which in this female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (C. 2301) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black shift my interpreter might have a long rose nightgown with or without its appurtenant jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is not in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adopted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In this educated urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of girdle. This adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that day

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

891
342
585
199
357
142

Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 71/13). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.

369
391
1971
[illegible]

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassieres and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and shirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

Female clothing elements distributed over the four female milieu 79

wearing gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The unadorned urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloth, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, the costume is very compound on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women, in the unadorned urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

Fig. 44. Ordinary general environment, Sulaija.
Fig. 45. Unadorned urban environment, Sulaimani.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		x		x		x	x	x	x		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x			x	x	x		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x		x					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x		x					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	x	x		x	x	x	x

[illegible] among women distributed over the four female rallies

[illegible]

Turkish women and the Kongolese women with spoke, respectively. Turkish female dwarf is more clearly predicted by the other form of Pentos women's costume (cf. S. 1479). According to Wolsey (1991, 2, 210) the Indic costume in Kerala has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1880. The new type of Pentos female dress with sparrow trousers and "halter" shirt is a quite different type (cf. S. 2375).

The Cuna, in fact, retired and described by Fielding, form the same type of crimson-bordered costume, with a variation like the Kurdish, though the crimson are sparrow and the rabbit has three of the Kurdish costume to hang last. Fielding (1952, 1/4, 123, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of women's dress and their distribution

Number	Elements	Village community		Rural areas		Suburban cities		Industrial cities	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
1	Trousers, shift, briefs, sarapanes, jackets, and clothes	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
2	Caps, wool cloth, shoulder cloth, mufflers, and fancy cloth		+		+		[illegible]		+
3	Wool cloth	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
4	Belt or belt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	Footwear	[illegible]	+			+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
6	Trunk and skirt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+
7	Fabrics material			+	+			+	+
8	Silk, undercut silk, and kerchief	+	+		[illegible]	+	+		
9	Dress design					+	+		
10	European garments					+	+		

(+) The element appears consistently among females.
(+/-) The element appears sporadically.
1. Is used in all combinations by both unmarried and married. However, is not counted in the elemental urban suffixes.
(2) In the head dress of the married women in all combinations. Not counted in the elemental urban suffixes.
(3) In supplementary to the headdress of the married women and sometimes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not counted in the elemental urban suffixes.
(4) Daily wearers in the elemental urban suffixes.
5. Not counted in the village community suffixes or in the combinations urban suffixes. Completely lacking in the Kurdish village suffixes.
(6) Found alone in the two urban combinations and worn by village women who only from the village.
(7) Used mainly in the common village and combinations urban combinations.
(8) Silk brocade is characteristic of the village ceremony and elemental urban combinations. Can be worn by and with young married women in the Kurdish village suffixes.
(9–10) These changes characteristic of the elemental urban suffixes with a European flavor.

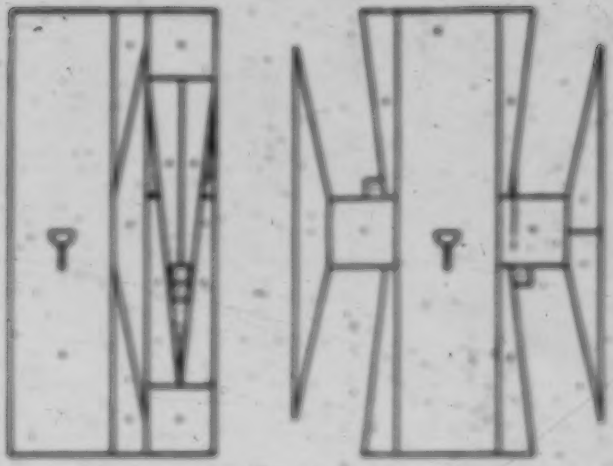


Fig. 10. Construction of form a smock length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's tunic, scale 1:10.

a. the body, b. the two sleeves, c. the two forepart-cloth, one of them worn regularly from mid-pleats, d. the four side gores, e. the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (Cf. fig. 11).

The production of plainwork garments. The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[1] from abroad for sale in the city of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, C. 2302a-d). The material garments like jackets and caftans are made by hand tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[2]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, gaz, (E. 227). This is a round stick, 0.330 m. long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together by a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-tunics and tunics are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and caftan most economically the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measurements, well-known to the home tailors. When cutting-out the tunic the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the cone to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (1 yard). Following[3] writers of the Lurs measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes or the Irish used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the fore.

[illegible] [illegible]

301 Jewellery. Jewellery in various forms belongs to women's clothing. It is an element in the ensemble [illegible] of a dress, affects its whole character, and, as it were, completes the picture. It is necessary to go back to the Renaissance and Baroque periods to find in Western culture times when jewellery was so closely linked to women's appearance and so integral a part of the dress as it is in the Kurdish women's costume of to-day.

301 Certain parts of the dress are simply jewellery, for example the cap-shin chain, *Zir-cîne* or *Lewanik*, composed of coins or glass beads (E. 2288), which holds it in place on the head, and the coin or the cap of the fur to which the neck-shoulder veil is attached. A chain of small ornaments may be seen on the dress along the edge of the jacket (E. 2301), 0.50 m. long. There existed circular temple-ornaments, *gul*, (E. 2294, 2295). Some necklets were composed of coins and silver objects whose form and material were supposed to possess protective qualities and to avert the evil eye. Certain amulet lockets were used as ornaments, for example a cylindrical silver amulet box, *Mîz*, (E. 2292) with attached coins[1]. Last but not least the jewellery represents ready money, chains of coins being worn on or sewn [illegible] on the fur (E. 2288) or assembled in the form of chains of coins with inlaid gems, attached to the turban. Jewellery is a part of the bride price, is the woman's private property, and thus an investment publically exhibited to witness of the woman's economic status. She carries it on herself, the safest depository.

301 Other kinds of jewellery include earrings, bangles, necklaces, nose ornaments and belts. Bangles, *bâzin*, (E. 2296-97)[2] can be of silver and also of turquoise-coloured glass. Necklaces consisting of various semi-precious stones with pendant amulet packets called *hâmalay* (E. 2298) or *sulhalîn* (E. 2291), plain necklaces of 39 fragrant beads of dried clover, *sirtuk*, (E. 2299), also with small amulet packets, are worn. Women's belts can be composed of gold coins side by side on a military belt on which are mounted one very large, eight small, and twenty very small silver buckles (E. 2300)[3]. This type of belt was, as mentioned (p. 77), worn at Tergawar by one woman with a specially long, pleated fur tunic and a hood. These women wore across the head a triple silver chain ornament with turquoise, *gerrab* (E. 2296).

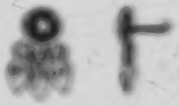


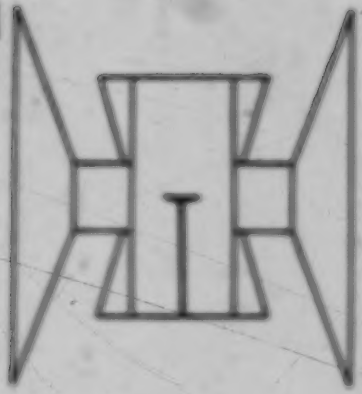
Fig. 48. Nose ornament for women (E. 2300).
Worn on a hole in the left nostril. Tergawar. Scale 1:1.

Nose ornaments in the form of a small gold pin with movable attachments, *Mamâne*, (E. 2302) are worn in the left nostril. Children also wear jewellery. This may be like [illegible] or like glass beads (E. 2307). Superstitious and Weltanschl, p. 156), but also of more precious metals. Nose ornaments of gold, plaited and knob into the hair on the front of the head, in the form of a little crescent with three heart-shaped, movable pendants, known as *gul* (E. 2303), the same type being called by the Arabs *Kâf*[1]. Bangles of silver with one or more chains that fall down with one or more finger rings, an Indian form of ornament. Finally the child might have diligently sewn its chief ornament and amulet chain, *Kâlak* (E. 2301) called after one of the objects, a small representation of a dagger's handle.

Fig. 74. Left: man's dress of Sumaqiyan type. Right: man's dress of Bakhtiaran type.
Fig. 75. Man's dress of Bakhtiaran type. The tassel-shaped cuffs of the shirts are turned round the arms.

The elements of men's dress, familiar as I had an opportunity to study it, men's dress in Southern Kurdistan presents a less complicated picture than women's. However, men's dress also contains special Kurdish and foreign elements. The genuine Kurdish male dress is a woman costume[1]. Two types can be determined, each connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the Soleimaniyeh region, the other of the district around Sumaqiyeh.

Kurdish elements. Shirt, Iraq, (E. 214) is made of plain, white cotton material. Its cut is a rectangular gusset-cuffed[2], 0.80 m. long and a span of 1.50 m. Open in the front, it is fitted with a low collar. The shirt's breadth over the shoulders is 0.47 m. Two sleeves, 0.24 m. long and 0.30 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at acute angle. These sleeves terminate in tassel-shaped cuffs, like those known in Syrian male dress[3]. The cuffs prolong the arm by 0.24 m. and hang down 1.20 m. The long gussets exactly the same as the sleeves of a woman's kirtle. Just as with the woman's dress, these tassel-shaped cuffs are drawn out through the gussets worn above the skirt, and wound around



[illegible]

Fig. 13. Man's jacket and trousers (E. 2314) + no of Sakkanani type.

coupled with the many seams, produces a plastic decoration of the uniformly coloured and otherwise unembellished material. In shape, one and size this type of trousers is exactly like the dresses above described, that is to say of "pig top-set" so that the latter set as a lower lining to the former.

Jacket, (fig.). From the Sakkanani area (E. 2314a) composed of 30 lengths of material were together, each of which has two sharp longitudinal creases. In set the jacket is a shortened pseudo-cuffed with sleeves set to prolongation of the body. Like the skirt the jacket is fitted with a low collar. Its length is 0.60 m., its span 1.20 m. The sleeves are 0.30 m. wide, slit from the bottom and there lined with coarse silk, whilst the rest of the garment is unlined. In cool weather the man might wear a waistcoat, Mo-Pulu, under the jacket and above the skirt, or a padded vest, *ommil*, closed in front by buttons. However, I had no opportunity to inspect these garments closely.

Trousers, *rabit*, from the Bumaaliw district (E. 2315a). The material is yellowish-brown hemp cloth, a mixture of wool and hemp, narrow 0.30 m. broad and unpleated after weaving. The material

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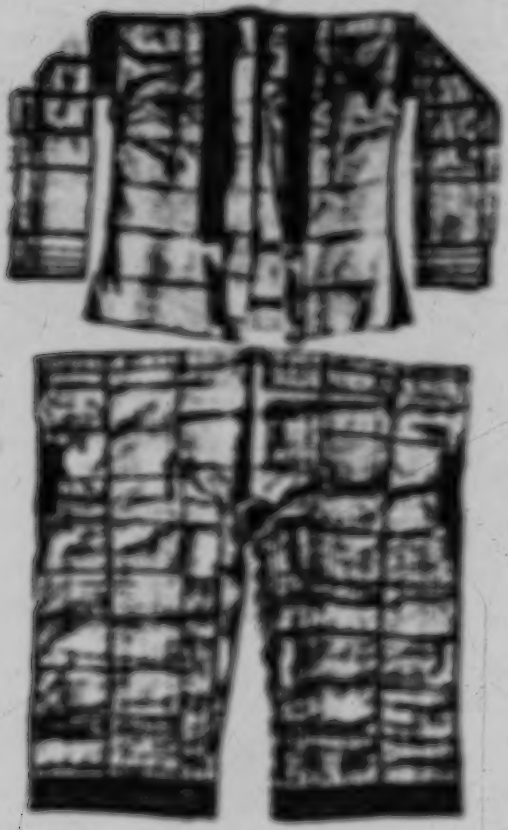

In this variety, devoid of longitudinal seams, but after the garment is made it is decorated with green machine embroidery. The cut is the same as that of the trousers previously described, but the rounded shaped gusset is not quite narrow (see diagram), so that the crotch is that the trouser legs are far wider. Superficially they are reminiscent of European women's trousers[1], diametrically opposed to the other, "peg top cut", type. On closer examination, however, it is found that the cut of the two types is identical. The narrow gusset gives a width of 0.80 m. at the bottom of the legs, as opposed to a width of 0.40 m. for the other type. The length, 0.90 m. is the same for both types and the same applies to the width at the top, which is 2.00 m. 241

Jacket, child. From the Komandov area (E. 2222b). Of the same shape and cut as those of the Sakin small size hat, like the trousers belonging to it, made of brownish woven, smooth European material so that the jacket of this type is only sewn out of 2 lengths of material, 2 less no collar. Like the trousers it is embellished with green, machined embroidery along the edges. The length of the jacket is 0.70 m., span 1.72 m.

In both types of men's dress the jacket is worn much down low, the trousers and the girdle-cord at the top concealed by a long, thick and broad cloth twisted several times around the waist.

Belt, plaited, is about 4.00 m. long, shaped like a cylinder in which a lining is inserted. This lining, which acts as a stiffener, is made of rags sewn together. On the outer side the belt can be fastened with [illegible] (E. 2317, length 3.20 m.), of woven velvet (E. 2333, length 3.00 m.), or of basically-flowered cotton material. They are sold by Sindoro in the city, for example in Sokotoland.

[191]

[283]

[284]

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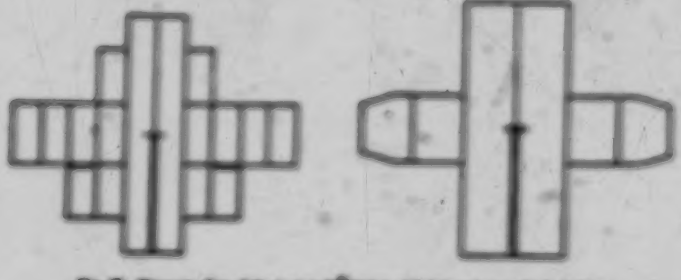
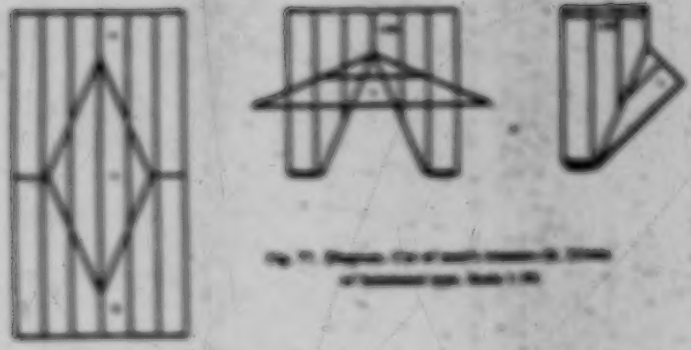
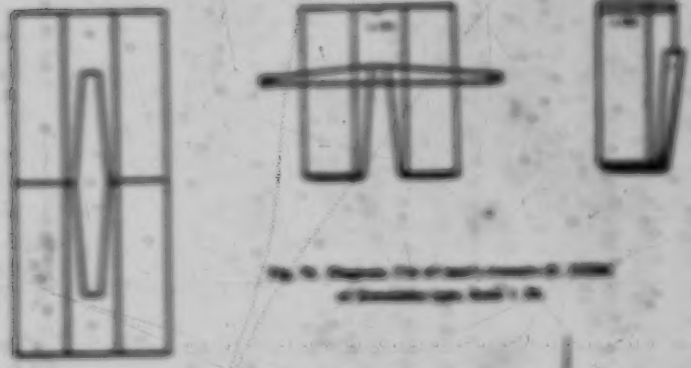


Fig. 13. Diagram [illegible] of the jacket of [illegible] type. Scale 1 : 40.
Fig. 14. Diagram [illegible] of jacket (E. 2222a) of Komandov type. Scale 1 : 40.





[illegible]

Fig. 31. Foreleg, worn, left, median diagram (X. 2.5); worn, right, rear view (X. 2.5); hind, left, the side of the claw is worn from wings of tibia; hind, right, rear of basitarsus (X. 2.5) for holding the wings; hind, left, the basitarsus wing combined and hidden (X. 2.5).

291 copper bosses, 0.175 m. long, marks, (E. 2272/P), dated on the outside and ending at the top with a knob. The strips are then placed side by side and a leather strap is drawn through them making a rule which is given a crocheted appear of white cotton yarn. 2 pairs of leather bracelet take each end of the rule pressure it against wear. These cloth shoes is made in the city, one man producing the rule, another the appear. In the area I visited the shoes and crossers cloth shoes were made by the craftsmen in the city at Tunella (cf. fig. 76).

Men's headdress, like women's, is a cap with a turban cloth wound round it.

The cap, d'Bel*, could be of crocheted cotton yarn (E. 2233), of black and white (Black yarn (E. 2244) worn with a pointed crown and side pieces of coarse cotton material (E. 2234), or have a flat crown and be decorated with coloured silk and gold embroidery (E. 2236) in medium a line examples. The cap or skullcap, which is not a fez like the women wear, can be worn alone. However, or to properly dressed the cap should always be smothed in a rectangular hand cloth, fringed at the edges*, folded diagonally. This is twisted into a roll the thickness of an arm and from the man's neck wound around the head from right to left, the one end hanging down. The other end is pushed into the convolutions. The turban, the fringes of which hang down over forehead and neck, could be arranged in more or less pillow form.

Turban cloth, sadri (*) or tighal*, may be of cotton or silk. As example can be mentioned a cloth (E. 2249) of black and light-grey silk, 1.28 m. x 1.60 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long knotted into tassels on the two long sides. A cloth (E. 2251) of cotton and grey silk, 1.27 m. x 1.80 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long hanging loose on the two long sides. Turban cloths, known as jamaa (E. 2227) of European black and white chequered cotton material, 1.20 m. x 1.20 m. with fringes on all four sides—the same cloth that Arabs wear folded diagonally.

In addition to the male dress here reviewed a felt waistcoat, known as jibbeh (E. 2238) is worn by shepherds, amongst others. This is perhaps the "jacket" mentioned by Edmonds—"a felted waistcoat worn over the jacket"[1]. This felted waistcoat is unsewn*. It is laid out and cross together with seams, but as no way modified. Its length is 0.57 m. Where worn the arms protrude through holes at the arm pits, whilst the fastenings of short arms stick out like flat flaps resting on the man's shoulders.

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291 Foreign elements of men's dress. The woollen cloth sulfan, also a characteristic feature of Arab male dress, is not worn by the men (though made of black silk). It is the cover dress worn by Kurdish women, however the Kurds I only saw the Arab sulfan, which, worn by a single wife and a couple of old dudes in Sheikh and Sinjar. It therefore cannot be said to be a regular element of men's dress in Southern Kurdistan.

Characteristically opposed to the Arab sulfan common that hides the legs and the trousers, (Bahr*), worn exclusively, provided a kurdish only is not worn, Kurdish men's dress, like that of the Turks, is definitely a trouser habit. This has given rise to the Kurd's nickname for the Arabs: "The trouserless"[2].

On the other hand the long Arab tunic worn in striped materials is habitual as an element of Kurdish male dress, but only as a loose and dangling garment worn above the single Kurdish trousers. It is only worn amongst more dudders.

[illegible]

Whereas Arab elements thus only appear sporadically in Kurdish male dress, certain European elements have been adopted. The first item of genuine Kurdish male dress to be exchanged was footwear. This was replaced by European leather shoes. In replacement of the Kurdish jacket a European jacket with collar, lapels and pockets was worn with the Kurdish trousers of the Sulaimani area type. But despite its form, intended to be worn outside the trousers, it was tucked down into them beside the sewing and tied round with the long waist sash. Sometimes the original native jacket could be seen influenced by the European jacket to the extent that a lapel jacket had been added.

In many cases a European suit had replaced the Kurdish waistcoat in Sulaimani. With this a European shirt, tie and socks were worn. On the other hand, even under a European suit the baggy Kurdish drawers were retained. This is due to the custom of removing one's outer garments at home. In fact an informal visit to a café could be paid in one's underclothes[1]. Naturally the wide and ample Kurdish drawers were suitable for this purpose than their European counterpart.

Another European element adopted by more advanced young Kurds is pyjamas (cf. p. 37). As in the cultured pattern one sleeps in the same clothing as that worn by day, pyjamas become a garment that could be worn all round the clock. My interpreter's 20 year old brother rose from his pallet in pyjamas, took his coat in the blind we then ran to convey us over the desert to Baghdad, and right hours later entered an Arab hotel in the main street of that town in the same original attire.

In Kurdish male dress pyjamas certainly appeared to be something of an urban phenomenon. In the villages I only saw pyjamas worn by the district's young son at Topzawa. The uncle, the 12 year old Hasan Khalo, said me that this Western habit was only about 12 years old, and that personally he was an admirer of it as it was so convenient to the tailor's position whether on the floor or on one of the large, clumsy sofas. The son, Sardar, who favoured pyjamas, as one single occasion also wore a European suit. Apart from that occasion this dress was not worn in the villages.

Many were no boldness with European clothes. Nor did I see any man wearing European dress taking part in the daily prayers ordained by Islam[2]. However, when men dressed in Kurdish fashion were in gray, they mixed the native cloth amongst the shaft cap if it had been removed, and slipped off their shoes. I did not see them loosen the cuffs of their shirts as women loosen their sleeves prior to the prostrations of prayer[3]. The somewhat non-pointed, black-white or brown-white European shoes, substituted as regard to the Oriental sense of luxury, constituted—on account of the laces that had to be loosened and tied—a breach of certain traditional habits in the cultural pattern.

Whereas women's clogs, slippers, or low cut European shoes were easy to step out of before walking on the rugs or felt mats in the home, and always lay ground in a singularly reversed way outside the carpeted area—incidentally being used by all the women of the house in turn, regardless of ownership—men's European shoes were personal property necessitating bending down and loosening laces every time they were put to take off, and tying when put on. These European shoes thus combined with the admirable custom that however dusted never came into contact with rugs and mats. In the case may this kind of footwear made it difficult easily to adopt the tailor's position on the floor or to down the legs-up under one when sitting in chair or sofa. These shoes therefore constitute a step towards a readjustment of the pattern of movement and sitting habits[4].

Authentic Kurdish male dress[5], as type also to the Turkish[6], followed the example set by the

Fig. 91. Fish ornament (E. 1936), cup (E. 1918) surrounded by various steels (E. 1931), and sword (E. 1918).
Fig. 92. Knives and swords. From left to right: E. 1940 with E. 1936, E. 1934, E. 1940 with E. 1941. Between the ornamentation with gold and silk (E. 1934).

291 ...tance in shipping the bronze contents, by dismantling the long vellum in former of short metalwork and jackets, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the long pointed ends of the silver grave that could be tied round an object, the metal ends to which a cloth handle could be snuffed on, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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293 ...accessories to the costume, corresponding to the omissions of women, were pocket knife with bone handle (E. 1977) and the curved dagger, *wakizashi*, with sheath, 0.39 m. 0.40 m. long, the styles of which varied according to the mansion and the material of the handle and sheath (E. 1982, 0.400 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a detailed sorting on top; E. 1980, 0.239 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's horn; E. 1984, 0.340 m. long with silver sheath and handle ornament with lacquerwork). The proper chain or rosary, *dzuka*, composed of 54 beads was wound round the handle of the dagger. These beads could be of bone or other material, many (Ind. being mounted (E. 1981 of horn; E. 1984 of bone). As a rule the proper chain is carried between the fingers when

for young men wearing European clothes. Only by means of the creases indicating between the fingers was it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans.

The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not infrequently

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Children's dress. A baby's clothes in the village consisted of a small bride with arms long, pointed sleeves, a padded jacket, fichu, of flowered cotton material (S. 2226) or silk, and a cord-draped silk bonnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of sock-like trousers, but it was an exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the home I saw a boy of about 4 months wearing a dress with a short yoke, a gown, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly copied from a European pattern (S. 2228a, c, f, d). The same infant I saw on a wedding visit (although normally [illegible] in a dress of rose and light-blue calico (S. 2228b).

As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short trousers, striped,

Fig. 43. Children's dress in the village Tsajnsen.

Fig. 47. The stationary cradle: a two-shaped bed suspended from a beam. Kabardians.
Fig. 48. The transportable cradle: a hammock hung over the transverse beam. Tajiks.

are a cradle of this type in use at Andkhui, near the Iranian border. On top of the stand, under the mattress, lies a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (S. 1948). This is used by the Ujgurs, Penjkent[47]. A quite similar cradle from the Tarkars of the Chinese is described and illustrated. This is fitted with a ring stand and some rods. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[48].

The two other patterns of cradle in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from the four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A peg is tied underneath the child which it rides up as soon as it walks.

The stationary cradle is a hammock constructed into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, two-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In the villages the bars, which swings from side to side, sometimes stone, sticks or rags, is fastened a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and dearer children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress laid on the floor, just like an adult. A similar two-shaped bed (S. 772) has been brought back from Pushtu speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan. It consists of a flexible wooden frame, 0.80 m. × 0.35 m. × 0.30 m. with bars and sides of wickerwork and a sack-like suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle as in Kurdish here is also found with the Chamir[49] and Georgians[50] in the Caucasus. Rivet[51] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia[52] and in Turkey[53]. Besides mentioned

chests, high-legged, six-sided tables and chairs, while the later pieces were covered in red velvet in the French fashion of the '50s.

Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and her few personal non-purchased items, the 400 Dhs. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expended about 130 Dhs. on gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

The bridegroom received from his evening to-fore the wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirts, underwear, pyjamas, vests, shaving kettle, bath gown, small bath mat of velvet to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a handembroidered silk cloth[14], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Three of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed cotton for brides, three of the bridegroom's male relatives received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of trousers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, while the other five shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of trousers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs intended to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were cut and quite as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English goods was purchased for this purpose, being sent over to the home by a countryman who took them away to be made up.

In addition to the expense on these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, came the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit to her family home a week after the wedding in order to take a bath. The value of these trinkets was said to be 40 Dhs. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my information: bridegroom and his family 400 Dhs.; bride's family 140 Dhs., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day until the left.

Rey mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village sellers in Sulaimani in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[15] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the man pays a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dress for the bride, receiving in return nothing whatever from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lane's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[16]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom and his relatives, plus the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts costing about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

179 Marriage preparations

Dan not mention that the men must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he list the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid to bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[17], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

Wedding preparations. Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the town. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she sewn one kirtle, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, also a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was crushed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English grey the skirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived to under to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a night steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girl, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[17]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Bedouin, a solution of zinc and arsenic[17] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "Habb Ghâr", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[18]. An Iranian place Lane[17] refers to a depilatory, "rusmâl", composed of quicklime, mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, remaining the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

This removal of hair in my interpreter's family then took place in the home with the help of two women, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[19]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[20].

In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connection with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that on each of the bride grasped her by the legs and dragged her to the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with quilted sleeves - a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a tight jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurdish

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The morning prayer with its two rak'a took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic features of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually[6], never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only pressure lamp in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin[7] of interrupting the worshipper.

Lorch[8] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 95. Women praying in the forest on a stone beside the water basin. Balkan.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hans MA11

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young women herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and menarche in this connexion were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married women than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[1] (see p. 139), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[2] (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[3]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[4]. [815] 818

Sefuw among the Kurds. "They are *kuppa*", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Arab *qā'im maqām* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Topzawa and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Sheikhān, lying in the valley between Chawraband and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that as far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 995

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kaka'i and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[5] Naqshbandi[6], Naqshbandiyya[7], founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Muhammed Baha-ud-Din or Baha-uddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Mawlana Khalid *of the Jaf* tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowan[8], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Hajji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of sodium. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 995 391

According to Edmonds[9] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Karim *of* Sheikhān, near Sargalu, a relative of the Hajji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have reconstituted or founded the "way" called "Haqqa". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Dawn of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 995 831

Rag trees and rag poles

Rag trees, rag poles and sacrifices. Two different religious survivals could be seen in Kandiaroa. The one, a tree hung with rags standing outside the chapel-like building that housed the saint's grave outside Hubidja. A similar type of rag tree adorned not only by rags but also by a man's bone, with a holy hand axe beside it, stood inside the grating that protected a sacred grave. This lay in the middle of a newly-built section on the outskirts of Sokimanei. Conversations elicited from here and there between houses showed that the quarter had been raised on what once had been a burial ground.

The other phenomenon: rods each of which bore a single rag like a flag. These rods were planted within a compass at the burial ground at Tiguanna, similar rods were placed within an earthworks at the burial ground of the twin village of Nakawa. No rags were hung on the branches of big trees in the burial ground. A group of rods with rags attached, also behind a low earthworks, marked a grave at the side of the Sokimanei-Chanchamai road in the vicinity of Sokimanei. (No rags on the trees near by.) It appeared to be a matter of two different phenomena: in the one case a tree with branches hung with rags; in the other, rods each bearing a single rag. These rods might be sited under large

Fig. 130. Tree hung with rags outside a saint's grave, Hubidja. The woman wearing shell and beadwork.

bottom, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured head veil. Wilkins refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le rouge de la Kurde est souvent avec une nuance foncée rouge pour que . . . les joues de sa vie Kurdiste qui commencent même rougir (c'est-à-dire honnête)".[4] Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as it also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it never can be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[5], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that match up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Crawford in the case of Palestinian Arabs[6]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sack, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a saffron hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the saffron-coloured veil was used in the other Sanjakian millets.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent nuptial "bridal" veil, used in the humble village millets, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the actual educated and emancipated urban millets (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the assembly were more closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[7].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's ear is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficiency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil was in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the woman's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an upper-most over-garment, the Arab abā worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Russia in 1928 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the outer-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognized by it[8].

Sura 24, verses 30-31[9] of the Quran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

ent be exterminated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Court House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. The simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting: it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Court House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish standpoint is the upkeep of the Court House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Court House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the meat (a milk product similar to yoghourth) it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Court House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though enjoying better quality materials than the commoner, which mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their unwonted pastoral habits rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Bapir was once wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowandiz, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple clothe produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for 'frills and furbelows' - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by [illegible] the Administration, after the Great War.

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute bask (see later).

R Roosevelt G-6 (1946-1947) 1947 MAIL Kurd MAIL
Mahabad

[777] 648 they did once, in 1946, invite the leading sghos to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmiah, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, stronghold to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jalilov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.* This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

[578]

* Kurdish dress consists of a rounded turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy gray pants of homespun wool, and a huge sheepskin greatcoat, customarily fastened in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians, [illegible] on shoulder their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied occupation, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are surprisingly handsome and a poor man among them would rather spend his last penny on a fine sash than on a good ticket. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

• 291
184
556
578

[illegible] blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

As the sun peeped over the rugged mountains the blankets moved again and more rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waist-band; they also disappeared silently below.

I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "Ahde!" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

The night has ended. [illegible] awoke.

[text continued on p. 363(B)]

[p. 362(A)]

A Kurdish sufee, or mystic, from Persian Kurdistan. Short and stocky, he has the gait of a man who was able to ride before he could walk

• Afri

The two elder sons of Hamsa Rashid, Agha of Nerik, who entertained the author with a moving account of the bombing of their village

[illegible]

• 291 •

Above: Hagit as the Jew recruited from Addis Ababa, who would one day rule as the Queen of Sheba and is pictured in more troubled times Elizabeth in London

A Kurdish plough: as of old it is made from a forked tree, cut with one long limb and one short, to form a wooden hook. This is dragged through the ground by a pair of oxen. The ploughman welcomed the chance of shewing off his child

1: Garrett B-4, 9 (ca. 1868) 1991
MA11 Rare MA11

edges of garments, the men dancing first, and then the women. Mr. Fish thus graphically describes the part taken by ladies in this national recreation:

"The music struck up again the notes of the adagio, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplendent with gold spangles and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to one who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab tribeswomen are more scrupulous.

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and waringly round the cushions, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The time was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Salonica."

The Kirds, being nominally Moslems, the marriage contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an imám. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a

In Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MAL11 Kur4 MAL11
Turkic 4950

§ 7 772 to mention, and with the stick opens his own way to heaven.

§ 7 769 So long as the body remains in the house hymns are chanted by the dervish, who also accompany the body to the grave, carrying censers, which they swing as they go. For several successive days the friends of the deceased visit his resting-place, men and women in separate parties, every morning and evening, the latter to weep and wail and the former to sit in silence, burning incense the while.*

§ 767 771 773 An water is one of the emblems of Food, the Life-giving Principle, the pouring of it into the mouth of the dying probably signifies, or it may be, is intended to confer, vitality after death, or metempsychosis in some form or other, this doctrine being believed to be held by the Turkis.

§ 767 4952 The only change made in their costume by the Kirghiz women as a sign of mourning is the substitution of a black veil for that usually worn out of doors.

* Comp. Badger, *The Nestorians, &c.*, p. 130.

just point, as it is with builders, soldiers, or any other 294
487
workmen, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the ellipsis of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional [491] [392]
demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing 294
of small children and women is made within the home, either 291
by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of man's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into man's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the ends of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is [495]
relatively inexpensive (a man's casual jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three *livres*, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at 294
least the children of every house appear at the feast which 855
ends Ramadan, *Zeriati Ramazan*, in clean, new garments, and 196

also begets, but their fringes must be prepared by local 291
connoisseurs. Folded diagonally and rolled, the scarves are bound around the head one over to the other, and one or more of the ends usually hung down to the shoulders. The cap is of white crocheted cloth and decorated with simple patterns in variously coloured thread, sometimes of gilt or silver. The scarves are characteristically an open black and white print, the ones so used in the shaping of head-cloth of the Arabs to the south, although some are a mild grey or black. The green turban which indicates a descendant of the tribe of the Prophet is worn in the same way, but is infrequently encountered. Only one man in Kawandus, an elderly blacksmith of humble station, appeared in it regularly. The kerchief, the red felt Turkish "fez," 293
has a limited and curious survival in Iraq, among the lower 184
order priests of the Shiite (Shaikhi) faith and Jewish money-changers. It is never seen in the town. A peculiar type of woolen cap, with a cloth bill in front, a round tassel on top, and a loose hanging which falls over the back of the neck, is found occasionally, affected by chieftains and their bodyguards. It is a peculiarity of a nomadic tribal group, the Shikak. In the Kawandus district it is taken to indicate a pugnacious or formidable character. It is difficult to decide on its origins. There is an old and 83
extremely widespread prejudice throughout the Islamic world 291
against headgear with brims or bills "because they do not permit the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground in prayer."

a matter of social status, and many women, flattering themselves, will hide their faces although their clothes have not warranted it, to the amusement and sometimes the respect of others. One noticed from a distance that an elderly woman of the lower class turned against a wall and concealed her face from public gaze of fixation. "The old fool," he said, "she thinks herself still a girl." The housewives of wealthier houses never appear in the streets unveiled, and the old, heavy covering of thirteen times has been replaced completely by the lighter yashiki, derived from the Arab cities. This garment is easily formed by knotting together two corners of a large piece of black cloth so as to make a tight circle at one end to the dimension of the head. This circle is placed around the skull with the knot at the nape of the neck and the whole cloth is tossed backwards, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. The forward edges can be controlled with the hands and thrown across the face whenever necessary. Within their homes, most women use a simple headcloth, usually of white gauze, which falls over the shoulders and hangs to the waist, and, just as the men, are infrequently without something on their heads. Among the Kurds, however, it is a much greater shame for a girl to have her legs observed by a stranger than her face.

The rich garments of a wedding or the festival, particularly in wealthy houses, are of much the same type, with the addition of a few items and the better quality of

the waterside. Here bright colours are worn, typically 252
deep reds and blues, and a number of shawls, skirts, and
aprons make up the costume. A white blouse and a light
jacket with long sleeves are often worn. For a headdress,
the headcloth is white and is coloured silks is found, as
well as a cap to which a circular disk, the kurk, some five
inches in diameter, of embossed gold or silver has been
sewn and around which a turban of silk is affixed. This
last is one of a woman's dearest possessions, and the kurk,
outfitted with cap and turban whenever necessary, is either
bestowed as a favorite daughter or kept until death.
Whether or not a woman "dresses up" each day depends very
much on her own personality. In some houses of the wealthy,
the mistress wears only a simple print frock and the white
headcloth, while in others, sometimes of lower station, the
wife is always resplendent in a multiplicity of garments and
jewelry. The servants of Lali Khan, herself in perpetual
mourning, are always "dressed for a wedding." In cold
weather women of any class do not use a coat, but add
undergarments and a shawl.

The wives of government personnel, who are for a 554
large part Arabs, have the same social origins as their 562
husbands, the educated middle and upper class families of
Iraq. Some of the officials are unaccompanied by their
spouses, and those of lower rank, the mulla, the junior
army officers, and the teachers, are usually unmarried.
Nevertheless a number of these women are resident in the

given by his tomb, as in 'Omar Shahid, 'Omar the Watching Dream, by a nickname, as in Shaikh Muhsin, Shaikh the Spindle, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali Duwel, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the tribe of the Prophet may prefix their name with sayyid, "Lord," as in Egypt (Lane of Dahna, and have the right of wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use titles such as beg or beg after their names, although the townspeople often apply these to officials and officers of the government elite. The only titles which precede the proper name seem to be hajji, a pilgrim, mulla, a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Muhammadan tribe, and shaykh, an aristocratic or religious distinction. The titles which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi, and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief mulla of Sawudan is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Arfendi. No local picture could be discovered to the question of calling a child by his proper name in public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or darvish, the mulla, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred dinars," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a dishdasha or cassock, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the ghe'i, a round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, holding each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Something of the divisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbelite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows. 795

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the Sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowandus district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent 771 121 173 554 792 [292]

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skull-cap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic ażżanha, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowanduz this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, *qundîl or pâpuš*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left footwear identical. European footwear of "Boot"s make, from high-heeled black patent leather in summer use, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture. 291 [197]

Elements connected with Islam, internal garment and veil. In Southern Kurdistan in the form of 292
cloak and face veil, *abâ-u-pâlî*, which completely concealed both the face and body.

The face veil, *pâlî*, (E. 2332)is rectangular, 0.46 m. ×0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

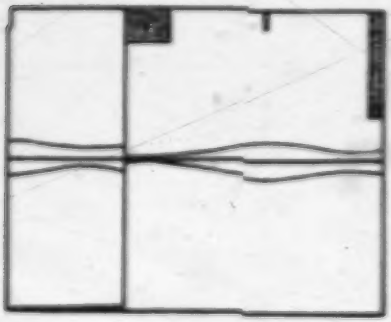
The cloak, *abâ*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 291
1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion

[Text continues Top of P. 95 — Analyst]

Fig. 38. Woman wearing the black *pâlî* and the black cloak, *abâ*, dressed for leaving the house. Suleimaniya.

[292] [352] [531]

Fig. 40. Diagram showing the cut of the *abâ* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted line indicates the tuck. Scale 1:30.



4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

peculiar to that village, is always used by the peasant women on their way to the fruit plantations at Tawella. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this bundle on the back, an attitude similar to that found in Europe in the days of the bustle. During work in the fields I saw a kind of apron in use. This consisted of a large piece of canvas wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Derkan whilst threading tobacco leaves on a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—so far as I was given to understand—by new arrivals in Topzawa, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an extra long kirtle lifted up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver bosses[2]. No turban was worn with this dress, but a hood with two long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Hawraman[3]. As with the village aristocracy the plain peasant woman dons the black veil and *abā* when visiting towns.

The educated urban environment evinces a highly heterogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[4]. If I review the various dress types in which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the home, were, as for other urban women unlike the women in the two village environments, the black face veil and *abā*. Under this her dress could be a costume composed of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the aristocratic village milieu, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, whilst at the same time retaining as usual the trouser casing round her hips—an arrangement she transformed to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her teacher colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer kirtles of coarsely-woven tulle or transparent that they disclosed the fashioned European petticoats which in this female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (E. 229?) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black *abā* my interpreter might have a long rose nightgown with or without its appurtenant jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is out in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adopted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In this educated urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of girdle. This adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that day

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585
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352
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Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 77,11b). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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[832]

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 15. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[45], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[46], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[47], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[48]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[49], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 304 301 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing I otherwise only saw among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

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585 that the husband will have the future mastery in the home[10], an explanation I did not hear given for the blow suffered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the fowl and the blow given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture. As Nikitine points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[11].

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585 369 In urban circles in Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding viewed from the opposite angle to that last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an educated milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergencies in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

At this wedding the family's own men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people most concerned, who both belonged to the educated milieu, wanted some months later to seek positions as school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding this house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken, only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and loggia of this quite small house that the groom's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled to some extent because the arrangement of the two rooms and loggia was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister to such an extent that she locked the three arranged rooms: the bed-room, the guest reception room and the small windowless store room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from upsetting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village aristocracy. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accomodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and in hired cars to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and *sherbet*, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

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Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. Wn the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a chimney wooden chr in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayd, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narrow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red cotton tablecloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked lo e chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow cars considered suspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bde started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars we ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with th bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained in the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a kind made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleepin; not on the roof.

In connection with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was gen a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father beig the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of theguest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party was n as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day thenewly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amounting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over herhead in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[22], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the sign of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus runthe same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

commenced from the mosque. He was assisted by the child's maternal uncle, said. The washing was done, as had been the case with the little girl, women by the mother and close female relatives. In this house it was performed in the bath room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the antechamber of the room on a bench there. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ornaments and washing gloves was torn into pieces by a man, the uncle, though the washing glove was also here sewn by one of the women (half-sister of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other woman of the house broke into lamentation, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child glided out of its mother's world from the moment the corpse washer had lifted it up and carried it into the bathroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped, as the little girl had been, in a prayer rug outside the ornaments. In the grave the body lies on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mekka. The dead are covered with stones, and then with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs—one at the head and one at the feet[90]—are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and provincial towns were, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1954 Dittrich[91] stressed the great difference between the dreary, naked burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab stones, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in respect of the children's deaths. After that the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning meal for friends and acquaintances referred to by Jeyrhoff[92], customary in Islamic areas, was not given in the case of the two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and the only thing obtainable was bread and water melon. Nikitine mentions that among Kurds a special pastry[93] was issued three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death visits of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bathroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the cinema is not visited and picnics are not attended. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for two to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in cases of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man at Topzawa the day before a triple wedding resulted in the tent's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq: They take place immediately after death. No death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The ornaments must be of new, white cotton material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the *sūq*, the owner of the booth being summoned for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men; in both

6: Shaaban E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly reached higher than our purchases of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[1], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sergalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the severe and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sura 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the *sūq* and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Dis. (say £200)[2].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrim mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sibydil*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

normally the case when the funnel-shaped veils are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured photographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *dū-l-ḥijja* namely 9-12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continuous and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two unstitched draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *Ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *Ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the insistence of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's house at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, oval, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The fleet of children was composed of boys and girls from 3-4 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

131 personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[844] The Kurd is born into a world of dancing and feasting, for relatives and [857] friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers be- [852] neath. When he reaches the age of five he • [292] is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of excess shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

852 He has another great festival when he is

304 [text continues on p. 548]

is of wood or horn with a studded pommel, and the sheath is of rawhide. There is some variation in size, but the typical weapon is about a foot in length. The best steel is supposed to have tiny undulations in its grain, and comes from Mosul or Damascus. The finer examples have engraved silver hilts and sheaths, and the grip is often bound with silver wire. The khunjir is worn in the sash on the right side and is held with the blade curving downward toward the user. From this position virtually the only stroke is a vertical slashing motion with the raised forearm, and its use does not have the versatility of a straight blade, which, for example, can be used in thrusting. Often the rosary (tesbih, from Arabic subha) is entwined about the hilt. To digress, the Muslim rosary in its complete form consists of 99 beads, separated into groups of 33 by 3 markers, but today this is only found preserved in the homes of the extremely pious or worn around the waist of a dervish. It is used in certain devotional exercises, and the number of beads is popularly supposed to correspond to the 99 names or qualities of God found in the Quran. The common form, such as that referred to above, is of 33 beads with two markers, and has a much simpler application in occupying the hand whenever idle, with no reference whatever to religious sentiment, a substitute for the cigarette. Most are of heavy amberoid beads imported from Germany and strung in a loop ending in three small tassels. The most precious come from Mecca and are

of ebony or some other wood inlaid with silver dots. 789
The rosary may also be carried hanging loosely about the 293
wrist.

The chieftains, and other townspeople of high 411
station, carry pistols, almost always of the automatic type, in oilcloth holsters on the right or left hip, sometimes attached to the belt with a lanyard. The butt is often wrapped in a silk handkerchief, and this, together with the type of holster and the position in which it is worn, mitigates against the most efficient use, as in the case of the dagger. Bodyguards, as well as most of the populace, when fully armed, carry rifles and oilcloth bandoliers of ammunition, the latter hung crossed on the chest. The rifles are usually Iranian Army Mausers. British army weapons, such as the Webley revolver, are [578]
evoided because their possession is not easily explained to the authorities. It is difficult for Americans, in whose homes firearms are commonplace, to appreciate the apprehensiveness of government officers in an area of well-armed people such as this. In Egypt, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, as well as most of Iraq, the bulk of the agricultural population have comparatively few rifles among them and there is little threat of armed revolt in this quarter, save in the case of a few minority groups, such as the Druzes, who have maintained their integrity by precisely this means. The sale of arms and ammunition, [656]
except by almost impossible government formalities, is

of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, insofar as their inroads are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Homes of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flee. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infesting, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Scorpions and snakes sometimes turn up, and are killed with the greatest possible dispatch.

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultous meetings, the dervishes commonly practise white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the mullas. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's dervish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd

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peculiar to that village, is always used by the peasant women on their way to the fruit plantations in Tawella. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this hoodie on the back, an attitude similar to that found in Europe in the days of the bustle. During work in the fields I saw a kind of apron in use. This consisted of a large piece of canvas wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Derkan while threading tobacco leaves on a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—so far as I was given to understand—by new arrivals in Tegunya, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a women costume, but comprised of (in some long little lifted up over a low-sitting bed with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver bowls[1]. No turban was worn with this dress, but a head with two long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Hadarmaut[2]. As with the village aristocracy the plain peasant women dons the black veil and shift when visiting towns.

The coloured urban environment evinces a highly heterogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[3]. If I review the various dress types in which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the house, were, as for other urban women unlike the women in the two village environments, the black face veil and shift. Under this her dress could be a costume composed of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the aristocratic village milieu, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, whilst at the same time retaining as usual the trouser casing round her hips—an arrangement she transferred to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her teacher colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer kinds of coarsely-woven tulle or transparent that they disdained the fashioned European petticoats which in this female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (L 239) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black *abā* my interpreter might have a long rose nightgown with or without its appurtenant jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is not in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adopted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In this coloured urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of girdle. This adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that day

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

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Fig. 91. Fish waistcoat (E. 2338), cap (E. 2343) surrounded by turban cloth (E. 2331), and scarf (E. 2329).
Fig. 92. Knives and scissors. From left to right: E. 2282 with E. 2286, E. 2284, E. 2280 with E. 2285. Below: cap embroidered with gold and silk (E. 2336).

291 latter in adopting the trouser costume, by discarding the long caftan in favour of short waistcoat or jacket, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the long pointed ends of the shirt sleeves that could be tied round an object, the waist sash in which a cloth bundle could be stuffed or, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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293 *Accessories* to the costume, corresponding to the ornaments of women, were pocket knife with horn handle (E. 2277) and the curved dagger, *canjar*[W], with sheath, 0.30 m.–0.40 m. long, the value of which varied according to the execution and the material of the handle and sheath (E. 2282, 0.405 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a thimble acting as tip; E. 2283, 0.330 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's horn; E. 2284, 0.345 m. long with silver sheath and handle studded with turquoise). The prayer chain or rosary, *tasbih*, composed of 99 beads was worn round the handle of the dagger. These beads could be of horn or other material, every 33rd, being marked (E. 2285 of horn; E. 2286 of fruit pips). As a rule the prayer chain is carried between the fingers or

4: Hussein E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

by young men wearing European clothes. Only by means of the rosary swinging between the fingers was it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans.

The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not well-shaved.

093 [302]

Children's dress. A baby's clothes in the villages consisted of a small bib with extra long, pointed arms, a padded jacket, *dishet*, of flowered cotton material (E. 2329) or silk, and a cowl-shaped silk bonnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of sack-like trousers, but it was an exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the town I saw a boy of about 4 months wearing a dress with a short yoke, a gores, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly copied from a European pattern (E. 2330a, c, d, e). The same infant I saw at a wedding clad (although mentally ill) in a dress of rose and light-blue nylon (E. 2330b).

As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short-sleeved, striped,

091 E-5 61

Fig. 51. Children's dress in the village, Tegyara.

CONCLUSION

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned (p. 68) writers of male travellers' have made comments about the position of Kurdish women in society. With the exception of Frazer[1], who distinguishes between the urban upper class and the village dwellers, Kurdish women are referred to under one heading. However, even from the limited material available to us, it is evident that there are at all events four different environments, each with its own pattern (and this division ignores the nomads). Some emphasize that Kurdish women are "...as free as in any European country"[2], and Rambout declares that "... in Kurdistan more so than in Kurdish women [Figaro de l'homme]"[3]. Even though in the case of the Kurds we must consider ourselves faced by a variant of the Islamic cultural pattern less orthodox than in other Muslim areas, I would point out the risk of using the terms "free position" and "equality" as understood in the West when attempting an assessment of the position of Islamic, and in this case Kurdish, women. Freedom and equality are concepts that must be viewed on the background of the position of Western women when their struggle for changed conditions was in progress at the end of the previous century. These terms bear no relation to the status of Kurdish women at present.

In an attempt to explain the Kurdish woman's position in the community I shall now deal with the various forms of veil and the use made of them, contact with the world around, women's possibility of movement, and the degree of seclusion. I shall discuss also the distribution of authority between men and women in the home, and, finally, the degree of common life in the home. These elements will be investigated within the four female environments existing within the area visited in Southern Kurdistan.

ANALYSIS OF VEIL TYPES

The veil. Five different types of veils, each with its function, but diligently distributed in the four female environments, were found to be in use. These were as follows: The triangular neck-shoulder veil, shawl, the head veil, shpik, the yellow nylon "bridal" veil, the white European bridal veil, and the black face veil, pilik.

The first type, really a shoulder cloth fastened by means of a loop to a snap sewn onto the corner of the cap, is included among the veils because its material, crepon tulle, interwoven with metal thread, of a green, rose or light-blue colour entitles it to be called a veil, and because its function was to hide the neck and pigtails of the married women. It was an indispensable constituent of a married Kurdish woman's dress were in its complete form. The neck-shoulder veil presupposed the presence of a cap, but not necessarily the use of a turban. At Halabja, for example, it was worn with a color-covered cap

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

293 562 [184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban woman, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

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[554] *The head veil* of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Topzawa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[2]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village woman in Topzawa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women were black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the now flooded ferry hamlet of Mirza Rustam all were black and in Sargalu bright red.

293 576 562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof at sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Serkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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293 562 *The yellow-silver "bridal" veil* I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Topzawa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

turban, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured head veil. Nikitine refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil cast over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le visage de la fiancée est couvert avec une mouchoir rouge pour que ... les jours de sa vie familiale qui commenceera soient rouges (c'est-à-dire heureux)"[8]. Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as is also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it must not be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[7], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that reach up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Granqvist in the case of Palestinian Arabs[9]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sash, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a caftan hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the ochre-coloured veil was used in the other feminine milieus.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent red-ochre "bridal" veil, used in the humble village milieu, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the escorting cars were closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[9].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's car is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil seen in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the woman's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an appurtenant over-garment, the Arab *abā* worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Bosnia in 1938 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the over-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognised by it[10].

Sure 24, verses 30-31[11] of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

Sure 24, verses 30-31 of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognised as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30–31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allāh* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allāh* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[12].

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Muhammed[13], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Sures of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a nun's habit. Unknown and unrecognisable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[14] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil ... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand ... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ...".

Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 76). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu.'Many times in the *city* of Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

be residents of Topzawa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sleeves of the costume to cover the face, even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's patiern of behaviour in Palestine[13].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Solaimani or the smaller trading centre, Halabja, could leave the home, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its seclusion in the form of the *abd-o-pič̈i*. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13–14. One of the adolescent daughters in the home of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realised until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very slovenly European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the *sāy* to buy the necessary *abd* and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu upheld the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Taifūr of Topzawa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She clad herself in *abd* and veil in order to walk from Topzawa to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this covering ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain track carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Topzawa closely veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Charmahand pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this around her as, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sargalu nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her invariable companion, back to to the Sheikh's house at Topzawa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakawa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear *abd* and veil after the first day in the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four milieus.

Veil types	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular neck + shoulder veil tulle		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ochre bridal veil		?		+				?
European white bridal veil						+		
Pure veil black	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[43] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sure 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[44]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the man's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *suq*, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

although he has nothing to do ith the office of mukhtar 423
described in the preceding page. Sadiq Agha holds a 427
registered title to the land ad pays the village's taxes
to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he
lays claim to a certain percesage, about a third, of the
village's crops. Whenever hevisits the village he is [576]
treated with great courtesy ad with feasting. Now and then
one sees a villager or bailif kissing the hand of a visit-
ing overlord, a servile usagewhich is generally looked
down upon today. On the othe hand, a village-owner is
sought by his tenants in a thusand and one minor matters,
a loan, a quarrel, a son to b recruited, and the like. A
more exact description of these reciprocal duties will
follow.

The villagers and kotoir fashion almost nothing which
has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will
be seen more completely with eference to Rowanduz, indigenous
crafts are simple and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth 286
is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a
side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this
material is wholly used in th fabrication of local garments. [294]
Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the
upper part of the town of Rowandus, the only craftsmen of
their religion laboring in th community. Their wooden
loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the
earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs.
The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, al- 283
though the women preferred th more familiar spindle and 286

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such as sherbet or <u>mastaw</u> (a mixture of curdled milk, <u>mast</u>, and water, <u>aw</u>, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its arrival an event of great joy in his household. 415

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and chaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter. 294 29 443 [439] 296 [521]

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

bazaz of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both townspeople and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazaz, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a men's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jayjani Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter. 294 955 796

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rowanduz, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one 296 [352] [415] [388]

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or 251
chest by a watchful mistress.

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are per- 462
formed by the women, preparation of food, minding the in- 356
fants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent
alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. [957]
Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made [294]
at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert
at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses,
and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery
is also made. There is no regular program for laundry [296]
and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress
feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free
hand in the management of her home and receives an allow-
ance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever
the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it
would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes
little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest
work, because they have been simply established as the
"work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood.
A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in
a <u>chaykhana</u> does not perform the same job in his home.
Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and 357
are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, al-
though the latter takes a much greater share of their
direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the 443
door of the house, while others are purchased in the <u>bazar</u> 556

both of which are worn in Rowandus with no apparent regard 291
to their several regional styles. The trousers are full, usually gathered at the waist with a cord, and may have wide bell-bottoms, the mode of the district, or be narrowed slightly at the ankle, the general Kurdish type. In no case are these tightly bound about the calf, as in the Turkish shirwal still seen in Syria and Egypt. The jacket, tucked in the trousers, has two forms, of which the first is collarless, although its edges have a wide embroidered border, and is single-breasted, one side folded slightly over the other without fasteners. The second is in the style of a doubled-breasted military tunic of the last century, with a collar about an inch high of stitched thicknesses of material, flaring lapels, parallel rows of buttons on the front, and two pleated pockets with pointed flaps. These outer garments need not be of the same colour. For a time Rashid Agha of Jindian, one of many examples, wore a jacket of white and trousers of dark blue. The materials are either European or local fabrics, and the tailoring is professional, although the embroidery is done in the homes by the women, some of it in intricately-executed bands along the seams and the hems. A typical suit consists of both trousers and jacket in the same colour, made of squares of locally woven wool cloth, light tan or blue, stitched and embroidered with thread of the same hue. [294] [462]

The type of footgear for men has been indicated above,

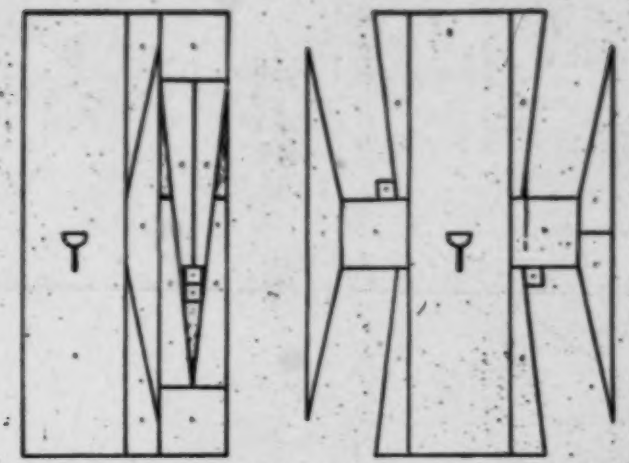

Fig. 46. Demonstration of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's b
Scale 1:30.
a: the body; b: the two sleeves; c: the two flannel-shaped cuffs (one of them sewn together from two pieces); d
four side gores; e: the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (Cf. fig. 51).

The production of feminine garments. The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made
imported[25] from abroad for sale in the *sūq* of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2352a-c).
padded garments like jackets and caftans are made by bazar tailors with Singer sewing machines
are found in both town and village[26]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, he
and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, *gēz*, (E. 2272). This is a round stick, 0.53
long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together
a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jac

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-kirtle and kirtle are made by hand or on a sewing machine
women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out t
garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and utilize
ingeniously the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measureme
well-known to the bazar tailors. When cutting-out the kirtle the person's height is measured
the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance betw
the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an
stretched arm (1 yard). Feilberg[27] writes of the Lurs measuring by means of the hand, just as D
at one time used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the foot.

294
291

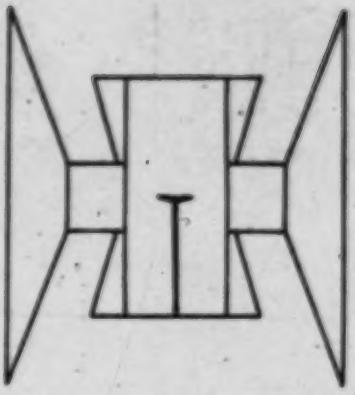

Fig. 72. Diagram. Cut of man's white cotton shirt (E. 2314). (Cf. cut of woman's kirtle fig. 61).

291 the forearm like a broad, folded white band[44]. Wedge-shaped pieces of material are let into the sides of the shirt. These are 0.19 m. broad at the bottom and end at the top with a square gusset sewn to the armpit. The cuffs, so characteristic of Kurdish men's dress, could be loose, independent elements of pure silk or nylon on sale in the *sûq* of towns like Sulaimani or Halabja, and used in conjunction with a shirt of European pattern in order to retain this typical Kurdish feature even after European elements have made their entry into the dress of men.

Drawers, *dêrŷŷ*[45], (E. 2315) are made of close-woven white cotton material. In cut they are bag-shaped breech-cloth trousers[46] of the same type as those typical of Turkish male dress[47]. However, from the point of view of cut they vary. In the middle of the bag, a rhomboid of material is cut out, turned 45 degrees, and then sewn on again as a gusset (see diagram). By so doing the drawers are given tapering legs whilst the great breadth around the hips and posterior is retained, a shape Edmonds calls "peg top cut"[48]. The width at the top is 2.00 m. and each leg, 0.95 m. long, is 0.40 m. wide. The drawers have a casing at the top with a tape running through it that gathers the fullness around the man's waist. These drawers are peculiar in that, as noticed by Chardin as early as 1711[49], they are quite closed having no fly in the front.

The outer garment, is "a suit", *rûxût-o-rûg*[50], consisting of jacket and trousers made of the same material, home-woven woollen[51] cloth, price about 2½ din. = £2/10/0. Such suits can be purchased ready-made in the *sûq* and, as mentioned, appeared in two different types typical of the Sulaimani and Rowanduz areas, respectively.

435

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Trousers, *rûxût*, from the Sulaimani district (E. 2316b). The material is woven of goat's wool, dark-brown, light-brown or yellowish-white. The weaving breadth is only 0.165 m., and the trousers therefore consist of 12 lengths of material sewn together. Before being sewn the material is folded together and boiled (cf. p. 55), so that each length of material obtains two sharp longitudinal creases which,

4: Heaven E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

is thus smooth, devoid of longitudinal creases, but after the garment is made it is decorated with green machined embroidery. The cut is the same as that of the trousers previously described, but the rhomb-shaped gusset is cut quite narrow (see diagram), so that the result is that the trouser legs are far wider. Superficially they are reminiscent of European women's trousers[1], diametrically opposed to the other, "peg top cut", type. On closer examination, however, it is found that the cut of the two types is identical. The narrow gusset gives a width of 0.80 m. to the bottom of the legs, as opposed to a width of 0.40 m. for the other type. The length, 0.93 m. is the same for both types and the same applies to the width at the top, which is 2.00 m.

Jacket, *rāpā*, from the Rowandūz area (E. 2322b). Of the same shape and cut as those of the Sulaimaniyah area but, like the trousers belonging to it, made of broader-woven, smooth hempen material so that the jacket of this type is only sewn out of 6 lengths of material. It has no collar. Like the trousers it is embellished with green, machined embroidery along the edges. The length of the jacket is 0.70 m., span 1.72 m.

In both types of men's dress the jacket is worn stuck down into the trousers and the gathered casing at the top concealed by a long, thick and broad sash wound several times around the waist.

Sash, *pēlās*, is about 4.00 m. long, shaped like a cylinder in which a lining is inserted. This lining, which acts as a stiffener, is made of rags sewn together. On the outer side the sash can be flowered artificial silk (E. 2317, length 3.35 m.), of mauve velvet (E. 2323, length 3.09 m.), or of heavily-flowered cotton material. They are sold by Turkmen in the *sūq*, for example in Sulaimaniyah.

Footwear during the summer I was in Southern Kurdistan was European leather shoes from the "Bata" factory in Czechoslovakia, local leather, or cloth shoes, *kālāk*[14], (E. 2320). The element kept connected with dress, shoes, are removed during prayers, on entering a mosque, and before treading on the rugs of the house. Cloth shoes are unsuitable for moving about in the mountains; there is no difference between right and left foot. A thick sole is formed by strips of cloth being folded together rectangularly[15], 0.115 m. long and 0.03 m. broad (E. 2274a-c) and hammered flat with a cone-shaped

[Text continues top of P. 94--Analyst]

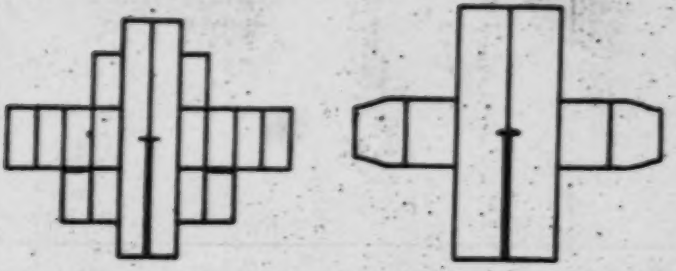
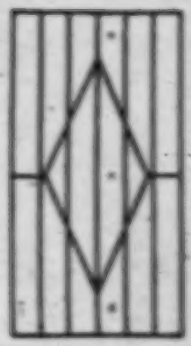


Fig. 75. Diagram. Cut of the jacket (E. 2316a) of Sulaimaniyah type. Scale 1:30.
Fig. 76. Diagram. Cut of jacket (E. 2322a) of Rowandūz type. Scale 1:30.

291
294



Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its arrival an event of great joy in his household. 45

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a single moccasin of raw-hide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkab) are produced for women. One shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and shorthouses with their wooden polish-horse, looking for customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter. 294 291 473 [439] 296 [521]

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter. 294 955 796

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rowanduz, and it was similar with other items of apparels Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one 296 [352] [415] [388]

of which he did not use and the other confided to a tailor to press and "clean." The rapid shrinkage of the pair in use soon revealed the technique of the tailor's wife, scrubbing them with the other clothes. Pressing is little required by the townspeople, and the tailors, with their fire-heated irons, carry out this task. 296 ●

There are three barbers with shops in the bazar, and one of them, Hajji Mustafa, darwish and town extrovert, will require later attention. The barber's shop is typically a booth, equipped with a few benches like those of the chaykhanas for clients in waiting and a plain wooden chair on which the customer is shaved or tonsured. That of Hajji Mustafa is gaudily decorated with a portrait of the founder of his order, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, photographs of actresses selected from Egyptian periodicals, and some other scraps of paper and notices. In addition, Hajji Mustafa's shop boasts a wooden board on which someone has painted "Modern Barber Shop" in Arabic, of interest not only because the "Modern" is a town joke, but because it is one of the few establishments in the bazar graced with a sign. The barber's tools, stored in a metal case, include hand-clippers, scissors, combs, a straight razor, some bits of soap, a mirror, and a bottle of cologne, all obtained through the general merchants. Often the barber is called to the home of a wealthier client, and this kit accompanies him. The barber's occupation is unprofitable, inasmuch as most persons shave themselves and hair-cutting 305 [532] [522]

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. [857] Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar

462 356 [294] [296] 357 443 556

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralised, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent mosque, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

515 [388] 296 [24]

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths. [824]

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred. 296 [516]

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezi*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sûq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the duststorm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating. 356 412

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either. 356 513

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the coolhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dug sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to foot, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with puffed sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dresses or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles: Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [179]

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, course silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 565 291 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 291 [513] [296] [171]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kūrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 262 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is [263] called *djadjk*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

291 The dress of Kūrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gugerat or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *bish*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *libardé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kūrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *tchurokia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from [301] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kūrdish lady. Notwith-

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowanduz freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil. [301]

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowanduz. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowanduz might have experienced certain decline.

rarely wear stockings, for there is little need of them with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often use them, obtained from the local merchants or Erbil. 291

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the pacha or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their mothers, but most have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular youngster, however to all appearances European, one must note the piece of blue porcelain pinned on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the town wear [301] [751] [754]

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcized, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

and the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch as the greater number of husbands do not anticipate divorce, a profit realized in business may be presented to their spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for the wife, not solely from the decorative point of view. Only land and precious metal have real and lasting value in the popular mind. A laborer in Rowanduz whose monthly earnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20) related how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and subsequently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars ($224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The jewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with her if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she pleases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells it to reinstate him or support the family, and may subsidize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in the same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of the gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly different in style from that produced for the lower classes in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that some of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type, such as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and bangles of precious metal are made up into more or less complex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the most expensive items is a collar or necklace of concentric circles of gold chain joined together by flat bangles of various geometric shapes, and another, the <u>qurs</u> or disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

301 [583]
301 454
[586]
301 [306]

mentioned. Precious stones and pearls are little in evidence, but coins, of almost any age and variety, are often drilled and included in the ensembles. The silver khizam or nose-ring, sometimes containing a piece of turquoise, is only affected by women of the villages. Many married couples wear rings, usually of silver and sometimes set with a piece of coloured glass, on the third or fourth finger of the right hand, but they are not a necessary part of engagement or marriage. Men wear little jewelry save a ring and a few sport a silver or imitation gold watch-fob hanging from a breast pocket. There is some aversion on the part of men to wearing gold, and this is said to have a background in Islamic tradition. The elegant seal-rings of Medieval and Ottoman times have almost completely disappeared, except in a few of the older families, such as that of Ra'uf Effendi, where they are preserved as heirlooms.

It has been seen that the townspeople have little regard for intoxicants, nor do they make use of drugs such as the opium of Iran to the east or the hashish of Lebanon and Syria to the west. If there are excesses among the natives of Rowanduz, they are only tea-drinking and smoking, the first of which has been discussed. Cigarettes are the most popular mode of consuming tobacco, and have several varieties. From the merchants British cigarettes and those made in the factories of Baghdad may be obtained. The officials and officers habitually use these, and they are

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, publicized to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." 583 554

It is perhaps for this reason that the muqaddam, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'akhar, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against heedless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe. [586] [301] [593] [454]

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these prescriptions. There is 582 834

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called mazu, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 301 [439] 751. 777 [531]

children. That a blue porcelain plate or a pair of old shoes is often installed beside the door of a house has been noticed. An iron horseshoe, as in America, may also be nailed above a door or on a wall. A human hand cut out of metal, the "Hand of Fatima" spoken of previously, is often found in jewelry. Adults seem to require little protection against the evil eye, but younger children, particularly males, almost always have charms pinned to their garments and their cradles are hung with them. Houses and animals are similarly protected. There is some rationalization of these charms. Those derived from the Quran have a power within them. The others, apart from their intrinsic qualities, deflect the glance of the evil eye from the object in question to themselves, a sort of magnetic property, because of their bright colour, their design, or something else.

777 751 [301] [854]

Charms such as these have a variety of origins. Minature copies of the Quran, metal disks, beads, pieces of turquoise, and shells are imported by the merchants and sold in the bazar, not only to the townspeople, but to the villagers among whom they are always in great demand. Slips of paper on which appropriate Quranic verses have been written may be obtained from one of the mullas or some other literate specialist. Cloth from the tomb of a holy man is easily obtained. Most persons assemble their own combinations, stitching them in cloth bags which are worn about the neck or pinned to the garments. Many of these are not solely to ward off

keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence. [illegible] Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters[17]. In regard to marriage and the polygynal sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Eagle[18] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding[19] "few instances between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ....".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish women of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[20]. Khanum Ganem Pasha, Lady Adile of Rhodigh[21] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Baganda family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the qa'im maqam in Sulaimaniya. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted labour in 1908 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Rasul Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, a age she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village schoolroom. Married women at the garden house, Sulaimaniya.
Fig. 3. Village schoolroom. Married women working signatures, Sulaimaniya. (See p. 10).

Fig. 1. Peasant women bring bread on circular iron sheet. Halabja. (See p. 17).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmoud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[9], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Alichelebi, some distance from Halabja, was in 1987 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmoud, as the real ruler and noble (king) of Kurdistan.

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmoud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

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in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a bedroom. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleaned after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the erratic light from the lamp. In the shop house of the village grocer-cum-pharmacist European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[1]. The dough, *hawīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, *wēr*, water, *āw*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xāle-dān*,[2] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gawk*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough about to placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

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evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The uneducated urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village woman, in the uneducated urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married woman, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

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Fig. 64. Ordinary peasant environment. Halabja.
Fig. 65. Uneducated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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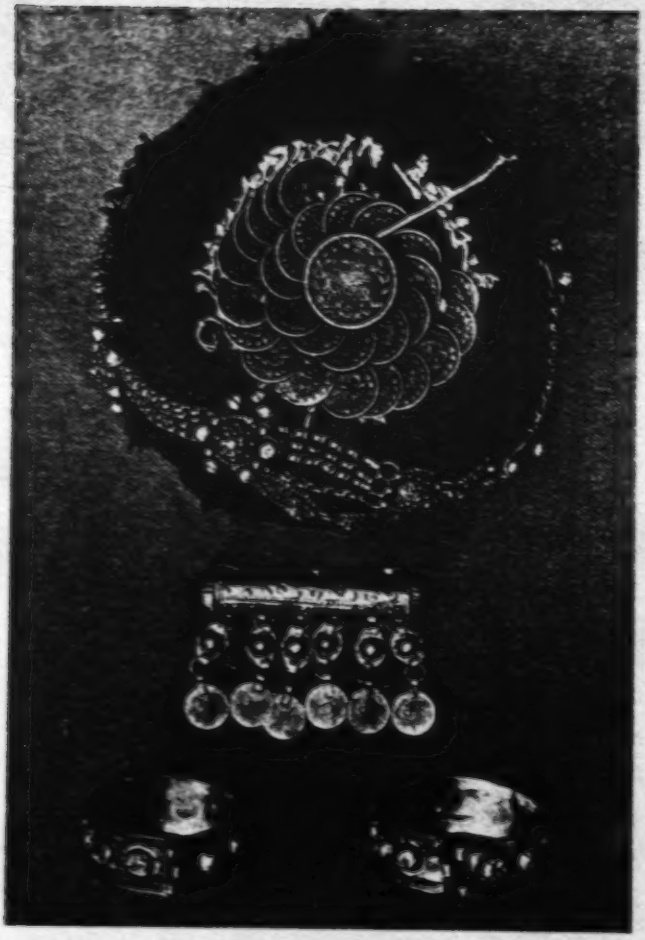

Fig. 67. Jewellery for women: cap with Persian silver coins sewn on (E. 2298). Halabja. Cylindrical amulet box (E. 2292) and bangles (E. 2296-97). Sulaimani.

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301 *Jewellery.* Jewellery in various forms belongs to woman's clothing. It is an element in the presentation of a dress, affects its whole character, and, as it were, completes the picture. It is necessary to go back to the Renaissance and Baroque periods to find in Western culture times when jewellery was so closely linked to woman's appearance and so integral a part of the dress as it is in the Kurdish woman's costume of to-day.

291 301 Certain parts of the dress are simply jewellery, for example the cap chin chain, *Zir-čina* or *kermik*, composed of coins or glass beads (E. 2288), which holds it in place on the head, and the coin at the top of the fez to which the neck-shoulder veil is attached. A chain of small ornaments may be sewn on the dress along the edge of the jacket (E. 2293), 0.96 m. long. There existed circular temple ornaments, *gul*, (E. 2294, 2295). Some necklets were composed of stones and silver objects whose form and material were supposed to possess protective qualities and to avert the evil eye. Certain amulet boxes were used as ornaments, for example a cylindrical silver amulet box, *lûla*, (E. 2292) with attached coins[28]. Last but not least the jewellery represents ready money, clusters of coins being sewn on as cover for the fez (E. 2298) or assembled in the form of chains of coins with inlaid gems, attached to the turban. Jewellery is a part of the bride price, is the woman's private property, and thus an investment publically exhibited in witness of the woman's economic status. She carries it on herself, the safest depository. [583]

301 Other kinds of jewellery include earrings, bangles, necklaces, nose ornaments and belts. Bangles, *hâzûn*, (E. 2296–97)[29] can be of silver and also of turquoise-coloured glass. Necklaces consisting of various semi-precious stones with pendant amulet packets called *hirmîra* (E. 2290) or *milwânka* (E. 2291), plus necklaces of 20 fragrant beads of dried cloves, *mêxâk*, (E. 2289), also with small amulet packets, are worn. Women's belts can be composed of gold coins side by side or a military belt on which are mounted one very large, eight small, and twenty very small silver buckles (E. 2300)[30]. This type of belt was, as mentioned (p. 77), worn at Topzawa by new arrivals with a specially long, pinned-up kirtle and a hood. These women wore across the hood a triple silver chain mounted with turquoise, *pêr'sûr*, (E. 2299).

Fig. 68. Nose ornament for woman (E. 2303).
Worn in a hole in the left nostril. Sulaimani. Scale 1:1.

Nose ornaments in the form of a small gold pin with movable attachment, *lûzwâna*, (E. 2303) are worn in the left nostril. Children also wear jewellery. This may be blue buttons or blue glass beads (E. 2287a–d) (cf. Superstition and Witchcraft, p. 154), but also of more precious metals. Brow ornaments of gold, plaited and stuck into the hair on the front of the head, in the form of a little crescent with three heart-shaped, movable pendants, known as *gul* (E. 2302), the same type being called by the Arabs *hilâl*[31]. Bangles of silver with one or more chains that link them with one or more finger rings, an Indian form of ornament. Finally the child might have obliquely across its chest an ornament and amulet chain, *kâškûl*, (E. 2301) called after one of the objects, a small reproduction of a beggar's bowl[32].

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Fig. 69. Jewellery for "Persian" woman in Topzawa; triple silver head chain (E. 2299), belt with heavy metal bosses (E. 2300). Bought in the city in Sulaimani.

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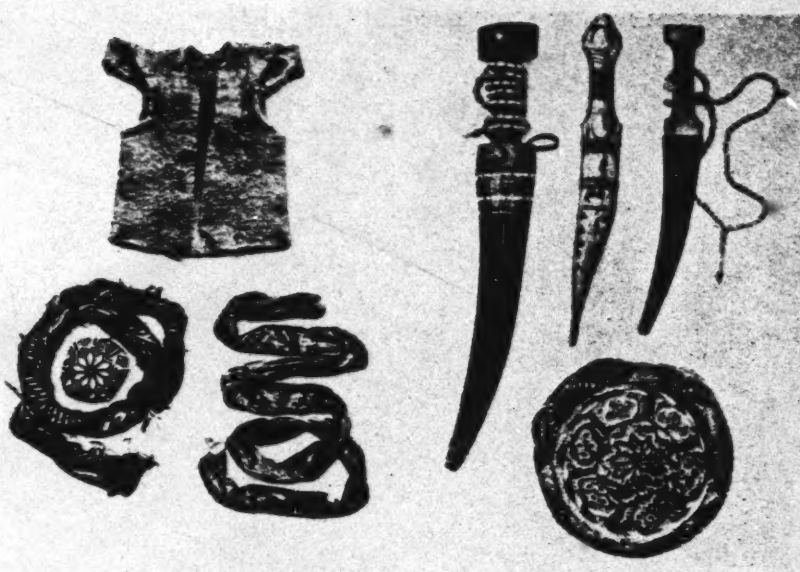

Fig. 81. Felt waistcoat (E. 2328), cap (E. 2318) surrounded by turban cloth (E. 2321), and scarf (E. 2323).
Fig. 82. Knives and rosaries. From left to right: E. 2282 with E. 2286, E. 2284, E. 2283 with E. 2285. Below: cap embroidered with gold and silk (E. 2326).

291 latter in adopting the trouser costume, by discarding the long caftan in favour of short waistcoat and jacket, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the long pointed ends of the shirt arms that could be tied round an object, the waist sash in which a cloth bundle could be stuffed or, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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293 *Accessories* to the costume, corresponding to the ornaments of women, were pocket knife with horn handle (E. 2277) and the curved dagger, *xanjar*[70], with sheath, 0.30 m.–0.40 m. long, the value of which varied according to the execution and the material of the handle and sheath (E. 2282, 0.405 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a thimble acting as tip; E. 2283, 0.238 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's horn; E. 2284, 0.345 m. long with silver sheath and handle studded with turquoise). The prayer chain or rosary, *tasbia*, composed of 99 beads was wound round the handle of the dagger. These beads could be of horn or other material, every 33rd. being marked (E. 2285 of horn; E. 2286 of fruit pips). As a rule the prayer chain is carried between the fingers even

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cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rôle is a completely passive one. The cerements must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth. Neither knifes nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the home to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the cerements. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother: *xāl*), accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connexion with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

Fig. 95. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Topzawa.

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795 831 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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771 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

789 Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topzawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil [822] influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

789 858 301 The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

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Sulaimani, and is called: *kilitāl*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver begging bowl. It is this begging bowl that Kurds call *kilitāl*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[30]. From the chain hang two silver bells[30], two triangular amulet cases of silver[31], two small silver watering cans[32], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[33].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *hirmāw*, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[34] has been inserted to avert evil[35]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *milwānka*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[36] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of moss agate[37] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are temple ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294–2295) known as *gul* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.036 m., reported to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by bazar craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (blue), their shape (snail shells), their sound (bells), or their material (carnelian, moss agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[38] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[39] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklet worn by women[40]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075×0.08×0.015 and 0.06×0.06×0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[41] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[42] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *lūla*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[43]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (cf. p. 108). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aristocratic village milieu. Two itinerant sayyids, recognisable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Topzawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that

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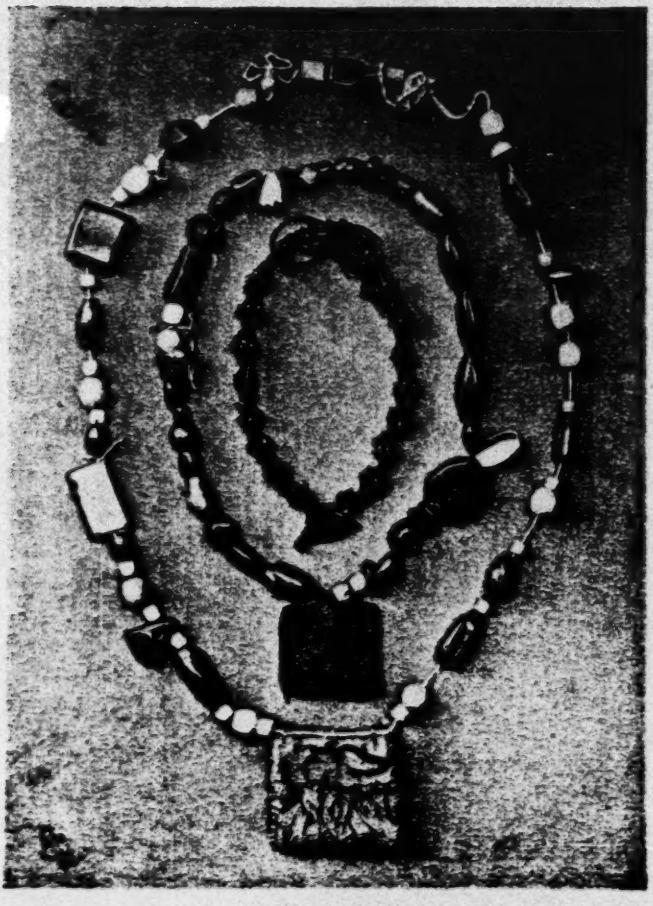

Fig. 98. Necklaces with amulets for women: dried clove with triangular amulet (E. 2289)
– stones and cowries, rectangular amulet (E. 2291)
– stones, rectangular amulet (E. 2290).

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Fig. 99. Jewels protecting the child against the evil eye: shoulder- and chest chain with beggar's bowl (E. 2301) – chain of blue glass beads with small hands (E. 2287a) – blue button (E. 2287b) – scorpion of blue glass beads (E. 2287d) – crescent of gold (E. 2302). For the women: temple ornaments (E. 2294–95).

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (Wudhu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is nijis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

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The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure resembling that of a European or American army recruit. The face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man without some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 302 831
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and, more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache, through an understandable cultural process, has come to be a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even officials and officers, who often wear their hair long, do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [186]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Townsmen are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [934]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Except for the cologne of the barber, men do not use cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517 824 574
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation. 517 824 574 302 562

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent. 515 302 [515] [826] [578]

at an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when undone in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some houses, kuhl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna, a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is not found in this area, nor is the technique used to prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstruation 841
clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual [833]
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is possible to observe daily female residents of the lower classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces. These are either transient servants or migrants from the villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcized, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [853] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

usually offered to guests in wealthy homes or to visitors 276
to a shop in the bazar. Most of the populace, however, smoke those prepared from local leaf in the houses by the women. These are made in great quantity by filling manufactured paper tubes, about four inches in length, and folding down the paper remaining at one end. A number of persons possess small Austrian cigarette-rollers, devices which can be carried on the person enclosing a certain amount of tobacco and a book of papers. Factory-made cigarettes are kept in their pasteboard boxes, and Baghdadis, some of the government personnel, have nowadays [302] the habit, probably ephemeral, of letting the nail of the little finger on the left hand grow long with which to slit open the package. The longer domestic product is typically carried in a silvered metal box, resembling a covered soap-dish, imported from abroad. A number of persons use heavy cigarette holders of wood or imported amberoid, out of proportion to the cigarette in thickness. In Ottoman times, many had pipes with long stems, two or three feet in length, but they have largely disappeared. It is still possible to buy pottery bowls in the bazar to which a drilled wooden shaft can be attached as a stem, but they are not popular. The water-pipe is not remembered as ever having had much use in the area. A smaller pipe survives among the villagers and men of the lower class, a stubby form in baked clay of curious design with an overall length of about five inches and the height

Iraq the Sunna is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
most the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis-
sension is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 795
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as 186
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds [302]
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
despise clitorectomy, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
Negroid, as Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a
gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Even on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

peril. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the boys, dresses and underdrawers for the girls. The older children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its scour of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is shaved with knives, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Rwanda tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering forrish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

girls exhibit shyness and what may be described as willfulness in their behavior. "If the young man is a guest at her house and asks her for a glass of water, she may refuse him and the other people will laugh." Both boy and girl are embarrassed by a certain amount of joking by their elders and companions, and chafing a young man about his coming wedding is a common form of amusement. During this period, the girl's father is expected to have doubled the sum of the mustring from his own resources, and it is expended on the clothing, household needs, and jewelry of the prospective bride. Both houses are scenes of intense activity in preparation for the wedding. 584 [522] [583]

When a day has been selected for the wedding celebration, one of the elder sons of the youth's family makes a tour of the town, inviting relatives and friends of his household. A similar invitation is issued by the father and brothers of the maiden. These invited send many gifts of food to the two houses. On the forenoon of the wedding, the mother and sisters of the bride bathe and dress her carefully, reddening her hair and staining her hands with henna. Members of her family take presents of henna to the townspeople with which the recipients paint their fingers. One can always recognize a wedding-guest for some weeks afterward by such marks. At the two houses, those of the bridegroom and the bride, parties of guests assemble, and refreshments and banquets are given throughout the day, the brother or most intimate friend of the youth receiving the 585 [302]

764 usage is recorded in this connection. If a man dies at night or when it is raining, the body is carried immediately to the mosque and left inside. The mullah read over it throughout the night, and tea is offered visitors on the porch of the building. The corpse-washer comes to the mosque and carries out his tasks there. It might be mentioned that ordinary burial is always performed on the day of death. The grave is prepared by laborers prior to the arrival of the procession, and is so oriented that when the corpse is laid within on its right side, the face will look in the general direction of Mecca, in Rowanduz to the southwest. After the grave has been filled, the relatives and friends of the deceased return home, and refreshments are given to all callers. Gifts of food are sent to the house by friends and neighbors. Another interesting custom now appears. Three days after the 768 burial, a barber is called to cut the hair of the new [302] head of the family of the deceased, if the latter has occupied this position. The house itself is rarely abandoned, except in those cases, common in the Middle East, in which some accident connected with the death, for [767] example, one of the family getting blood on his hands, leads people to believe that continued occupancy would cause bad fortune.

765 There is no specific period of mourning, although it is usually several months before normal life is resumed. The men of the family wear no visible sign, but the women

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Rowandux

doors at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baythal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Jejiani Qurban, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding. 527 [53] [302]

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Ilyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulla has nothing to say about Khidir Ilyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Ilyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Ilyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Ilyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowandux: [183] 773 776

> Khidir Ilyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowandux by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Ilyas, I have [112]

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water 789
over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of
water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. [484]
Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran:

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowandus, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky 777
day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business
transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, 902
the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to
be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used
in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in
a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice.
A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of [751]
the house, "in order that no one will get a headache."
Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic
significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, 787
"and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of [774]
the other superstitions, for example, the significance
attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not 771
impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of
Rowandus as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who
do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a
large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

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[1]Browne, 1893, p. 174.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 1. Village missionary. Married woman fetching wine home. Sulan.

and china ..."[1]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"[2]. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[3], in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

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[123]

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bidlisov, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und genossen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten anderen mosgemedanischen Völkern"[4]. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947; "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[5]. Soane maintains that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds[6], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the house"[7]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a similar treatment ... than is seen among Musulman races"[8]. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chief

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responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

[622]

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fätima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

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The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 3. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

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302 *Beauty culture.* Women's hair is cut short at the side of the head in line with the mouth. Older women in the two village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu wear their back hair long, plaited in an unequal[33] number of plaits. The cutting off of the side hair has led, in the case of the younger women of the village aristocracy and all women in the educated urban milieu to cutting it all round the head so that the result resembles the European-American bobbed hair of the '20es. Kurdish women's [192] hair is curly and looks as if it were permanent-waved, but I never saw any woman go to the hairdresser. The women cut each other's hair and that of their girls. Women's hair is black, but ash-blonde or [386] blonde is not unusual in the case of small girls. Women often dye their hair red with *xanna*[34]. The result is a somewhat carroty tint. This is done in the case of young people and children for esthetic reasons. On the other hand the grey hair of age is concealed by the aid of a double dye. The hair is 302 first dyed red with *xanna* produced from the dried, pulverized leaves of *Lawsonia alba (inermis)*[35], 386 which is bought in the *sūq* in linen bags ready for use (E. 2356). It is then dyed green with indigo *(Indigo fera anil)*. After 24 hours, during which time the head is swathed in a cloth, the hair assumes the desired ink-black, rather heavy, colour[36].

Henna is also used to stain the soles of the feet, the sides of the foot, the toes, and the palm of the hand and finger tips[37]. This staining I only saw resorted to in the two village environments. Within the village aristocracy this form of beauty culture is gradually becoming engaged in a struggle with [197] European-American nail varnish which, like the henna, can be purchased in the *sūq* and has also found its way to the villages. Nail varnish of whatever tint serves to emphasize the whiteness of the skin. The henna dye hides it. Use of them both results in a most unfortunate meeting between East and West, particularly when the henna dye gradually fades without at any time appearing unsightly, whilst the nail varnish peels off, as varnish remover is not apparently indulged in, giving a very slovenly effect.

302 Beauty aids also includes eye make-up, *kel*, that is to say powdered antimony (E. 2355), kept in a small brocade bag, *kel-dān*, (E. 2354a). Eye make-up is smeared on with a small wooden stick, about 0.062 m. long, *kel-ēw*, (E. 2354b-c), which is pushed over the lashes, the eye being kept closed[38].

American cosmetics could be bought in the *sūq* at Sulaimani, in the big store, Orosi Bak, and similar shops in Baghdad. A large flat velvet beauty box belongs to the trousseaux in urban environments. A bride coming from Sulaimani to a humble village milieu will be very made-up, but this is only practised on special occasions.

304 Tattooing[39], on the other hand, must be considered as belonging to the more permanent forms of beauty treatment, though it was not practised among the Kurdish women I had an opportunity of observing. Tattooing consists of single or groups of spots round the mouth, a stroke across the nose, spots on the forehead, or the back of the hand, the instep or between the breasts. It was said that tattooing was performed with an ordinary sewing needle dipped in a paste of eye make-up (antimony) or soot mixed with milk[40].

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y young men wearing European clothes. Only by reason of the rosary swinging between the fingers 293
s it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans.
The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not well-shaved. [302]

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hildren's dress. A baby's clothes in the villages consisted of a small kirtle with extra long, pointed 291
ms, a padded jacket, *dakat*, of flowered cotton material (E. 2329) or silk, and a cowl-shaped silk
onnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of sack-like trousers, but it was
exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the towns I saw a boy of about 4 months
earing a dress with a short yoke, a gown, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly
opied from a European pattern (E. 2330a, c, d, e). The same infant I saw at a wedding clad (although
ortally ill) in a dress of rose and light-blue nylon (E. 2330b).
As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short-armed, striped, 291 E561

Fig. 83. Children's dress in the village. Tegucero.

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long shirts, without visible trousers up to the age of 6, whereafter they are given small men's costumes of home-woven goat's wool material, and conform generally to the men's clothing scheme (cf. figs. 10, 28, 65).

The somewhat larger girls wear long frocks with a high yoke of the type known from Afghanistan —velvet, dark-flowered cotton material, or silk. At the age of ten the little girl is clothed in adult woman's dress consisting of long, gathered trousers, kirtle and waistcoat. European children's dress could be seen in an urban milieu.

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In the villages a boy's hair is shaved at the neck and right over the crown, the hair on the front of the head being cut quite short. This may be done to avert evil[?].

Girls wear their hair long and plait it into several plaits held together by a horizontal string running across the back of the neck.

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583 114 369 does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lets the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "gahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[121], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

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585 291 *Wedding preparations.* Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, thus a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, [177] was smashed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English greys the shirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

585 302 515 The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girls, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[122]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[123] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "Ibbin shimar", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[124]. At another place Lane[125] refers to a depilatory, "noorah", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

[305] This removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[126]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[127].

585 291 197 In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connection with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

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585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed [352] a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should ensure the gentleness [262] and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the [276] mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish [354] tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 15. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[143], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had [262] stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the *midwife* from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[142], reddish-yellow was [292] also the predominant colour of her dress[143], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[144]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[145], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride [583] price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her 304 finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent 309 moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing [292] otherwise only seen among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was first possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

leader, if he has a son who is being circumcised, to pay for the sons of poor people, and to give the feast. There is thus a tendency for the headman's sons to be circumcised in a common ritual with a large number of boys. This might be thought of as reminiscent of some form of age-grades, and may be vaguely symbolic of loyalty ties within such generations of village boys.

When a child loses his first *deciduous tooth*, a special dish is commonly prepared and given to the neighbors «because the parents are very proud that their child has become so big».

When a girl feels she is growing up, she may, with a few friends, decide she wishes to be *tattooed*, usually only moderate small designs on face or hands. This is performed by an old woman specialist rarely a resident of the village, but is, everyone insisted, now going out of use as a practice. There is no formal rule as to the age at which this is done, but a girl presuming at too early and age would probably be ridiculed. The controls seem essentially the the same as those on the use of cosmetics in Western society, and the time of tattooing does not correspond to puberty in any one-to-one relation as a rite de passage.

Marriage is one of the most exciting festivals of the village, and usually takes place in the autumn after the harvest, to ensure plentiful supplies. The process of choosing a spouse has been discussed above (pp. 26 ff.) — the ceremony itself is most colorful in the case of marriages that connect two villages, since then the aspect of conspicuous exhibition of wealth is most stressed, and the bridal procession from the girl's to the husband's home most impressive. The celebrations should traditionally last three days, and involve all one would expect of eating, smoking, and dancing, offering opportunities for all kinds of informal social activities. Unless excessive factionalism interferes, the whole village takes part in the festivities.

Death. After a death, the members of the bereaved household remain at home for three days, and friends and relations come visiting, express their sympathy, and are served food and tea. After three days, the throats of two or three sheep are cut, in honor of the deceased, and the meat is «given to the poor» — that is, distributed

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11
Baluchi A12

This division[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal [between nomadic and sedentary way of life -- Analyst]

* The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when undone in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some houses, kuhl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna, a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is not found in this area, nor is the technique used to prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstruation clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual 841
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths [833]
are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is possible to observe daily female residents of the lower classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces. These are either transient servants or migrants from the villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

Iraq the Sunna is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
most the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis- 795
session is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 186
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as [302]
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
despise clitorectomy, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
Negroid, as Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a
gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Even on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

peril. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the boys, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The older children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its over of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Rowandus tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering dervish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

wealthy sponsor in a room outfitted with beds and mattresses on which they are told to rest. Their mothers and other female relatives supervise them, and have a gathering of their own in one of the sleeping rooms. In the guest-room a large congregation of men, the fathers, relatives, and friends assembles. The mulla is summoned, and recites from the Quran. Another room is appointed for the operation itself, and in it the barber or darwish, several of the men, and the father of the boy being circumcised at the time take their stations. It might be noted that the boys, segregated in their room, are in a state of considerable trepidation, for they have not been informed what this festive and, at the same time, solemn occasion portends for them. A boy is led alone into the room of the operation and seated on a chair, his father standing next to him. The barber or darwish kneels before him, concealing the knife, and the foreskin is cut, theoretically before the child is aware of what has happened. At the same time a lump of sugar is placed in his mouth to prevent an outcry. The wound is quickly bound with a cloth bandage, and the boy is returned to his fellows. The barber or darwish usually accompanies his movements by muttering religious formulae of his own choosing or invention.

When all have been circumcised, they are allowed to rest and are visited by their fathers and mothers who congratulate them on their bravery. Meanwhile a great celebration ensues for the adults, separate banquets for

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or *berrish*, the *mulla*, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred *liasra*," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a *dishdasha* or cassock, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy is never practised, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

dilated and bloodshot, as they heavenly reiterate their [391.
achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" [719
over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their [518]
cure. They sell or give customers lumps of sugar on which [785].
certain symbols have been scrawled. It seems, this sugar
is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They
have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in [304]
various ways without experiencing pain. Shiji Mustafa
exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from
past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and
their tumultuous meetings, the dervishes commonly practise
white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the
most part shunned in everyday environment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. [391.
Shiji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but dis- [391]
dained the cash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap
with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the
mullah. On formal occasions, for example, when he was called
to the corral in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon,
Shiji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a [391]
walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists [788]
with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Shiji
Mustafa's dervish activities, observed in his house, con-
sisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine
perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the
traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed
gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and
a tattered copy of the Shahara (Arabic, "Tree") of 'Abd [391]

308 Beauty culture. Women's hair is not shaved on the side of the head in line with the mouth. Older women in the two village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu wear their hair long, plaited in an unusual[1] number of plaits. The cutting off of the side hair has led, in the case of the younger women of the village environment and all women in the educated urban milieu to cutting it all round the head so that the result resembles the European-American bobbed hair of the '20ies. A Kurdish woman's hair is rarely cut locks as if it were permanent wound, but I never saw any woman go to the hairdresser. The women cut each other's hair and that of their girls. Women's hair is black, but admixtures of blonde is not unusual in the case of small girls. Women often dye their hair red with *[illegible]*[2]. The result is a somewhat carroty tint. This is done in the case of young people and children for aesthetic reasons. On the other hand the grey hair of age is concealed by the aid of a double dye. The hair is first dyed red with *[illegible]* produced from the dried, pulverized leaves of *Lawsonia alba ([illegible])*[3], which is bought in the city in bare large ready for use (L. 2306). It is then dyed green with indigo (*[illegible]* *[illegible]*). After 24 hours, during which time the head is swathed in a cloth, the hair becomes the desired ash-black, rather heavy, colour[4].

Henna is also used to stain the soles of the feet, the palms of the hands, the nails, and the palms of the hand and finger tips[5]. This staining I only saw occurred to in the two village environments. Within the village environment this form of beauty culture is gradually becoming engaged in a struggle with European-American nail varnish which, like the former, can be purchased in the city and has also found its way to the villages. Nail varnish of whatever hue serves to emphasize the whiteness of the skin. The former dye takes it. Use of them both results in a most unfortunate meeting between East and West, particularly where the former dye predominates, since women in any case representing exogamy, while the nail varnish gives all, an varnish remover is not apparently indulged in, giving a very clownish effect.

309 Beauty aids also include eye make-up, kol, that is to say powdered antimony (S. 2306), kept in a small brocade bag, *kohdan*, (S. 2304a). Eye make-up is smeared on with a small wooden stick, about 0.02 m. long, *kohdan*, (S. 2304b-c), which is pushed over the lashes, the eye being kept closed[6].

American cosmetics could be bought in the city at Sulaimani, in the big store, Orosdi Back, and similar shops in Baghdad. A large flat velvet beauty box belongs to the possessions in urban environments. A bride coming from Sulaimani to a Kurdish village milieu will be very modern, but this is only practised on special occasions.

310 Tattooing[7], on the other hand, must be considered as belonging to the more permanent forms of beauty treatment, though it was not practised among the Kurdish women I had an opportunity of observing. Tattooing consists of single or groups of spots round the mouth, a stroke below the mouth, spots on the forehead, on the back of the hand, the lobes or between the breasts. It was said that tattooing was performed with an ordinary sewing needle dipped in a paste of eye make-up (antimony) or soot mixed with milk[8].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

from which they enter, with high, narrow steps, led up. From the back wall of the room three were access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses in all [352] [347] ...ere spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should ensure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses facing the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of signatures of Kurdish dances and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 15. Into this [356] feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[99], came, when the marriage was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the feasting of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a bowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out [347] of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the coat and the sunshade from her own house. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[99], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[99], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers [348] of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The entrance was without halt, but this was no exception as women often went without halts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs that the absence of the halt was to make her prolific[99]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the lord was released and flew over her bearing its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by handling [347] over her and placing her hand first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[99], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women present scrutinized her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the silver given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseau, purchased with the bride price, to this was supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable factory-operated window set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 The bride was coloured on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a red, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a fancy [illegible] only one among Turkish women in Mardi, but it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

[31] personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[84] The Kurd is born into a world of
dancing and feasting, for relatives and
[85] friends celebrate his birth for three whole
days and nights. As soon as he grows old
enough to stand he toddles about the flat
roof of his house, occasionally throwing
stones over the edge at his brothers be-
[92] neath. When he reaches the age of five he
[293] is given clothes exactly like those of his
father—in miniature. He is a proud lad
when he puts on his first pair of baggy
trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and
several yards of coloured cloth wound
round his waist, more silken squares tied
round his head, and a yard or more of
cotton shirt-sleeve which he winds back
over his cuff.

[82] He has another great festival when he is

• 304

[text continues on p. 548]

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Iraq

852 circumcised at about the age of seven.
304 Once more the relatives and friends gather, sweetmeats are produced, and there are two days of preliminary feasting and music to dim the pain of the operation. On the third day, when the operation is [535] performed, the rekkeid (national dance) is danced, in which men and women stand arm in arm in a row swaying backwards and forwards while music and singing fill the night with sound.

583 The next great event in the life of the young Kurd is his marriage. When he reaches about eighteen years of age, or earlier among the tribes, he takes a wife. Among the poorer people a girl of one family is exchanged for a girl of another family, and a double marriage takes place; or if one girl is too young, she is set aside as the *dogrew* or fiancée of the boy until old enough to be married (that is, about 14 years old in the case of women). So for a poor family the only expense incurred is three days of feasting and the

[538]

of which he did not use and the other confided to a tailor to press and "clean." The rapid shrinkage of the pair in use soon revealed the technique of the tailor's wife, scrubbing them with the other clothes. Pressing is little required by the townspeople, and the tailors, with their fire-heated irons, carry out this task. 296

There are three barbers with shops in the bazar, and one of them, Hajji Mustafa, dervish and town extrovert, will require later attention. The barber's shop is typically a booth, equipped with a few benches like those of the gherkhana for clients in waiting and a plain wooden chair on which the customer is shared or tonsured. That of Hajji Mustafa is proudly decorated with a portrait of the founder of his order, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, photographs of actresses selected from Egyptian periodicals, and some other scraps of paper and notices. In addition, Hajji Mustafa's shop boasts a wooden board on which someone has painted "Modern Barber Shop" in Arabic, of interest not only because the "Modern" is a town joke, but because it is one of the few establishments in the bazar graced with a sign. The barber's tools, stored in a metal case, include hand-clippers, scissors, combs, a straight razor, some bits of soap, a mirror, and a bottle of cologne, all obtained through the general merchants. Often the barber is called to the home of a wealthier client, and this kit accompanies him. The barber's occupation is unprofitable, inasmuch as most persons shave themselves and help-cutting 305 [532] [522]

does not command a high price, but provides plenty of 305
leisure and social intercourse. The barber, as in
Europe or America, is a notorious channel of gossip, and, [521]
albeit poor, thinks of himself as a person of some im- [554]
portance in the community.

Much miscellaneous transport is required for short 492
distances by a town such as Rowandus, for example, of build-
ing materials or firewood, and a number of men find em-
ployment as muleteers, furnishing their own beasts and
working by contract. "Muleteer" is a misnomer, inasmuch
as both mules and donkeys are in use, the latter animal
even thought preferable by reason of its cheapness and
docility. Little harness is used, and the secret of load-
ing the beasts consists in dividing the load and balancing
it across the back on the animal's flanks, tied up in
bundles, as with wood, or stitched in twin burlap sacks.
Brightly-coloured saddle-bags of heavy woven wool, not
unlike rugs in texture, may be purchased, and many
animals are experienced with tassels and other decorations.
The muleteer keeps his animal near or within his house at
night, and their departure from the bazar on a variety of
commissions is a feature of early morning.

For longer distances and heavier loads, particularly 494
the great quantity of material which comes from Sybil, the [493]
town has the use of two lorries. One belongs to a local
entrepreneur, Hassan Hopel, who is also its driver, and who
was in 1951 under contract to the government on road [499]

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth.

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Mewsul Effendi Amkiani. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'uf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ma'uf Effendi was given the post again.

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz has never been so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Anis any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person but the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Khwakurk, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post.

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a darwish and a khalifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare

postma, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy. 159
illustrates the personality of many of the dervishes, as well [163]
as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rowandux area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the dervish movement which offered the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with [791]
other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [305]
he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the town, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, [792]
the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded 771
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 789
drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple calls of alms and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

583 114 369 does not mention that the men must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lists the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[1], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

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585 347 Wedding preparations. Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the house where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cut out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, then a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was crushed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

[777] The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English grey the skirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

585 360 515 The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girl, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[2]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[3] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "blue chimmel", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[4]. At another place Lane[5] refers to a depilatory, "rusmah", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred to water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

[805] This removal of hair in my interpreter's family then took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[6]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[7].

585 341 199 In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connection with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. They were so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish woman's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adapted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

834

and the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch 301
as the greater number of husbands do not anticipate di- [583]
vorce, a profit realized in business may be presented to 301
their spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for 454
the wife, not solely from the decorative point of view.
Only land and precious metal have real and lasting value
in the popular mind. A laborer in Rowanduz whose monthly
earnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20)
related how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and sub-
sequently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars
($224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The
jewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with [586]
her if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she
pleases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells
it to reinstate him or support the family, and may sub-
sidize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in
the same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of 301
the gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly [304]
different in style from that produced for the lower classes
in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that
some of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type,
such as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and
bangles of precious metal are made up into more or less
complex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the
most expensive items is a collar or necklace of con-
centric circles of gold chain joined together by flat
bangles of various geometric shapes, and another, the ŞEFŞ
or disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

992 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[4]. None of the grown-up
554 men of the house was home at the time. The sandals were not received in the guest room of the house
551 in accordance with their station as strangers of a certain rank, that an exceptional exception could
463 be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard,
and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather reluctantly, a dust had been
spread upon—sandals to return for feet and sugar sprinkled into the beggars' bags that the sandals
carried over their shoulders. These gestures appeared to rank with the sheikh's servants. No refresh-
ment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

992 The sandals were made whilst we waited. The one sandal placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked
789 the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the wall by the side of the ink bottle. He
463 then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn red lines, forming rec-
tangular panels. There were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to
distinguish this from the distance away I sat in stood. On another piece of paper he took out was
drawn a round. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes.
These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded into a triangular packet, the bottom
corner being held diagonally, and the flap was then folded together.

306 The sandals were picked up from the ground, broken in the middle, and each into the triangular paper
189 packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular
packet but without any iron content. When the sandals were handed over to the women they were
laid in a little box in which already lay two sandals not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept
in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to
view the sandals whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power
to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

Lane talks of the Arabs in Egypt who "write charms ... consisting of certain passages of the
Kor'an and names of God"[5]. So far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was
forced to keep, the sandals, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That iron is
included in sandals, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[6]. It
did not appear that these sandals were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known
from Afghanistan (E. 1995), and, relating to a Scottish book of prophecies, Wilkins[7] reports that
"... in volume five dozen dot sphincters but his references unfamiliar does none be me imaginative ...".

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984 Holy Sand. Following[8] refers to the Lu- using a rod with a small carved wooden hand at the top,
that was carried in the waistband of an old — also allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those
present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the row check, and then the other. A large
wooden hand, wrapped round with a flowering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round to
the village of Tegaona by one of the other four acolytes who were "resting" the place at the same
time. The man also tried later to visit the sheikh's home, but got no further than the steps up to the
fragile of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to churn. As he entered

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

At Sulleymaniah, the Kurdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harimlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of leafy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *takardaks*, or hovels, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, or Account of the Ten Thousand, mentions that the Kurdish boys their wives in ornamental elevators, bk. iv. chap. 5.

CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowandiz region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide, level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Heine or Spreu, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowandiz itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Thus, the long-horned mountain goat, an unusual animal living [illegible], with [illegible] swelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local businessmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

Fig. 1. New huts in front of the mountain of Kurikoma.

The gathering (harvest) and Shipping

conditions the siting of the villages. Some steep inter-chasm in a mountain fragments support the forest use of woods. Watercourses and springs are developed to form basins for the drinking of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and cultivars. In digging these canals mattocks (E.239) and iron ploughs are used. The latter are worked by two men. The iron plough was seen to be used by the Lower Ainu on the cultivated rice fields. Around the villages the Tsuguma and Sakawa grow gardens, orchard trees, a few orchard and fig trees. The hill sides have additional gardens, of low soil. Above their villages the Ainu cultivate the crop of which is used for cake and wheat in cakes. Among the villages of Kaigishi, Sakkoro and Shimbo, which have fertile valleys are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and cherries. The plantations surround the whole village,

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

APPENDIX I: Land use.

According to the Kurdish farmers, there are three classes of land for wheat and barley crops; the same field, differently treated, belonging in any of these three classes:

(1) *Wushka wared* (dry land). Old fields or new land is plowed once in the winter, while it is raining. In the middle of the spring it is plowed again, after which it is left fallow all summer, during which time it grows over with a scatter of weeds. When the farm work is finished in the fall, the field is plowed again, the seed is spread by hand, and the field is cross-plowed. Ideally, it should be plowed over even once more, but few farmers have the time and animals to invest in that. This is the best kind of land, and gives by far the best yield. The work should be finished before the winter rains set in, so the fields get the full benefit from them. In the spring, the crops also resist the locust better, since the plants have grown relatively large before the locusts appear.

(2) *Mee wared*. A simplified form of *wushka wared*, in which the farmer for some reason has not done spring plowing (the farmer was sick, his oxen sick, occupied with too much other work, too little winter rains, etc.). The fields are thus plowed once in the winter, and then left fallow till next autumn. When the rains set in, the seed is spread (in spite of a considerable stand of grass and weeds in the field), and the field is plowed once over, in consequence of which most of the weeds die. This is not as good as *wushka wared*, but better than

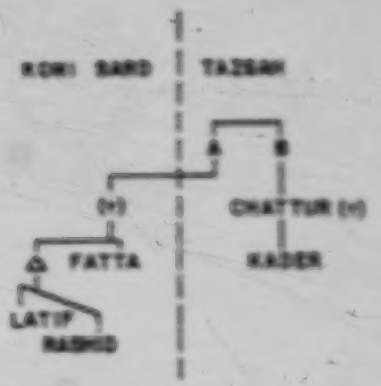
(3) *Terra kal* (wet, immature), in which the field is *not* given a fallow year. The farmer waits for the first winter rains. After the earth is soaked, the field is plowed once. Some times the seed is spread and the field is cross-plowed as soon as possible. A better procedure is to wait for more rains, some 20 days or so, and then seed and cross-plow. In the meantime, some of the grasses and other wild plants will have revived and resumed growing; these now become weeded out. Most of the work connected with *terra kal* is done in the middle of the winter, in rain, sleet, or even snow, and involves considerable discomfort. Furthermore, the plants being later to develop, they suffer more from locusts; and the fertility of the land

is reduced from not being given a fallow year. The same field can not be used as *terre dal* for any longer period of time.

Essentially, then, the pattern is one of alternate year fallow and alternate year grain crop. Since no other major crop is raised on this type of dry, un-irrigated land, any pattern of rotation is impossible. Cow dung, being a major source of fuel, is not available as fertilizer. The customary plowing, in addition to making the land able to absorb and retain the moisture of the winter rains, should also be useful in building up the humus by burying the weeds that develop.

APPENDIX B: A conflict involving revenge.

The classic approximation to an actual bloodfeud which I observed in progress was concerned with the rights to land, and involved a small lineage which finds itself split between the two villages Tazgah and Kosi Sard, in Hamawand territory. The wronged party being considerably more willing to discuss the situation, the following account may be slightly biased in their favor.



Two brothers, A and B, grandfathers of the present contestants, and both residents of the village of Tazgah, divided their father's land between them. A sold his field to a third person; B's son, Chattur, later bought it. A's son moved to the neighboring village of Kosi Sard, where he worked as a landless laborer. Finally, A's grandson, Fatta, claimed the land back. Chattur, in possession of the land, expressed his willingness to sell; Fatta countered, saying that the crops of the past years were sufficient payment — a not uncommon argument. In the resulting quarrel, Fatta shot Chattur dead.

Kader, the son of Chattur, was then a very small boy, and Fatta was widely known as a competent craftsman, so nothing was done. After killing one more person, unconnected with the present conflict, Fatta became an outlaw.

8: Leach E-S (1954) 1960 NAII Rural NAII
Rowandduz

GII
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[1-22]

to other views, and that the economy of the village will not create the crisis.

Both point to look to this by the fact that all Agha of Sayed [head of the Shemlani], who being a natural aristocracy of Kurdish tribesmen received no Government subsidy, has remained a staple tribesman with few tendencies towards exploitation. However, for from accepting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shemlani land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an emigrant in their own right instead of merely a tribe of the Bolik. It seems significant too that the Shemlani, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalization emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and to some extent rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Sweet House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we saw that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

- Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the "emphasis of production" varies considerably. The village may specialize in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Agha economy. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organization of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms of applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

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in
any single village community.

462 The basis of the ordinary Kurdish economy is subsistence level, based on this alone (land), and a meat milk product of the pastoral type (wool), in addition to a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then grinding it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (wheat) is produced, which in normal part an ordinary grind would be with cereal vegetables or millets. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and grain. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility.
263 • 311 (p.43) The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, pumpkins, beetroot, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would undoubtedly be the preferred crop if it could be successfully cultivated. The rice yield is known to roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing the rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the meal if it could be managed. I discussed this matter to some extent with the British Assessor of Arbeel and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Kurdistan was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very scientifically arranged.

A third cereal grows only in small quantities in winter.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the lower portions additional supplies of rice from outside are on to be also always to serve p'lau, to their general turnout of meat.

457 In former times this have sold sufficiency to provide produce
459 are no great strain on the economics of the community. The
cultivation has to be reportedly shrinking and almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Sangsha there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of seed, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the particulars of these land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the seed crop is traded.

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1960 MAII Rural MAII
Rwanda

Effects of an Increase in Tobacco Cultivation

276 499 The Sala are horticultural cultivators and have cultivated their own variation of tobacco for several centuries. Though these particular varieties are still the preferred ones for the Sala themselves, they have little or no trade value owing to the woodly nature of the leaf. In recent years however a number of modern cigarette factories have been started in and around Saphiel, thus creating a good market for a better class leaf. In the main this market is satisfied by the more sophisticated Sundials grown much as Sala-lands, but the Sala-men of the Kampfua District are also slowly beginning to adapt their production to the new conditions. In this they receive encouragement from the Government and the factory owners who supply free seed and instruction to those who wish it; this service by the Government is of course more than recouped by the ultimate return on the resulting product.

• 512 299 Sala-lands are conditions the improved tobacco leaf has a cash value proportionately nearly in excess of that of wheat or rice. In terms of a cash economy it would be possible to increase the area of land devoted to the production of tobacco at the expense of that devoted to wheat and rice.

Furthermore since, other things being equal, the area of tobacco cultivation would again only be limited by the supply of irrigation water available, the logical thing to do would be to shelve the rice cultivation altogether and substitute tobacco, both on the rice land itself and also on much of the wheat land - [tobacco requiring less water than rice]. This development has actually taken place in certain of the lowland villages, notably in the Sangrina community round Sala, and the resulting financial advantage has been very marked; but in the Sala area the increase in tobacco acreage owing to fear has been very slight. In the highest villages such as Shalom and Sagat climatic conditions are probably unfavourable, but lower down in the valleys around Bangu and Sangrina where tobacco and rice are at present grown side by side there seems to be no immediate technical reason why the former crop should not be expanded. There would of course be certain difficulties in connection with the re-organization of the water supplies, and there is the problem of specialist training in tobacco cultivation but in the main it would appear that the problems involved are social rather than technical. If it were possible for every individual tenant to grow tobacco in exact proportion the transition to a modern cash economy might be simple. But in practice the existing tenancy rights are such that any extension of the tobacco cultivation must affect temporarily different sections of the community - those whose land is earmarked for the new cultivation benefiting at the expense of the rest. We may analyse the problem in economic form in terms of the factors of production involved.

626 Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation

Land. The land probably available for future cultivation"

In roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated - the extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 349 312 421

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.
2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.
3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.
4. In some villages (e.g. Dergala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that in Sorao where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the irrigable tobacco plots are systematic in the extreme and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest in the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alpine villages of the Bavarian Tirolean, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there does to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the scrub terraces were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such reclaimed land must at present conveniently with the Agha. 929 311

Labour. The labour available to the labour of the tenant cultivators and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Since the present system the chief harvest comes in 441 311

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 Hall Rural Hall
Rewarded

Land Ownership, House Construction and Stability

The indications are that land ownership are for the most part an fully utilized on present technical equipment permits the amount of cultivated land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement to work.

Except on the sandiest country where thicker where conditions are too severe, there is sufficient incentive for land to sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shallow permits cultivation such as vines are carried far up into the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the land supplies grain are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

Land ownership supply seems the most plausible explanation for the very uniform form of settlement adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which would have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed on the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes on an incline and on layer the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the cohesion of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship ratio within the village as can be seen from photograph B. Often houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The lower building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is an exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relations functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconvenience of such close proximity to social kinship is obtained. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the supplementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which considerably may affect on the part of the kin to recognise the claims of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

The map suggests perhaps that in the plains where the main agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the intensive of water supply naturally affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual architectural construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. Each houses appears only to the villages of the

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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Kur

entirely that there will be any serious modification of the existing type of plough, at any rate in the hill country.

Threshing

For threshing the hill people use an instrument of which the spikes are merely nailed round and round on the picket stave until the whole is reduced to a fine chaff and the straw then skimmed with a fork in a light wind (see photographs). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late October; any drastic change in the economic progress of the village - such as a switch over from corn to tobacco - must on I here deem be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very puzzling is that throughout the plains area, - where the wheat harvest is very large - use is made of a relatively advanced "threshing machine". This consists of a large drum sled (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for shaving up the chaff. The apparatus is very simple and not, one would have thought, unduly expensive. But the curious fact remains that this device is not found in the hill country around Rowanduz at all, though the advantages seem to me well known to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the wheat production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that as long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in October it was good enough. Whatever the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any natural extension of the wheat cultivation.

Land Utilization

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Kur

The actual layout of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Wheat, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently sited, their position being determined by the layout of the irrigation system. The wheat on the other hand is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram [illegible] roughly the layout of cultivation in Palwah at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow land is on one side of the stream and all the [illegible] wheat strip on the other. Nothing corresponding to this neat symmetry could be observed in the other villages I visited. It explains the fact however that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one piece; - in Palwah obviously each working group must have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of rotating land to different individuals sometimes in successive years but my informants

[illegible]

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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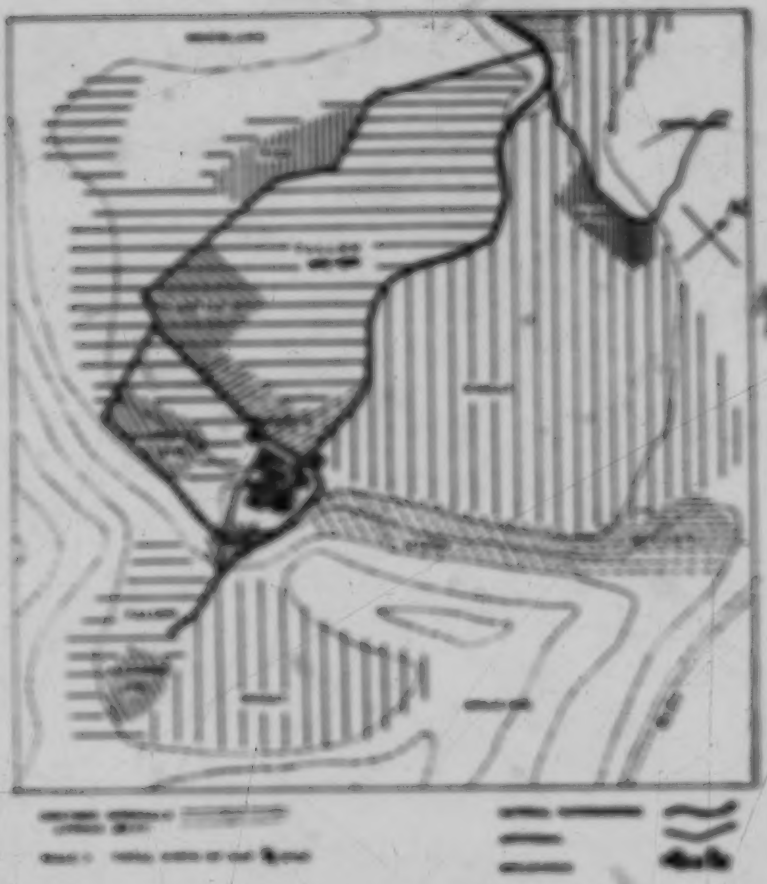

LAND UTILISATION

BALADH VILLAGE SUMMER 1938

361

View to the Amadiya Plain, one of the villages in which the semi-nomadic Kandi live, and home to

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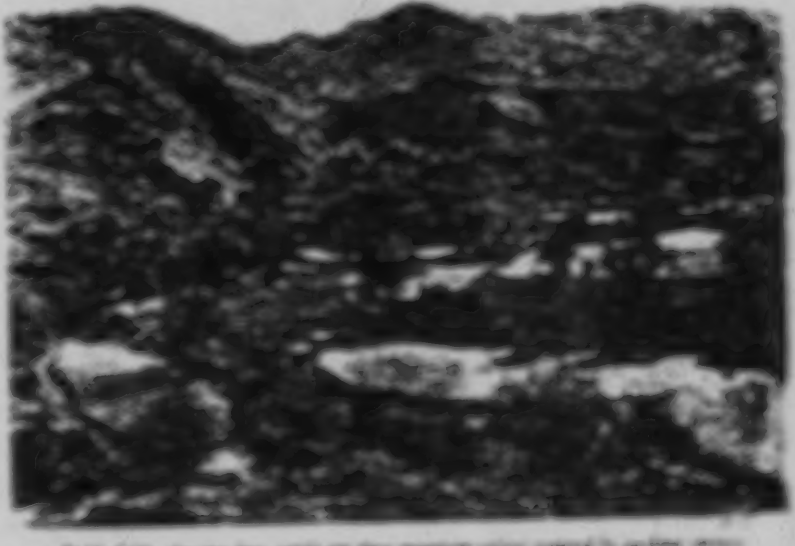

Middle field, showing how ploughs are often manoeuvred to avoiding ploughing

[5 7]

a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as
porches for those above. The population of this community
was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house
is simple, its floor of beaten earth, its windows without
glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an
indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings
meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This
village boasts no specialized constructions and is without
shops. Larger villages, such as Betas or Ipsem, have a
number of buildings for special purposes, for example,
the police post and the Nestorian church in Ipsem, and a
definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards
of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences
of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the
smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic
animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during
cold weather, and in some locales in the area sheep are
used as cattle-guess or sheep-thiefs in the winter. The
"agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the
Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often,
but in the Hawraman district it is possible to find isolated
farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The
Kirmāšān, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a
black goat-hair tent flanked with rugs, in general appearance
not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of
these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer
guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique design.

There is no electricity in Rwanda, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or shebitoung open late and a rare door-lantern serving for visitors, and it is customary for those visiting at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Ami Sherbil, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jealously distributed by the better educated, such as the tenchers, to Ekrem el-Sherbil, the Ahmadi caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In similar fashion the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the kitchen to there. The banks of this area, unlike some of their counterparts in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of the relative purity. Ewelli Agha of Jiadien, whose father's

some has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Kwanzan, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, so it carries disease, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this is no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a tiled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a window door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used to shutter. Cooking customarily on earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the sparsest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

ureds is more or less personal necessity for this class, and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to put more detailed attention to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and landowners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked on three sides by the building with the fourth left open, and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of the house and high brick walls on all sides. These courtyards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it, watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the outside windows of the first storey consist only of small, unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Doorways of

[illegible]

the legend the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly XX 2005 fatih, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that [161] when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the animal's sacrificial blood is dipped in the blood. It is an incredible breach of 579 etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have its origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until admitted in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow stone-built channels in the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Kuwait. For further clarifying, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the hammam so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, has largely disappeared in modern Kuwaiteas.[1] Bathing in Kuwaiteas is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the Khan or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a basket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

[1] Beaumont, 1951, p. 175.

which the mCkxnig calls the townspeople to prayer. To the right of the porch, on the street leading up through the house, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mCkxnig might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may sleep on the floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the elites, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its counterparts preserved in Rwanda. The other three mosques in the town are quadrangular rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bwiru near the civil officials' club, and is scrupulous in term life as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques

[1] Beaucourt, 1932, pp. 64-65.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, volleted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each led to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be ascribed a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built not over the lower-lying field—a latrine, adequates, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe over the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other wings of the property.

342 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to share or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the latrine's waste-pipe over the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, collected waters, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, gourd cans or cow's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In this same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a more remote of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The outer central room looking towards the court represented the state-like, three-walled façade. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this eiliang room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

[CONTINUES TOP OF P. 54 -- Ed.]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the house round the walls of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 5 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also plated with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and plated anew every time water was split upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, saj or sâca, on which the bread sheets, sáh, were baked were placed on the fire. The modern bee-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring or open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down to the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The barrier in the home was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

341 342 361 369 [312] [364]

of the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though not connected with the family section of the house[39]. Along the wall lining the street were the water installations. To the left of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a sunken, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an earthen lid. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it, to withdraw a water container under which a boy could let his crushing but water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Tepsenna. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaimani's good and well-drained municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small bank with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *loggia*—between, that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the corner part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but communicated with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was squeezed

[351] [312]

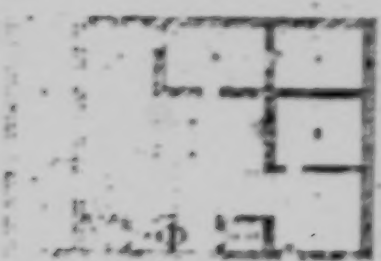

Fig. 36. Ground-plan of family house, Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: outdoor living room, b—e: etc.; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, lavatory; f: latrine; g: guest room; cf. fig. 26).

[illegible] ... Fuel supply

[illegible] on a sheet of bread and gourmet. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from some bowls[illegible], but forks and knives were not used[illegible]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is raki[illegible] or the less-distinguished ally. These are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a bulb from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a smaller basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

Carrying of water. Water is transported to the home by women in containers of various kinds: clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2376), home-manufactured and slightly barrel, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, (used, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a log sheet, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the sheet on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the sheet, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the settlements, both the clay-lined earthen earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls[illegible] but with whole branches trailed from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[illegible]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[illegible]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, the cotton gun, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and firepots are mainly used for cooking purposes.

Heating. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temperatures of up to 36°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a barrack. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[illegible] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre, the smoke passes out [or does not, as the case may be] by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[illegible] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a small cube ... termed the "tzwa" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[illegible] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place sur-dessus de foyer un tabouret (*kursi*), on le recouvre d'une couverture[illegible] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sekkenaeli it was baked in [illegible] on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was hot for the day. The 6–7 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house preparing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, loaves of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sekkenaeli bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. Milk is delivered daily from outside. Some is for use in relation to festival from the city by one of the lads, carried home on his head, mixed under the young, and placed in the glacier. The annual consumption of butter—about 30 pound cans full costing about 10 rands—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. The ß made by the elders wife. The accessories for the are disintegrating: the grease stove has replaced the iron hearth and removed, the basket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. Qibab is made specially by the husband[?] over a low charcoal basin. There is no [illegible] of water or good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When ordered, Qibab could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the city by the husband and delivered by an errand boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the smoking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and crushing. It is put into sacks knotted together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, watched by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on tarpaulins sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain-cleaner woman commissioned for the purpose. The cleansed grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The completion of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

9019 As compared to grain, where most of the work comes either in
• 3-2 winter planting or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation take constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation system of tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The flow of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

9355 Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided for the animals, so these very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

4273 The characteristics of subsistence and cashlike techniques should
4'70 to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the household. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the addition... factor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land code, tribal political organization, or de-facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the former is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional usufruct rights, and b/ land on which

equivalent, e. g. for reaping 1/3 of the wheat crop, 1/3 of barley for plowing, food plus 100 Rls/day (= 2 shillings) or 150 Rls/day and no food.

The large landowner may even sell the rights to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/3 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

Diagram No. 1. Shares of division of a cereal crop

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/3 of the crop on an irrigated land.

At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a western village will consequently consist of 1—10 men, in part made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it up the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

According to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either send it each in turn, or one man among them may hold an [illegible] superiority.

(3)

630 [illegible] of the mill - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village feast feast. As an chief was later than the Chairman was closely interested.

630 Social Organization Areas other than Bailo

An explained section on information for groups other than the Bailo must be treated with reserve. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

631/ 177 Area A. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as the Kanni and the Shankan were originally organized on much the same lines as described above but that owing to their consistently long period of contact with an oriental administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relation with their tenants. The villages moreover lack the close homogeneity of association among the Bailo.

632 Area C. Serious has already been made of the principle vertical tribes of this area, the Kimbi and the Kimbi. With the Kimbi as exception by far the organization is feudal rather than tribal, since the village rulers are sort of the same this group as their tenants. I was told that "all the Kimbi call each other" brothers, of course, that the whole tribe considers of one battle only. With the Kimbi the position appears to be somewhat different. Small fight, their permanent chief, is himself a Kimbi but is a tenant to Kabir and Kabir himself may each chief from the followers.

633/ 372 In the technological aspects the plains culture differs entirely from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important sociological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are larger than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites [illegible for instance] have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Kwanin

632/ Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organization of tribes such as the Kwanin differs in many respects from that of the vertical tribes. In terminology the term kwanin appears to correspond to subject and Kimbi to battle but the identity may not be exact. The term kwanin corresponds to grant and implies a small settlement of kwanin to one location. This last term is also used by the vertical peoples. Thus among the Kwanin

Land. The land available for irrigation is roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated - the extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Both considerably vary with circumstances. The irrigation system as at present developed may be a matter of purpose

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appears to be a personal plot pertaining to the ryke given and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be substituted.

3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Bangalo) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the ryke himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The ryke for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco, but on the other hand if he monopolises the whole cultivation for himself the tenants above land or livelihood with will have a particularly grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that in those areas such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the irrigated tobacco plots are entirely in the ryke's and there has no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Algiers villages of the Bukkum District, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there appears to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the work intensive more sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such marginal land rest at present exclusively with the ryke.

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant cultivators and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the chief harvest comes in

9: Leach S-S (1938) 1940 Will Hard Will
Rowanduz

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[illegible] the hiring owner to circulate by diverting some [illegible] water circuits. This is done at Shaqrukan, Dayet and Bergo and the operation of the mill then has an effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate for the present so diversion through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the mill-stream on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some difficulties arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good thrashing from the [illegible] for turning the [illegible] during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hasty thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

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The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a user exclusive of the light. In Dergala it is the light himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the light. The terms are to effect that the owner of the stone hires the mill at a fixed charge for each week of corn ground. The man who runs the stone himself receives the [illegible]. There is no suggestion of adding the corn to the millers. The millowner rarely obtains a control for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with agriculturists apparatus by the loom, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the tendency tendered to carrying the stone to homesites and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In weighing disputes at any rate the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

Sawing

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The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the circle loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "heddle bar" suspended from a slight rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 120 inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. The five specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trousers of labourers, has warp 10: weft 20 threads

*The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not mentioned here since the social references seems insignificant.

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal
patterns for dyeing the finished cloth a single brown or
blue. The the villages women in a certain season of
embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a homespun
cotton piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched
together to form a woman's wrap, and of knitting, such as
stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff
pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and decked with
designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving,
such as: ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the
area to: Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of
carving, however, almost none of these products ever
reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only
the smallest prices throughout the district. Women often
take four mile to the marketsite in the hope of realizing a
few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and some of these
transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal
for winter fuel are important services performed by the
villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the
summer, , blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such
as sherbet or mazag (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and
water, ayr, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumber-
some wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and
willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

or Kisiloweke, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villagers. There has been no extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for conservation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, revolves almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the year "dry" or "wet," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the First World War when a famine swept its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and emptying them of their inhabitants. For the explosion, the food of district marketing have some variation. It has been seen that the Tyeweze monopoly, centered at Rwegasira, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Kybil, others bought up in the town of Rwegasira, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rwegasira exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Iyaga, and others a natural response to the requirements

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50% of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. He can pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of accounts by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no-one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the export on camles and customs direction also much expertise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jinjina, Bayet, and Bajji Tharea on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offence) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg ethyl by the Nestorians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an

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officers against a conscription law, however observant is not found.

The census officer and an assistant have an office in the naval, as has been mentioned above. The difficulties encountered in preparing a census for a district such as this are formidable, but administratively the task does not have the priority of others. The chief problem is simply the determination of the numbers of men and women in the district, itself a herculean labor, and statistics in matters of births, deaths, marriages, and the like, are simply unknown. Because this is a new department, however, one might expect expansion in the future.

Finally, the naval houses the office of a civilian recruiting officer and his assistants whose task is the selection of recruits for the army. In Iraq every male must perform two years' military service after reaching the age of 18 years unless deferred for unfitness, pursuit of a higher education, or some other reason. There are four divisional commands to which recruits are sent for training and service, the transmission from Kawasha being by lorry to Erbil. The Iraqi army, while equipped and organized on a British model, has little appeal for the poorer Arab or Kurdish youth, for the pay is almost nothing, the food reduced to bread and soup, and the regular enlisted personnel tyrannical. Thus, while the Kurds are noted for their love of arms and fighting, conscription is a joyless event in the poverty-stricken households, and

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal
devices for dyeing the finished cloth a single brown or
blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of
embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a knowledge-
able piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched
together to form a woman's wrap, and of knitting, such as
stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, half
pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and decked with
designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving,
such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the
area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of
carving, however, almost none of these products ever
reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only
the smallest prices throughout the district. Women often
take fine cale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a
few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and some of these
transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
are great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal
for winter fuel are important services performed by the
villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the
summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such
as sherbet or mazzat (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and
water, av, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumber-
some wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and
willow brambles which are constructed into summer arbors

CHAPTER III

THE AGRICULTURAL CENTRE

The mountainous character of the Kawendou region, the steep peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide, level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Betou or Ipoua, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the prosperity wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Kawendou itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Even, the long-horned mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong-smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local hunters. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

such house was that in the neighborhood of 378 Kisoga 330
[498]
owner a thousand cowries dollars. With such capital 342
on his survived, building is a serious business and [411]
obligations between owner and mason appear frequently
before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for
the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but
anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller [476]
constructions Rwanda seems to have little "communism,"
for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no
tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction 339
will be found in the succeeding section. There is one
person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture
of sun-bricks and the supply of large pieces of carved
stone, these last used for thresholds, courtyards, steps,
and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with
chaff and molded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks
are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when harvested,
are ready for construction. No fire-cured bricks are
manufactured in the town. There is no special place for
brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of
Isma'il Bag was used for this purpose. Similarly, there 324
is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any [316]
convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the dis-
trict are not skilled in stonecarving, and most pieces,
usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat,
irregular slabs. Sun-brick, because it is more easily 333

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowandus and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowandus, particularly for chilling drinks such as sharbet or *mastaw* (a mixture of curdled milk, *mast*, and water, *aw*, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

produced and cheaper, tends more and more to replace stone 333
in house building, despite the fact that thereby the life
of a house, particularly in a region of winter rain and
snow, is considerably shortened. Mud-brick has undoubtedly
been known in the region from antiquity, but its greatly
increased use in the construction of house walls is a
feature of the last half-century. Cement-blocks, which
have been cited in certain government structures, are im-
ported, and these buildings themselves are constructed
under the direction of government engineers. Some of the
chieftains in outlying villages have not missed the advan-
tages of building stone and concrete over mud-brick as
far as small arms fire is concerned, and one of them,
Mahmud Beg of the Baradost, was busy in erecting a large [712]
building which on completion will be almost the duplicate
of a fortified police post.

The carpenters of the town are occupied partially 335
in building and partially in the repair of furniture and 322
certain manufactures. Heavier pieces of timber are rare
in such a deforested area, and most of them, such as lintels,
are used again and again. Mud-roofs are laid down on a
thick layer of poles and twigs which are furnished by
village woodmen. Doorposts and doors are made of heavy,
roughly cut timber, and window-frames with glass must be
imported from Erbil. Furniture, benches and chairs, are [352]
used for generations, and the carpenters simply repair
them, rather than manufacture new items. Aside from this

Aside from this
work in building and repair, the only significant production 335
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 322
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 322
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of 415
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may [583]
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 412
carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, [439]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [764]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are [854]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their distinctive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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Plate 11.
Winnowing. Rayat Village.

• 322

Plate 12.
The travelling carpenter makes a winnowing fork.

[opposite page 74 - F]

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

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is an event which always attracts a number of spectators. 326
The blacksmiths also forge a few crude agricultural tools [231]
and do a certain amount of repair work. There is extensive
scavenging of iron, and the blacksmith's establishment con-
tains a huge number of odds and ends which might some day
find a customer. Hinges and nails, for example, are pur- [414]
chased by builders and householders. Tinsmiths exercise 326
considerable importance in domestic economy in the fabrica- 415
tion and, particularly, the repair of cooking utensils, and
their workshops in the bazar are daily sought by a large
number of persons, not only from the town, but from the
district at large. The poorly-made metal pots and pans
are always in need of repair, and the tinsmith, much more
so than many of his fellows, has an extremely brisk trade.
One important specialty is the repair of cracked or broken 323
porcelain dishes. Large platters, imported long ago from 415
abroad and used in serving food, are precious family heir-
looms and handed down from generation to generation. A
crack is repaired by drilling a series of tiny holes through
the dish on either side of the break and fastening them
together with metal cleats. One of the dearest possessions 415
of a housewife is her samovar for brewing tea, and those 326
of the wealthier families, of etched brass or pewter,
were brought in by trade from Russia or Iran many years
ago and inherited through the family. The tinsmiths
manufacture a bright, but poorly soldered, tea-urn of
sheet tin which is in great demand among the poorer
villagers. A villager carrying one of these home from 415

4: Hanaen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

413

Fig. 46. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in dress-making (Cf. p. 82). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

286 A62 329 B23

Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawella the women even span during their long walk to and from the orchards.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *idil*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindlewhorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstretched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

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Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balikha.

be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

The production of clay vessels. There are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type are sold in the *sûq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a *pir* of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[57]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 47. Left: bottle shaped jar with handle (E. 2259). Tepsawa.
Right: milk container made of a whit tanned kid skin (E. 2258). Bekhia.

323 When the jars that I had an opportunity to watch being modelled wet formed, they were dried in the sun where they assumed a greyish tint; thereafter about ten at a time arranged in a pile, a larger jar being placed on its side in the middle. The others, placed in a circle, lean up against this. This pile, resting on the ground out of doors some distance from the house, is then covered by a mound formed of flat briquettes made of cattle dung kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the house. Firing lasts three hours, after which the jars are placed on one of the flat roofs of the house to cool. The colour of the finished jars is reddish-brown with black traces of the fire (cf. E. 2259, bottle-shaped, 1.385 m. high).

Under the production of clay vessels must also be reckoned the making of the rectangular type of large grain silos or decorated with rims. These are of dried clay, neither fired nor glazed, to be found in the store rooms in villages.

each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for threshholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

These forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *reshmâl*, the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Fellberg[1] and not included in my investigations, which truly describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the *kal* hut, *kâpân*[2], only erected for a single summer's residence, and the permanent house, *xânê* or *mall*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa at the beginning of June when the summer, *Aheiv*, really begins. They are erected on [341] (the sheikh's) harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones sunk around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin saplings reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[3], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families [462] whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house.

It is said that in the trading centre of Tawella, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, 366 whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had 361 no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. Hay mentions that "in Shaqlawa 345 booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[4], but does not further describe them.

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat 342 clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains 324 near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, *hêrê*, the walls of the houses are built

[text continues on P. 23--analysis]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

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Fig. 16. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tawella.

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which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of [583]
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the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

is an event which always attracts a number of spectators. 326 [331]
The blacksmiths also forge a few crude agricultural tools and do a certain amount of repair work. There is extensive scavenging of iron, and the blacksmith's establishment contains a huge number of odds and ends which might some day find a customer. Hinges and nails, for example, are purchased by builders and householders. [414]
Tinsmiths exercise 326 415
considerable importance in domestic economy in the fabrication and, particularly, the repair of cooking utensils, and their workshops in the bazar are daily sought by a large number of persons, not only from the town, but from the district at large. The poorly-made metal pots and pans are always in need of repair, and the tinsmith, much more so than many of his fellows, has an extremely brisk trade. One important specialty is the repair of cracked or broken 323
porcelain dishes. Large platters, imported long ago from 415
abroad and used in serving food, are precious family heirlooms and handed down from generation to generation. A crack is repaired by drilling a series of tiny holes through the dish on either side of the break and fastening them together with metal cleats. One of the dearest possessions 415
of a housewife is her samovar for brewing tea, and those 326
of the wealthier families, of etched brass or pewter, were brought in by trade from Russia or Iran many years ago and inherited through the family. The tinsmiths manufacture a bright, but poorly soldered, tea-urn of sheet tin which is in great demand among the poorer villagers. A villager carrying one of these home from 415

is difficult, if not impossible, for even the cleverest jurist to circumvent the equality of sons in inheritance, for this has the direct sanction of religion. 428 423

For the most part, however, settlements are amicable and it is unnecessary for the heirs to have recourse to the court. In such cases, the legal division of property is often fictional and need not adhere to the exact provisions of the law. Instead of selling the house, the land, or the shop, the eldest brother or, in the minority of the sons, a paternal uncle or some other relative [429] assumes the role of administrator and things continue much as they did before. To provide an example, a blacksmith [324] in Rowandus owned a small house and maintained a shop in the bazar. On his death, his two sons, who chose to follow their father's calling, continued to work together in the shop, and ultimately the younger, with the aid of his brother, was able to obtain a house of his own. At no time was there a legal accounting, although one may suppose that the two had some knowledge of the value of the property and reached an agreement, perhaps tacitly, of their own. In another, more exact way, the eldest son often purchases gradually the shares of his brothers, keeping the estate intact. In some cases, a man apportions most of his wealth before his death, attempting to satisfy all of his heirs. As noticed above, a younger son is often accorded a separate establishment. It is said that a landowner can transfer his title, held in the [illegible] registered land, office in the serai, to one son during

The employment of masons and builders is not solely confined to the town of Rowanduz, for specialists of this type are often called out to neighboring villages to supervise the constructions of wealthier people. The "mason" is not only expected to exercise his own craft, but must also fill the posts of architect, contractor, and general foreman. Having obtained the land, those who desire to build hold a consultation with the mason, reaching a verbal contract in which the materials, the amount of time necessary for completion, and the price are stipulated. The mason must then purchase the materials, arrange for their transportation, hire, insofar as it is necessary, the requisite labor, supervise the construction, and do the most difficult tasks, for example, the actual laying of bricks, himself. Builders of this type do not belong to guild or union, but seem to maintain themselves within the strength of their families. A building operation is apt to involve a number of sons, brothers, and nephews, with the mason as a sort of congenial taskmaster and guiding spirit, who alternately pleads and jests with his workers. The operation can suffer from general lassitude, and the owner must at last have words with the builders. Most houses appear to reach completion by means of a series of such arguments. Constructing a larger house in Rowanduz is a relatively expensive undertaking. Two houses and their land, located in the higher-priced lower portion of town, cost the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, about 1500 dinars. The lots accounted for half the price, and the average cost of

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.[1]

At Sulîemanieh, the Kûrdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *kerrushk*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his '*Anabasis*', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kurdoci kept their wine in cemented cisterns, bk. iv. chap. ii.

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of a house, particularly in a region of winter rain and
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been known in the region from antiquity, but its greatly
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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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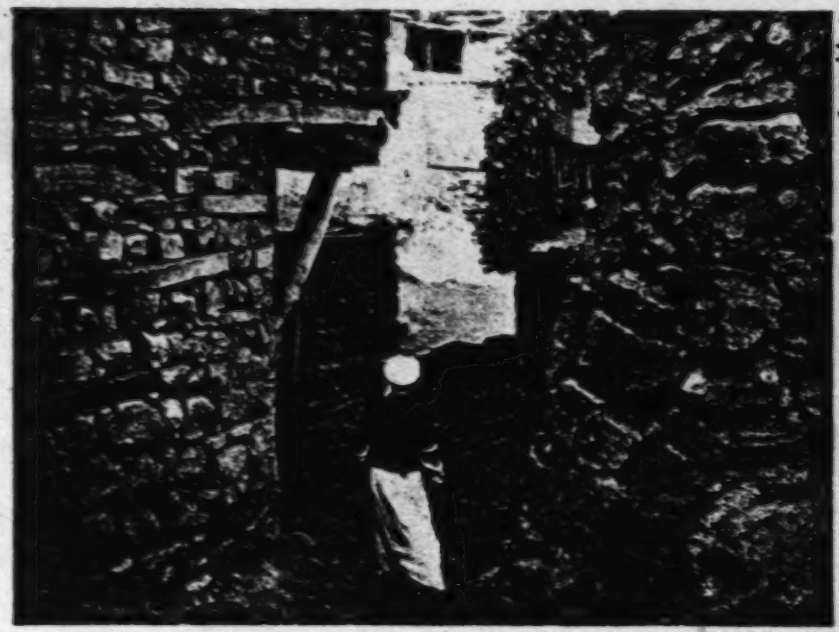

Fig. 16. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tawella.

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 17. Housebuilding. Clay and water are kneaded with the feet. Pebbles for foundation are transported by donkey. Topzawa.

342 333 made of pebbles laid in a trench, a wall is put up composed of clay bricks, 1½ bricks thick. This is done with the help of an outstretched horizontal cord, but no spirit level or such like is used to assure that the wall is plumb, and the ground is not levelled. A mixture of clay and water is used as mortar. Whereas the men knead the clay and transport to the building site the water, stones and heavy poplar [462] trunks for the roofs, the women assist in the transportation of the dried clay bricks and the stacking of them. The window apertures can be rectangular and, like the door opening, bounded above by horizontal wooden sticks. Arched window openings, on the other hand, are formed by loosely and unsystematically stacking bricks in a vertical rectangular opening in the wall. These bricks are covered on top by a sack or such like on which bricks are placed in a semicircle. When the clay mortar holding the bricks together dries, the irregularly-stacked clay bricks and the sack are removed, whereby a window aperture, bounded above by a semicircle, results. Arched window openings can 342 be uncovered or covered by a lattice of flat wooden shavings, which allows in the light, but no stranger's gaze. This lattice is flush with the outside of the wall. The arched windows can also be fitted with wooden shutters which, when locked, are flush with the inside of the wall. Window frames

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

342 pairs, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about ½ metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in less well-to-do homes this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[8]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[9] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, *hêvan*. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. At many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sargalu, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden nails[10]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 19. Wall of mud bricks. Topzawa.

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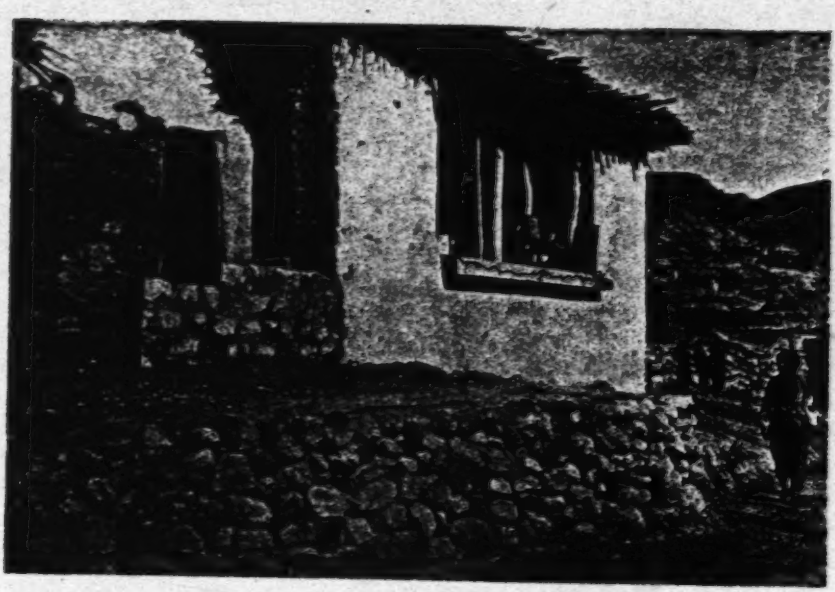

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Fig. 20. Loggia with columns made of slim, barked poplar trunks with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. Topzawa.

and the window frames sometimes come apart from the clay walls as the latter smoulder so much that large gaps appear. During dust storms doors and windows become more and more loose. 342

Two phenomena are typical of the Kurdish village houses of a certain size. The one is the central living room, sometimes placed on the first floor, the floor beneath being used as a stable. This central room, *ḥeywān*[11], looks like a huge niche in the body of the house for it lacks the fourth wall, thus becoming a cool, shady apartment during the hot part of the year[12]. The second phenomenon are the columns, often with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. The pillars are formed of slim, barked poplar trunks[13]. The three-walled room is possibly a Kurdish version of an Islamic architectural element, whereas the pillars can trace their ancestry back to Iranian-Achaemenedian architecture which is known as far east as Uzbekistan[14]. Cellars are unknown. The underground living room, *serdāb*[15], typical of Arab urban architecture, is not found in Kurdish buildings. [197]

The houses in the villages are built on hill slopes so that they often have two storeys to the front and only one at the back. As previously mentioned, they are usually built together and provide accomodation for several families. The way up to the flat roofs is nearly always by narrow ladders[16] made of thin poplar trunks with rungs of rounded sticks or pieces of a tree trunk. Inside stairs from the ground to the first floor are very rare in villages; where they do occur they are made of clay with

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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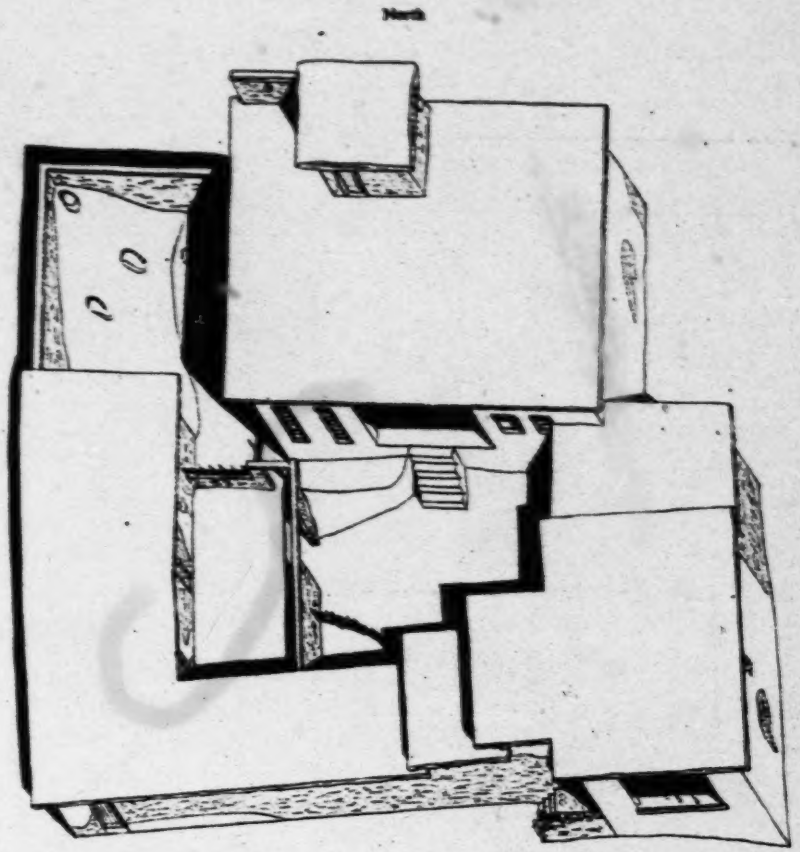

Fig. 22. Bird's-eye view of Shaikh Talib's property. Topmost.

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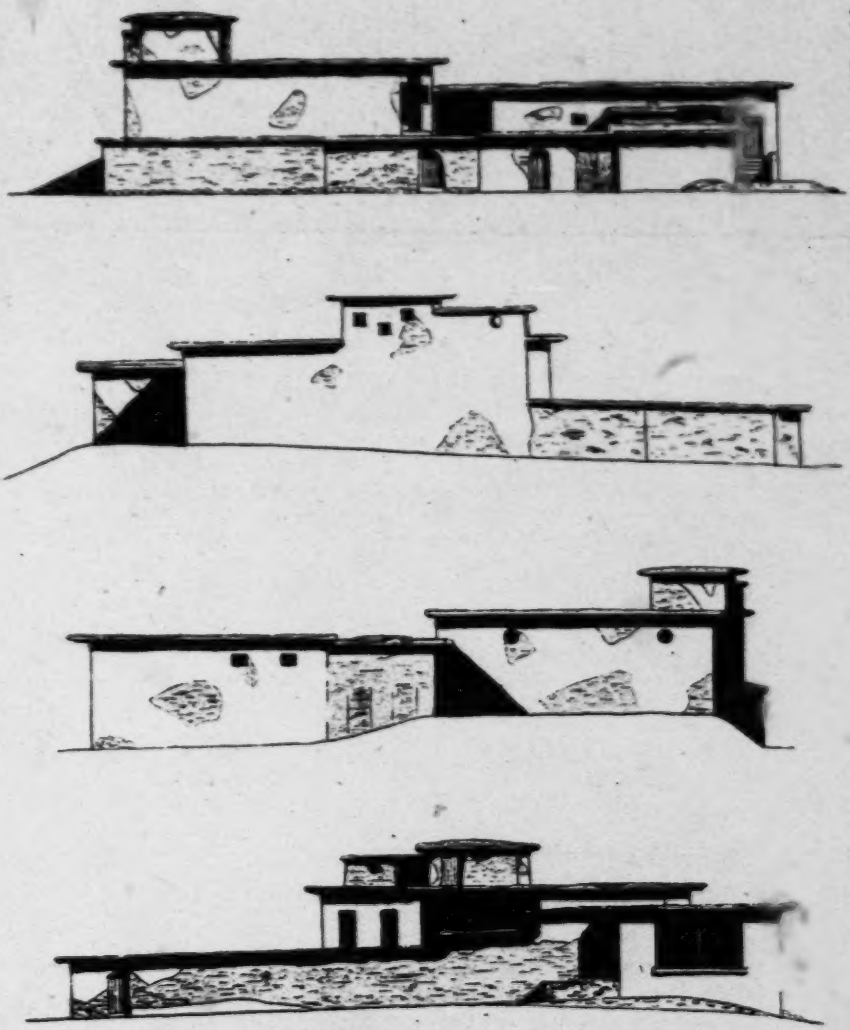

Fig. 23. Elevations of Shaikh Taffar's property, Topzawa. From above: west, north, east, and south side.

Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 35 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

[341] [342] [361] [368] [312] [364] off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though no connexion with the family section of the house[38]. Along the wall facing the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a modern, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it; in addition a water container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaiman's good and well-cleaned municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *loggia*—between, that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the lower part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the spinhouse was squeezed

[312]

[351]

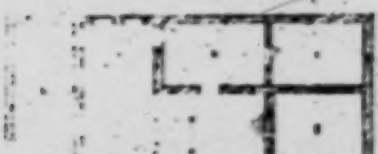

Fig. 30. Ground-plan of family house. Babylonpol. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *loggia*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store rooms; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, *kursuluk*; f: latrine; g: guest room. (CT, fig. 24).

... 37.4 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Tepeawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pots built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was demonstrated, also as at Tepeawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room. The cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the kitchen and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of cheap wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no fixed furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent banquet, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest-room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The country houses of the Kûrds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *bâsa*, a liquor called *narâsak*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

At Suleimanieh, the Kûrdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *haremlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tekardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his 'Anabasis', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kurdes kept their wine in cemented cisterns, bk. iv. chap. ii.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kûrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kûrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year 231
approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that 241
planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-
summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect
to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques [251]
known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is 256
ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their con-
struction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need
not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi,
from Arabic, hashira) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi
Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlokan,
and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to [465]
pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon
tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may
pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small
sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" 361
agricultural village for the area, because there is a great
deal of variation in size, and some differences in the
emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small
village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir
will provide some general idea. This consists of about
thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey
with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along 342

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

342

a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community [162] was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354] indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings [312] meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 366 village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a [346] definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417 of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231 smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342 animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361 The "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowanduz district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. 342 The kotchir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

The employment of masons and builders is not solely confined to the town of Rowanduz, for specialists of this type are often called out to neighboring villages to supervise the constructions of wealthier people. The "mason" is not only expected to exercise his own craft, but must also fill the posts of architect, contractor, and general foreman. Having obtained the land, those who desire to build hold a consultation with the mason, reaching a verbal contract in which the materials, the amount of time necessary for completion, and the price are stipulated. The mason must then purchase the materials, arrange for their transportation, hire, insofar as it is necessary, the requisite labor, supervise the construction, and do the most difficult tasks, for example, the actual laying of bricks, himself. Builders of this type do not belong to guild or union, but seem to maintain themselves within the strength of their families. A building operation is apt to involve a number of sons, brothers, and nephews, with the mason as a sort of congenial taskmaster and guiding spirit, who alternately pleads and jests with his workers. The operation can suffer from general lassitude, and the owner must at last have words with the builders. Most houses appear to reach completion by means of a series of such arguments. Constructing a larger house in Rowanduz is a relatively expensive undertaking. Two houses and their land, located in the higher-priced lower portion of town, cost the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, about 1500 dinars. The lots accounted for half the price, and the average cost of

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each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for threshholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land. 271 312 365

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a 361 342 [354] [252] 352 513

cradle (a more or less perennial necessity for this class), 352 513
and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations 362
of this type[1] are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid
of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because
the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so
often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to pay more detailed atten- 342
tion to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and land- 351
owners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic
life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of
rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an
interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to
the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked
on three sides by the building with the fourth left open,
and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or
Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of
the house and high brick walls on all sides. These court-
yards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with
hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, [312]
either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it,
watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of 342
such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a
layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same
material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a
white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are
usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the out-
side windows of the first storey consist only of small,
unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

[1] [i.e., houses of the poorer townspeople, -Analyst]

the summer heat, these rooms have a height which seems abnormal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist of bundles of poles and twigs, and are mostly left unfinished, although a few have been plastered and pasted with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a little of the floor. The roofs are equipped with long, smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of these homes are of two storeys, and, although there is considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient the house and its windows so that household life, specifically that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a "true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the deficiencies are amended with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological

342 [356] [413] [351] [174]

information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the woman is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire. 342 [174] [562] [177]

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. [373] [754] [777] [751]

Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by 342 782 [751] [777]

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ex post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshhold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

but found just as strongly in the illiterate Sa'idi peasant 351
of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In
Rowanduz all of the wealthier homes have their gardens,
surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows
and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are
servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off [244]
to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number
of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be enter- [352] [574]
tained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the
usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular
garden near Rowanduz is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of
Jindian, whose house is built over the course of an icy
mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel
through the plot itself. The agha boasts fruits chilled
in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running
brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and
benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater
extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and [857]
children of the house, in addition to playing there, are
held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from
the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the
youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater in-
roads on the produce than those they are set to guard
against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of 354
firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, al- 342
ways to be found on the first floor and more or less open
to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

to the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence. 684 562 628 683 622

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Hence the aristocratic houses maintain diwankhanas which very considerably in size and form according to their estates. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the diwankhana of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion, 574 622 [342] [343]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

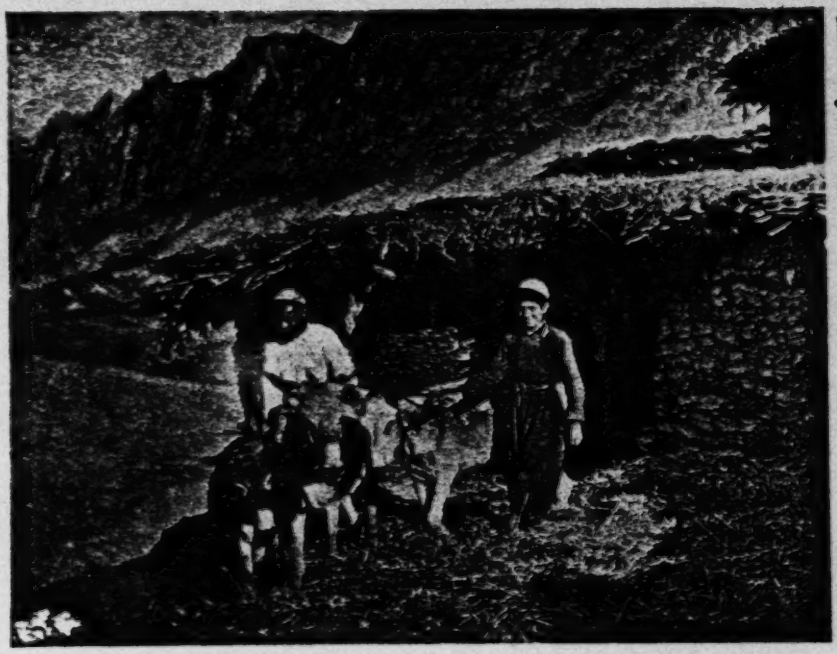

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flatly-heaped corn. Topzawa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *Janjarr*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[43], threshing car[44] or threshing
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 243
of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are 407
studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[45]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

According to Hay[46] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

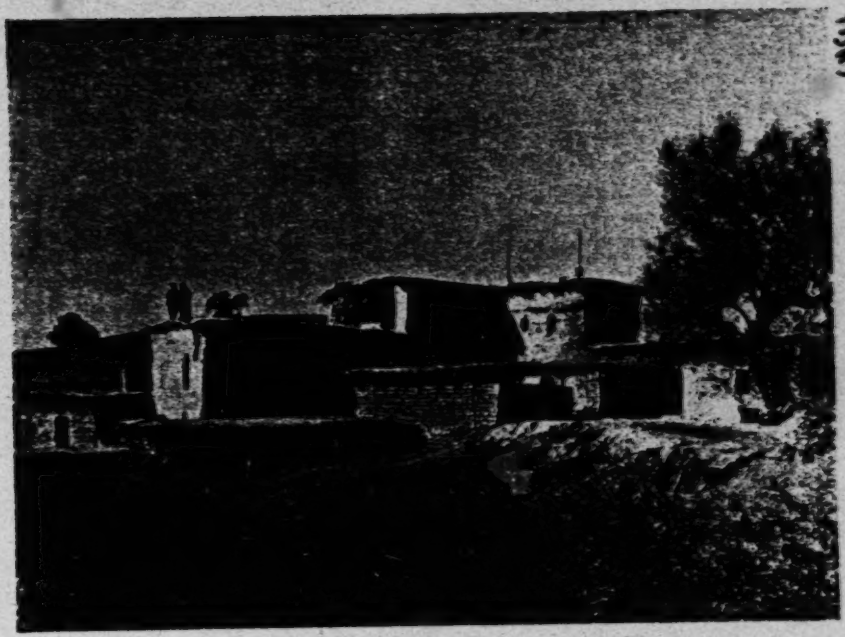

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Topzawa.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and none could sell, move away or move in without his sanction[68]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[69]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[70] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[71] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply these.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connexion with a "comprehensive program" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietory rights"[72]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *reŝmâl*[1], the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Feilberg[2] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the leaf hut, *kêpê*[3], only erected for a single summer's residence, and the permanent house, *xânê* or *mal*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Toprawa and Rakawa at the beginning of June when the summer, *hâwîn*, really begins. They are erected on [361] the sheikh's harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones sunk around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin osiers reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in-between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[4], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families [467] whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house.

It is said that in the trading centre of Tawêla, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. Hay mentions that "in Shaqlawa booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[5], but does not further describe them. 366 361 345

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, *kêw*, the walls of the houses are built 342 324

[Text continues on p. 23 -- analyst]

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Fig. 14. Construction of a leaf hut.

Fig. 15. Building of a leaf hut with walls of mats. Tepuzvu.

Fig. 11. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tavalla.

of this, with a kind of timber frame consisting of short, sleeper-like, wooden beams placed horizontally in the stone walls though not joined together. The stones in the wall have either no binding agent or clay is used as mortar. In the newest houses cement has been adopted. The interior walls in some of the rooms are covered by a clay or gypsum layer applied by the women, which is afterwards polished with flat stones. It appears like a thick white oil paint. In villages and in the older houses in Sulaimani, on the other hand, the walls are made of mud bricks, still. The newer houses in Sulaimani are built of burnt brick. In the villages the bricks are first formed from the clay available on the building site, mixed with water and thoroughly kneaded by the feet of men. Water for the kneading process is obtained by diverting an irrigation channel to the building site, or fetched in goatskins which are hung in pairs on the back of a donkey. Pebbles for the foundation, and for the rear wall if the house is built out of the side of a hill, are also transported by donkeys, being carried in basket-shaped frames. The kneaded mass of clay is formed into the individual brick in a rectangular wooden frame, in the same way as we form new peat. The brick is put out on the hillside to dry for some days without much attention being paid as to whether the surface is really flat. After the foundation of the wall has been

Fig. 17. Housebuilding. Clay and water are kneaded with the feet. Pointing the foundation are transported by donkey. Togoland.

made of pebbles laid in a trench, a wall is put up composed of clay bricks, 1½ bricks thick. This is done with the help of an outstretched horizontal cord, but no spirit level or such like is used to ensure that the wall is plumb, and the ground is not levelled. A mixture of clay and water is used as mortar. Whereas the men knead the clay and transport to the building site the water, women and heavy pupils provide for the roofs, the women assist in the transportation of the dried clay bricks and the stacking of them. The window apertures can be rectangular and, like the door opening, bounded above by horizontal wooden sticks. Arched window openings, on the other hand, are formed by loosely and unsystematically stacking bricks in a vertical rectangular opening in the wall. These bricks are covered on top by a mat or such like on which bricks are placed in a semicircle. When the clay mortar holding the bricks together dries, the irregularly-stacked clay bricks and the mat are removed, whereby a window aperture, bounded above by a semicircle, results. Arched window openings can be unscreened or covered by a lattice of flat wooden shavings, which allows in the light, but no stranger's gaze. This lattice is flush with the outside of the wall. The arched windows can also be fitted with wooden shutters which, when locked, are flush with the inside of the wall. Window frames

with glass panes can be inserted in rectangular window apertures. Such windows are from a conservative point of view of unnecessary price extravagance. Only rare masonry provisions of even such. 342

In the same way that the arched window apertures are made, openings half the thickness of the wall are allowed for inside the rooms as niches for storage purposes, the only places where anything can be put in this culture so deficient in furniture. Besides, the niches are the only places in the room [352] not affected if rain penetrates the clay roof. In Halaf-ja a niche of this kind, covered by double glass doors, appeared to be a prototype of a wall cupboard. In Sargala was seen a completely shaped niche wall with eight niches of various sizes, an Iranian architectural element that is met with as far east as Uzbekistan. The inside walls are plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The floors are of hard-packed clay, but not levelled. In a few houses, for example in the sheikh's house at Tepsawa, a concrete floor could be seen, a thin, inadequate layer of cement having been laid on top of the hard-packed earth. The rafters are the only valuable items in the building itself and are all that one takes if desirous of building a new house. They consist of heavy, barked trunks of the poplar tree, which are laid in

Fig. 18. Mud bricks laid out for drying on the hillside. Tepsawa.

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341 pairs, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about ½ metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in less well-to-do homes this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[8]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[9] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, *Idem*. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. At many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sargalu, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden nails[10]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 19. Wall of mud bricks. Tepsawa.

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Fig. 20. Leggis with columns made of slim, barked poplar trunks with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. Topzawa.

and the window frames sometimes come apart from the clay walls as the latter smoulder so much that large gaps appear. During dust storms doors and windows become more and more loose. 342

Two phenomena are typical of the Kurdish village houses of a certain size. The one is the central living room, sometimes placed on the first floor, the floor beneath being used as a stable. This central room, *keywân*[13], looks like a huge niche in the body of the house for it lacks the fourth wall, thus becoming a cool, shady apartment during the hot part of the year[12]. The second phenomenon are the columns, often with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. The pillars are formed of slim, barked poplar trunks[13]. The three-walled room is possibly a Kurdish version of an Islamic architectural element, whereas the pillars can trace their ancestry back to Iranian-Achaemenedian architecture which is known as far east as Uzbekistan[14]. Cellars are unknown. The underground living room, *serdâb*[15], typical of Arab urban architecture, is not found in Kurdish buildings. [197]

The houses in the villages are built on hill slopes so that they often have two storeys to the front and only one at the back. As previously mentioned, they are usually built together and provide accomodation for several families. The way up to the flat roofs is nearly always by narrow ladders[16] made of thin poplar trunks with rungs of rounded sticks or pieces of a tree trunk. Inside stairs from the ground to the first floor are very rare in villages; where they do occur they are made of clay with

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a twig forming the anterior edge of each step. These steps are remarkably high and uneven[17]. Some of the houses in Sulaimani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of unfired clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. When the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The two-storeyed houses had a staircase which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a house made of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargalo, incidentally its most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of woman's life within the four different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential frame surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Ta'fūr's property in the village of Topzawa will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Balkha. The two urban environments, the "educated" and "uneducated" were found within the walls of a single home, that of my interpreter's family at Sulaimani. The picture of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, inhabited by women representing both states.

Sheikh Taifūr's house at Topzawa is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, wife, 40, three sons, 18, 15 and 6, two daughters, 17 and 8, a daughter, 12, of another wife now returned to her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 35, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 25 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a tenant of a room that had no entrance into the house was a poor widow with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 13—15 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Taifūr's house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay close to a slightly sloping, unlevelled piece of ground on the outskirts of the village, a little above it. A watercourse, which even in the hottest summer never ran dry, passed alongside the back wall of the property, and water from it was diverted through the wall into a cemented basin, about 2×1×0.75 metres, lying in a small garden, with an outflow under the wall.

The property was divided into three contiguous units: the family house, the farm and the guest wing. The family house was orientated like an urban house with cook and bake houses around a court. Four high, irregular steps led from the court to the dwelling house, which, on account of the

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taifûr's property. Topzawa.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[18]. A guest wing is typical of the finest houses in Kurdish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village to the squire. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Burton, Edmonds and Leach[19]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rakawa. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family house some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a loggia. The roof to this was supported by five columns of barked, but variegated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hacked wooden blocks inserted as

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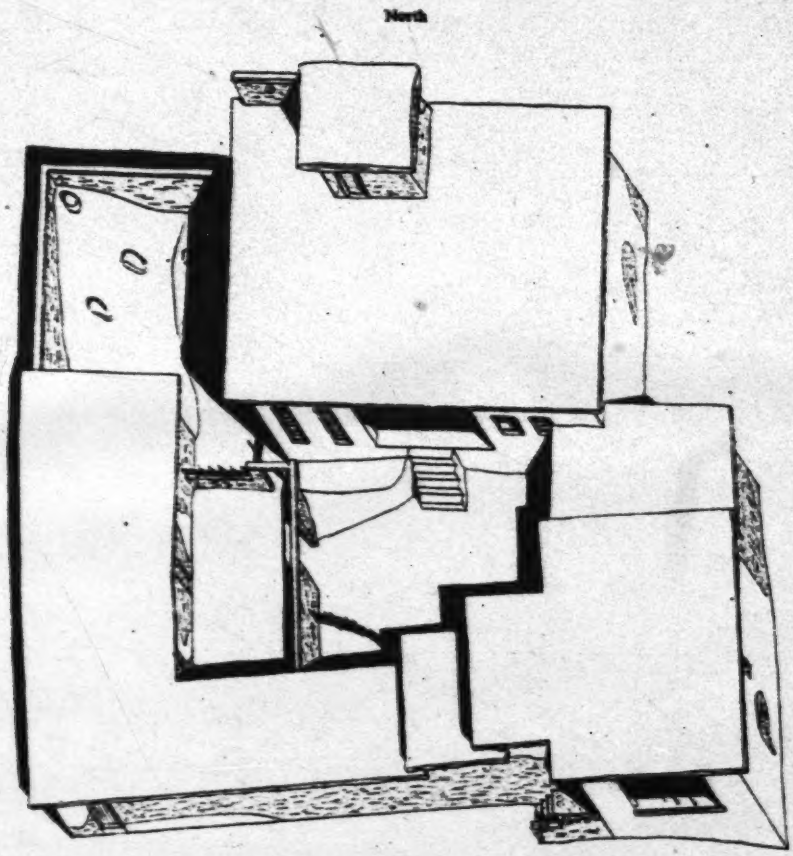

Fig. 22. Bird's-eye view of Shaikh Talib's property. Topsawa.

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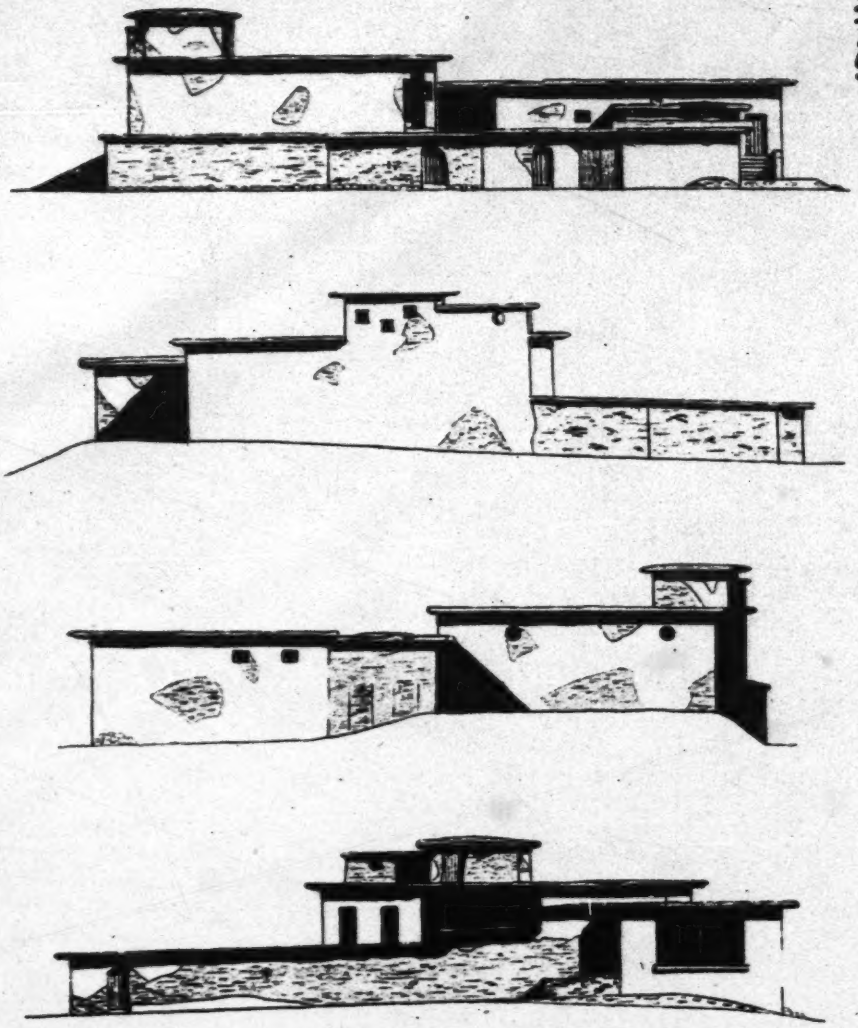

Fig. 23. Elevations of Sheikh Taffir's property, Topzawa. From above: west, north, east, and south side.

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, [364] built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, *adaptana*, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin 312 lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the [364] basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their [415] families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to [252] pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for [412] rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. 343 Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless [412] store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading 342 up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the niche-like, three-walled *hayvan*. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two [515] steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

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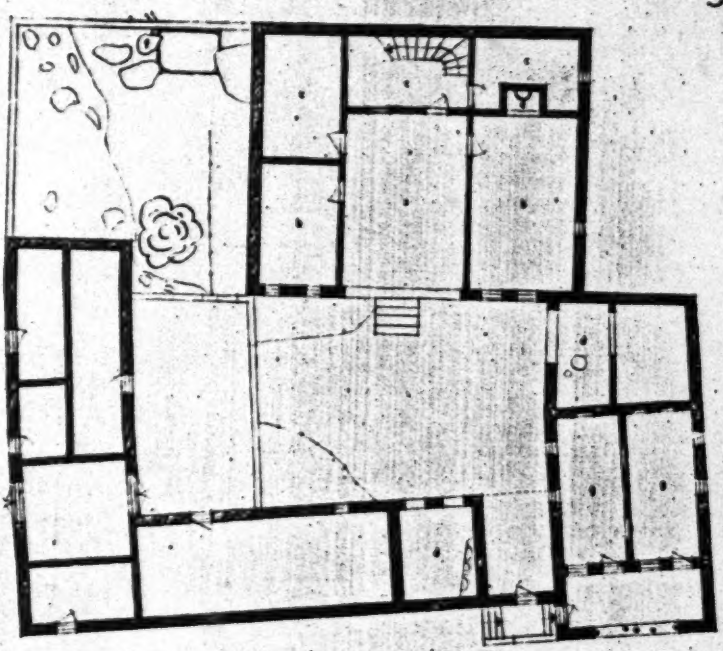

Fig. 24. Ground-plan of Sheikh Taffa's property. Topzawa. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hayvate*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store rooms; d: cooking and baking rooms; e: bath room, *hammam*; f: latrine; g: guest rooms in the guest wing.

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342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the *hammâm*, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *heyvân* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an [251] iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that rotated on a pivot stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accomodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which [252] was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [252] oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[20] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[21] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taifûr's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

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Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topzawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *lihdād*[22], and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārš*, (E. 2257)[23] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *majma'a* or *sinī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *heywān* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood ceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bāw'ēžn*, 0,323 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

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The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

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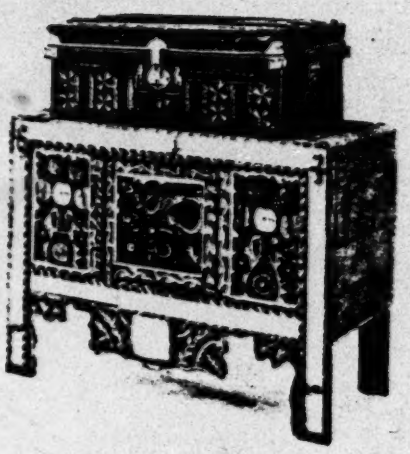

Fig. 27. Tin chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burāq*. Topzāwa.

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decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kᵊlīla*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *sᵊnūq* (E. 2278). Made in the *sūq* of Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[24].

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The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There, for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilisation of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalised in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[35], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[36], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In this clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only based on the

wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the frame round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short, horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and just as dignified on the floor as in the chair"[27]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, *saj* or *tawa*, on which the bread sheets, *nan*, was baked were placed on the fire. The sunken jar-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour - from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 55 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

341 342 361 369 [312] [364]

off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though no connexion with the family section of the house[29]. Along the wall lining the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a sunken, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it; in addition a water container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small disrobing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaimani's good and well-cleaned municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *hewdi*—between, that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the newer part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was squeezed

[312] [351]

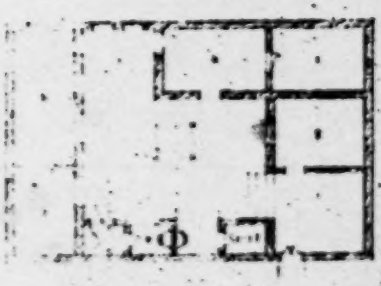


Fig. 30. Ground-plan of family house. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hewdi*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store room; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, *hammam*; f: latrine; g: guest room. (CT. fig. 24).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent mosque, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

369 512 representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside it—the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

Fig. 31. (Cf. figs. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, hayyate; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and bathing facilities in courtyard; e: (thereunder) + f: latrine; g: guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

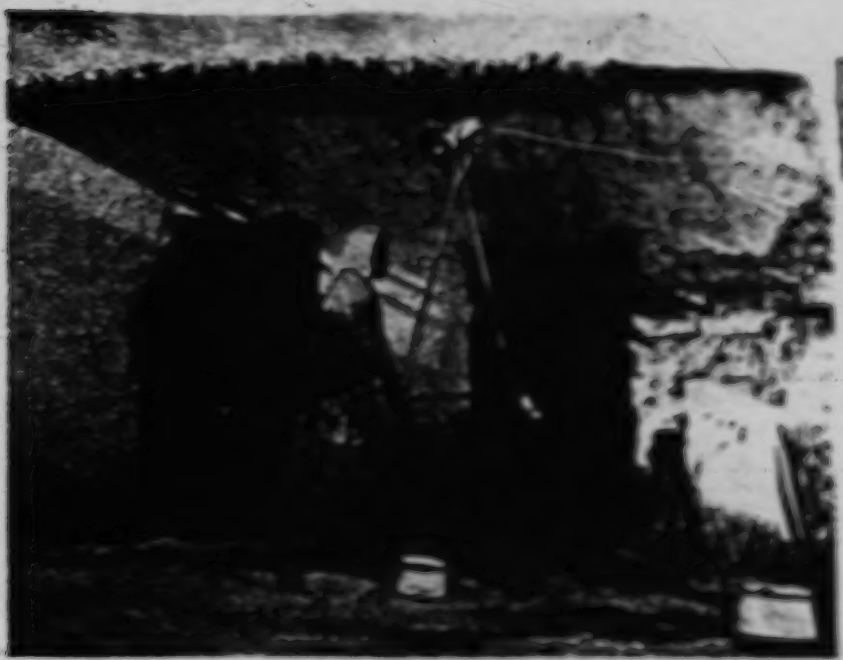
Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hewīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, *bez*, water, *āw*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *zīle-dān*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by 'hnu'xāp-ā-n'ūa.' wou-spoon, (i.-'260) / down. '2.5 cm.' long, 'hnu' nardin-ā-winā-ēdā' ru'a' loop.' The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumēk*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Toyserwa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Toyserwa.

the wall of the residence or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard; it could also be hung up on a tripod, rapid, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman, who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and cold water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[49] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, stirred with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *neggar*[50].

Fig. 36. Woman churning. The leather sack, made of a whole sheep skin, is suspended from a pole in the roof wall, Tegonna.



[illegible] cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rite is a completely passive one. The movements most evocative of an unequal measure of grasses of cloth. Neither knife nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the house to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the ceremony. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother) only, accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a lamb were practised in the southernmost valley tribes. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as in the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

Fig. 91. Burial place with big cross outside the village, Tsqaroro.

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[illegible] in a [illegible] village (three households).

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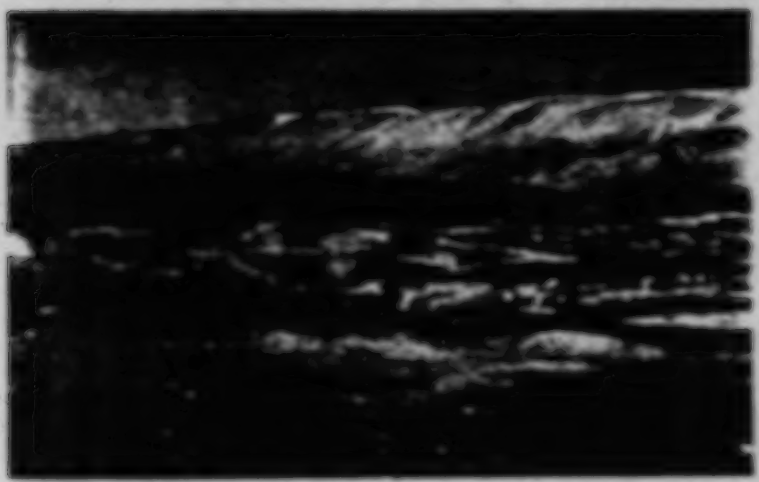

A [illegible] village.

[Opposite p. [illegible] ... [illegible]]

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter V.

The village scene

THE VILLAGE

The village, in its physical aspects, is fairly uniform over most of the South Kurdish area. The houses are built of mud, or rock in a mud mortar; the roofs are flat, held up by horizontal rafters — the most valuable item in the construction. Due to the nature of the architecture and the small size of available timber, the rooms of the houses tend to be quite small; pillars and posts are never used to support a longer span of roof. A second story on the building is rarely found. Frequently, there is no door with which to close the entrance, and never any glass in the windows. The windows are small and high up on the wall, the small room is always rather dark. There is no smoke-hole, the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor finds its way out through the entrance or the windows. The rooms are utterly devoid of furniture — the only comforts of the room to which a visitor is shown is a tea samovar and some small glasses placed on an in-set shelf, and a roll of small rugs, mostly of felt, which are spread out on the floor to be sat on.

The number of rooms to a house varies, but is never very great, and would of course give accomodation to donkeys, cattle, and perhaps a horse, as well as to the people. To each house belongs a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall. In winter, the house gives only

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partial protection from the icy gales that sweep down from the Zagros mountains. In the warm weather, the family moves out on the flat rooftop after sundown, primarily to benefit from the cool breeze off the mountains.

Wherever a hill is available — which means nearly everywhere in Kurdish territory — the village is placed on a steep slope. That way, the flat rooftop of one house forms a kind of front terrace for the house above it in the hill, and the families tend to use the roof of the house below them for their own purposes, and so on down the line. As indicated by this, the village forms a very compact unit — maybe originally for defence purposes; certainly in part to save trouble by making double use of all walls and partitions in house construction. Frequently, the village is placed in the slope below a cool spring; only in the low country does it depend on wells for water. A common feature is a small pool, fed directly from the spring and protected from pollution by a low stone wall. Around the pool stand tall, shady trees, from which no branch must be broken, and in it one frequently finds large fish, fed by the villagers, which similarly must not be molested. The pool serves as a place for ritual washing and a favorite place of prayer.

Although considerable respect is shown for the sanctity of the home, many household activities must necessarily become public, especially in the half-year when they center around the rooftops. A certain everyday pattern of community life thus emerges in the cool of the evening. It requires much cooperation and bustle to direct the returning animals to their respective homes in the evening, with shouting and chasing of stray goats over rooftops and along partitions, away from the grainbins and waterskins and infants. Later, each family gathers around the evening meal, and then there is visiting back and forth, news being swapped, a glow in the dark from the fires where the tea is brewing, and a steady murmur of conversation. All through the night, the clamor and activity continues, with braying donkeys, crying babies, dogs chasing cats, cows shifting and groaning.

Though the patterns of each village differ, and any one of them may appear to be only utter confusion, there are, of course, regulari-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shevdini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab bedouin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which is suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else depute one of his sons to do so.

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But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance.

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammad of Balash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Rowanduz. On average my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (56 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

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The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Balash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land Scarcity, House Construction and Kinship

311 The indications are that land resources are for the most part as
433 fully utilised as present technical equipment permits; the amount of marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement is small. Except on the moorland country above Khalan where conditions are too severe, wheat is cultivated wherever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shelter permits subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried far up onto the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the food supplies grown are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

361 Land scarcity anyway seems the most plausible explanation for the
342 very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley.
621 Sometimes as at Walash and at Bayat the houses are clustered together in
592 an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the cohesion of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village. As can be seen from photograph No. 3 the houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is no exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconveniences of such close proximity it could hardly be otherwise. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which complicates any effort on the part of the Agha to reorganise the system of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

361 One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole
342 agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the limitations of water supply radically affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. What follows applies only to the villages of the

[Opposite p 94 B -- Drawings]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Rowanduz area, and approximately also to area B of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area C. 361 342 ●

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarised as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main door faces downhill and leads out onto the roof of the house immediately below but this practice varies. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual; in such cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, there are very rarely any shutters. The fire is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin branches about the thickness of pea-sticks. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a slurry made from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly rigid floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight baulks of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common scrub. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the deficiency of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Sheikhs where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be created from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of sundbrick instead of stone and plaster noted above. 342 352 415 342 331 462 342

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

• 342

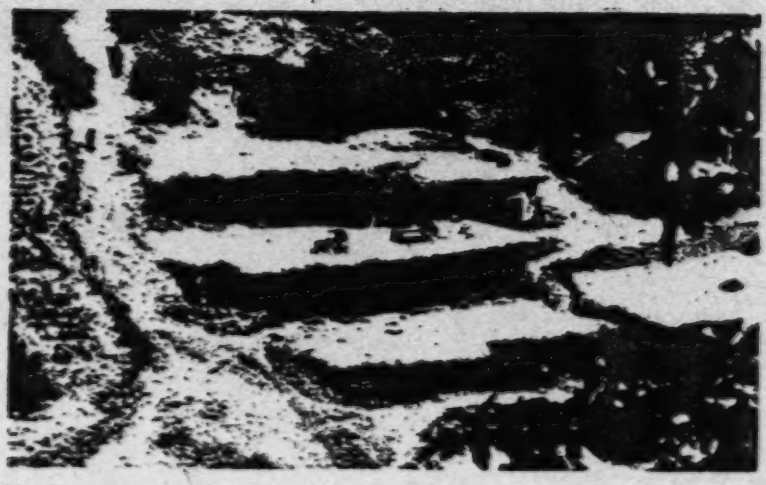


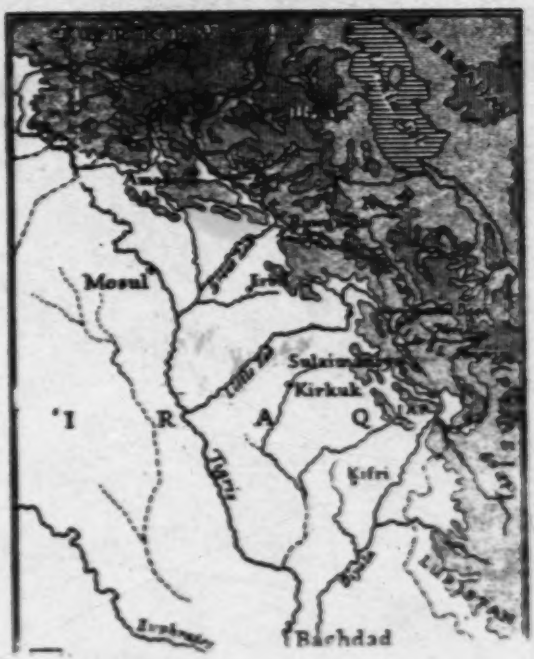
Plate 3.
Dwellings. Typical house construction, Dergala.

Plate 4.
Dwellings. Ali Agha's "Black Tent," at Rayat. The open section at the near end is the "Guest House."

[Opposite page 74 - E]

342 I STIRRED drowsily in bed as the chill of the early dawn penetrated my covering of blankets, then rubbed my eyes and slowly became conscious of the world around me. I was lying on the flat mud roof of a house; on all sides other similar roofs appeared. Each had a screen of bamboo matting facing the wind from the nearby hills, and behind it were piles of multi-coloured blankets.

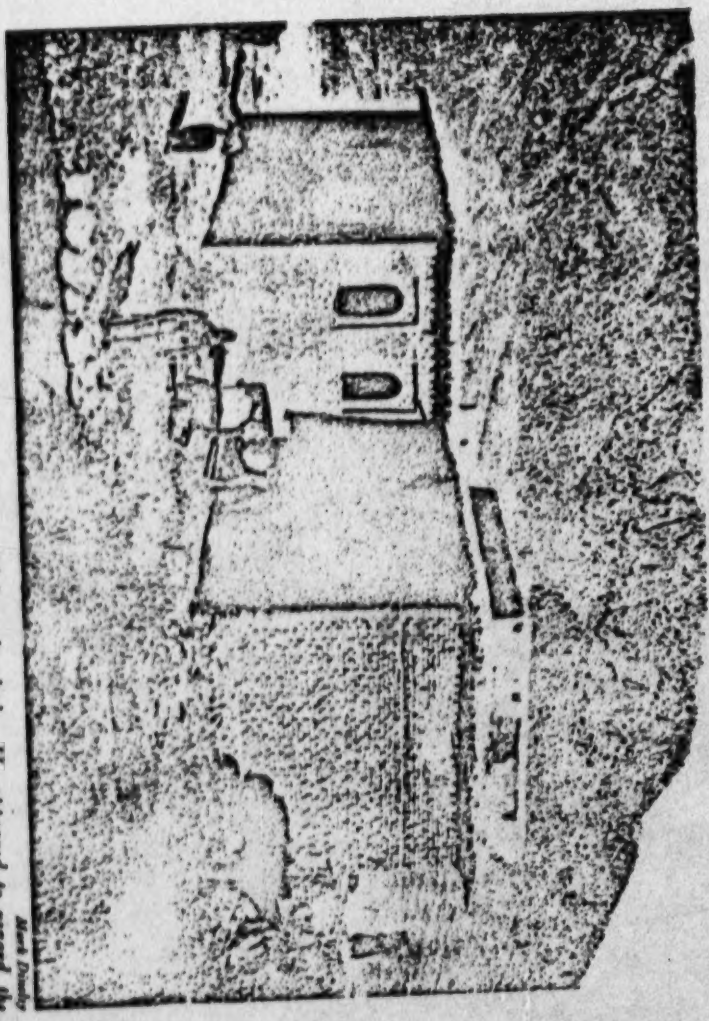
000 The faint light in the eastern sky grew brighter, and the black shadows of the [231] hills turned green as the crowing of cocks and the barking of dogs heralded the approaching dawn. Gradually the piles



[p.382 (B)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 3421
181

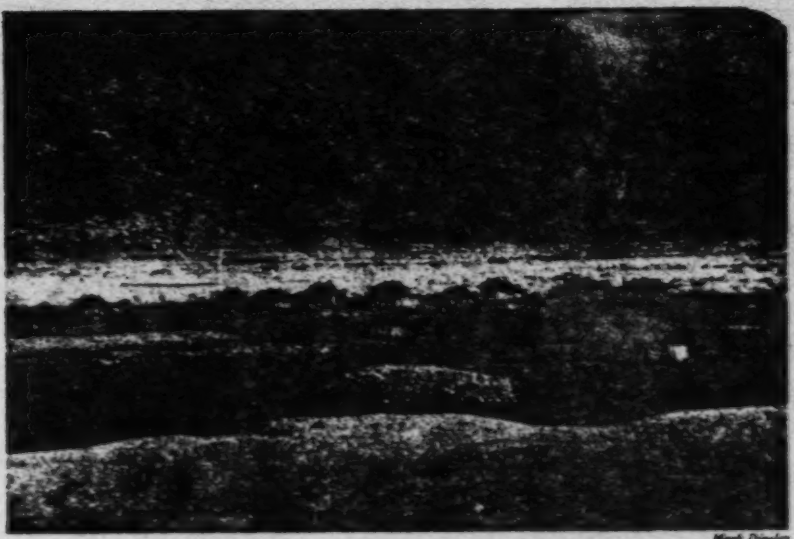


The house of an agha, rebuilt after his village had been bombed. He appeared to regard the incident with amusement and incorporated fragments of shell in the decoration of his new home

Mark Dunby

[p.390(A)]

361



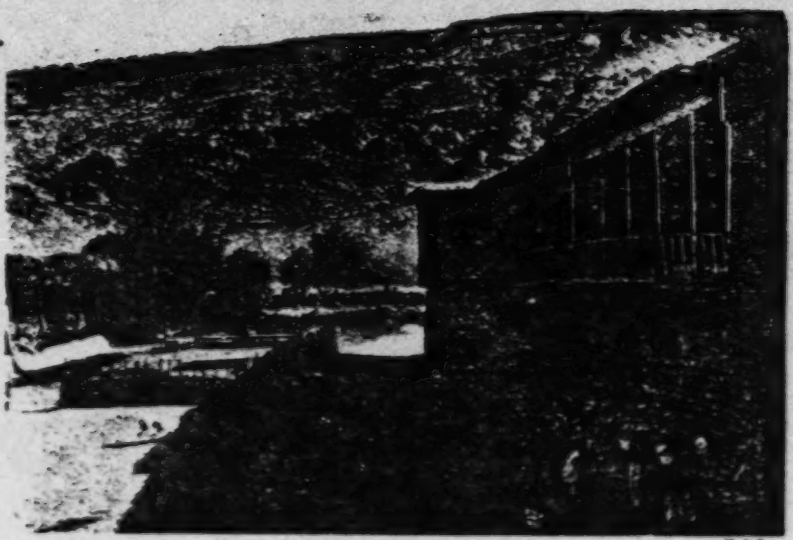
Encampment of nomad Kurds, who, owing partly to new frontier regulations which bar the way to their old summer grazing grounds in Iran, are being gradually forced to abandon their wandering life

[342]

Nomads live in tents of black woven goat-hair with bamboo walls—surrounded by domestic animals

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 342



H. J. Coons

Farmhouse recently built by a rich 'settled' Kurd, who, contrary to the law which forbids fortifications, added a bastion. In the distance goats and sheep are being herded for dipping

[53 A]

4a Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH Iraq MH
Kurd MA II

000 of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

K 137 Kurdistan is a beautiful country. It is in the main well wooded, with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Pines grow in two areas only and chinārs (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the 'Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the oldest inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

K 181 The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

K 164 221 342 In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is fostered by the cultivation of rice with its invariable accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the flock-owners move to their "zōzāns" or summer sheilings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

I 795 The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

I 795 167 563 648 182 Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their recent history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term "Assyrian" now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church who were domiciled either within what is now the 'Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkari by the Turks during the Great War and refused

to the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence. 684 562 628 683 622

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Hence the aristocratic houses maintain diwankhanas which vary considerably in size and form according to their estates. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the diwankhana of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion, 574 622 [342] [343]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Feilberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifir, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

"The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandil or anuk*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The inhouse fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jit*, has a plough-share, *gāsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2340) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of this beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kewjir*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismounted. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Worth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Tripolanean plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Worth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebbersø, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Donstrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be ascribed a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, adequate, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or men's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for their flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the street represented the visible, three-walled keyside. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were covered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the street. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

[text continues top of p. 34 -- Analyst]

mudir, "exiled," in his own words, to the country, must account for a nahiya or sub-district, in this case with an average population of some 10,000 souls, with a staff of a few tax-assessors, clerks, a police detachment and servants which together usually numbers less than 30 or 40 men, less than 1/250th of such a population. 647 648 [625]

The lot of the typical mudir is not an enviable one. His chief tasks are those of the great trinity of Middle Eastern administration, the maintenance of order, the collection of taxes, and the selection of army recruits. Because these three demand most of his time and energy, other problems, such as public health, must suffer in comparison. The government headquarters in the central village of a nahiya is usually a decrepit one-storey outpost of mud-brick or rubble, built about an unpaved courtyard. It contains some offices, a guardroom and quarters for the police, and a primitive jail, and boasts neither plumbing, heating, or electricity. The mudir himself is assigned a house, but he can rarely have more than the minimum in furnishings, just as he usually cannot yet afford marriage. He is most often a younger man from 25 to 35 years of age, a lawyer by training, and in high hopes of some better favoured assignment. Moreover, he finds himself an alien in the community, not only because his origins are elsewhere, but also because his social rank does not seem to admit of free intercourse with those he governs. There are, to be sure, mudirs who take a great part in the social life of their nahiyas, but [344] [697]

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, Shenzis (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the court are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the court open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in wintertime. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and upper-class families who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the serai, with its important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during hours of business, its guards, and its four-colored ensign fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech.

[illegible] of oppression, but of sorrow, for in lorries drawn up before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many will never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the serai, old and young, mothers and wives, dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside, and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Rowanduz has set up an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation.

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building

654
344
[232]

which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "government" chaykhaneh (tea-room), a 265
654
dilapidated mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a kenif, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high [352]
wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or [517]
ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement- 344
block building, the "communications" office wherein the 205
post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to 206
be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldean 655
(Nestori, a member of the Christian sect centering around Khoi), has several assistants hired from among the town-people and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and cranking. It follows that the operators may times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

installations in Rowanduz, the air of the communications office is heavy with tobacco smoke and its floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the qaimmaqam.

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the serai, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the qaimmaqam's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time assures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings

buildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards for the district, although much is lacking in modern equipment and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical officer, also subordinate to the kaimmakam. There are several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical service in the district is in some disrepute, largely because of the character of the medical officer. Trained in Lebanon, he was characterized as having expensive cures for expensive patients, and none at all for others. A poor merchant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a rash, to this doctor was presumptorily told "to wash his baby more often," hardly a prescription of value as the child was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman with some complaint entered the doctor's office while the latter was in conference with a visitor to the district. When the countryman asked for the doctor, this person himself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not there, and would not be expected for several days." Such unfortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab physicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery as a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the town are to be found the courthouse and residence of the judge (Arabic, hakim), the former a small, squarish mud-brick building of a single storey. When court is in session, there is usually a small number of villagers or townspeople squatting or leaning against its front wall, waiting to be called. The judge is the foremost of several

in the primary schools, and about 35 in the intermediate school. All of the children live in Rowandus itself, for there is no system of transportation for the children in outlying villages. 372

The primary school for boys is a large, mud-brick building standing within a wide gravel yard behind the serai. Constructed in 1925, it is in considerable disrepair today. Within it a number of classrooms open on a small central hall. There are diminutive rooms for the teachers and the director, a "library," and a closet wherein a servant prepares tea. The furnishings, forms and benches of unpainted wood, are the poorest, and the teachers fondly hope for the future construction of a new school with better equipment. The poorer students are furnished their texts, similarly bedraggled from years of use, while those of wealthier homes purchase their own. The primary school for girls is a short distance up the street, a smaller, square mud-brick building subsidized some years ago from private ownership. The intermediate school is to be found in the upper part of the town, a spacious single-storey structure of cement-block, completed in 1950. 344 [352] [372]

The several instructors of the girl's primary school are women. Those of the boy's primary school and intermediate school are men, numbering nine in all, including the three school directors. Because the Kurdish language is mandatory for beginning instruction, the teachers are either Muslim Kurds or Christians, Nestorians or Chaldeans, most of whom come from Erbil or Mosul. None 375

342

a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as
yards for those above. The population of this community [162]
was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house
is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without
glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354]
indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings
meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This [312]
village boasts no specialized constructions and is without 366
shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a
number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] [346]
the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a
definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417
of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences
of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231
smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342
animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during
cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are
used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361
"agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the
Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often,
but in the Rowandus district it is possible to find isolated
farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. 342
Kelebir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a
black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance
not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of
these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer
guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 3

The Guest House

628 So far we have been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kurdish tribal community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships on an institutional plane and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village Agha in functional terms as (a) the individual who 'owns' the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

634 628 584 It is a cardinal feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha. The more lavish the Agha's hospitality the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of reputation fully discount disadvantages of birth. Hamid Amin Agha of Rewanduz for example through only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. On all sides it was maintained that he was much more of a man (piaw - the Kurdish idiom is the same as our own) than his cousin overlord Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balash. If Hamid Amin was not so generous, it was argued, he also would be rich and powerful; *Sheikh Mohammed was miserly and an old woman. It must be admitted that a mere reputation for generosity may not bring with it any particular tangible reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the pattern of the society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

• 344 674 352 †In the Balik country the Guest House is seldom actually a house. Winter travellers are few and can be accommodated if necessary somewhere in the Agha's own residence; during the summer on the other hand a shady pergola is erected somewhere close to the Agha's house and furnished with carpets, seats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

* This incidentally seems to have been Sheikh Mohammed's reputation throughout his life; see Hay p. 753).

† In the plains villages however the great heat of the summer and the greater frequency of winter travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see Hay 47 - 49.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kûrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kûrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by imâms of their own race, Kûrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kûrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kûrds. To the latter they are,

[Page 137]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MA10

or furniture. The use of such vegetables as cabbages and lettuces as food is also rigidly prohibited among them. Like the Moslems, they hold Jesus (*Isa*) in great reverence, and regard wine as the symbol of His blood. When drinking it they always hold the cup with both hands to avoid spilling its contents, and should a drop fall to the ground they are said to suck it with the lips and swallow the dust with which it has mingled. The Yezidis and Kûrdish sectarians are, indeed, generally said to be less hostile to Christians than to Moslems, and it is averred that, though they never enter an Armenian church, they often stop when passing one and repeat some prayer or invocation.

A curious form of confession and penance is also practised by these "infidels." Ten men form themselves into a kind of brotherhood, and select one of their number by lot as a scapegoat. If any one of the number is guilty of a grave sin, he confesses it to this substitute, who must vicariously expiate it by prayer, fasting, and mortification. In return for this service he is supported by the rest, who perform for him all his worldly duties, pasture his sheep, and maintain his family.

The sacerdotal order of the Yezidis is very numerous, and is divided into castes, which do not intermarry with each other, and thus are kept permanently distinct. The office of Sheikh Nâsir, or High Priest, is hereditary in one family, and generally descends to the eldest son. This hierophant is, like the Dervish Sheikhs, believed to be endowed with supernatural powers, and his skill is resorted to, not only by his

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a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced brambles and thorns or of rubble. In the smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some localss in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. The "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowandus district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The Hetshir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

[162] [354] [312] 366 [344] [346] 417 231 342 341 342

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

If the society of adults in Rowandus has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowandus not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

that the number of times the name of the deity is enumerated indicates the piety of the population. With the Prophet it is quite different, for one never hears him spoken of irreverently or in a secular context. It is not customary to call him by name, but rather al-Rasul, "the Apostle," or al-Nabi, "the Prophet," and either the speaker or someone else present adds, salu Allahu 'alayhi wa salam, "the prayer (blessing) of God upon him and the peace," whenever he is mentioned. The Quran is held in similar respect. The volume must never be handled with levity, or left uncovered when not in use. An official told how his servant removed his copy of the Quran from the room in which he was drinking arrack, in some way personifying the book, in which the use of alcoholic beverages is forbidden, as God himself. Metal cases or cloth envelopes, usually green in color, are used to enclose it, or else it is tied up in a scarf or handkerchief.

The great mosque, Jami's al-Kabir, in Rowanduz is a large, square building of rubble on the central square of the bazar or mercantile area, its rear wall facing the qibla, the direction of Mecca, to which prayer is addressed. The building on its front is raised about six feet above the square and one reaches its porch by a series of roughly cut stone stairs. The roof is of mud rolled on bundles of poles and twigs, and covers the porch as well as the main room and the annex. This is to the right of the main door, a small door of the room opening on the porch and large unglassed windows overlooking the square. It is used for

reading, meditation, and conversatio, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covere with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four point around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hour of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

which the mu'ezzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To the right of the porch, on the street leading up through the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'ezzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosque

[1] Eberhard, 1951, pp. 14-17.

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the women's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowandus serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowandus have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of waqf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowandus in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of waqf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen

[1]Zwemer, 1946.

E: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

000 40

778 his shoes before stepping onto the stone. Here the Bible reading
771 prayers five times a day and those who feel like it join in. The
633 average commoner is very vague about his prayers; many do not pray at
782 all, those who do usually pray only at sunset. The Agha on the other
hand are frequently economically overburdened of my acquaintances
Kurdish Aghas of Dergala in particular make a tremendous fuss about his
prayers and ritual washings. It was interesting to note that he would
often break off in the middle, give orders to his servants, and then go
on again where he left off. While one can have no insight into his
real religious feelings, I got the impression that it was largely done
for show. There is a definite prestige value attached to being a
devout Mohammedan - it is the characteristic of a gentleman. In the
same way the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about
the ceremonies and washing of their womenfolk when strangers are present
while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual.

782 A man must not of course go to the mosque to pray. Each man's
prayer mat is in effect his own mosque. The actual practices varies in
different villages depending I fancy upon the example set by the Agha.
Anyway I noticed that there was always a much higher attendance at
prayers when the Agha was there in person. The connections seem to be
analogous to those of English churchgoing, there is a much bigger
attendance on the Sabbath. The devout Kurdish Aghas of Dergala for
instance said his prayers at home all the week but on Fridays attended
at the mosque, and most of the village went too.

777 Some villages have a supplementary roofed building which is
used as a mosque during the winter, but this is not invariable. In
• 36 the Sorbahlie area and on the plain the mosque is normally a roofed
building with adjacent attendant. In this case prayers are held either
within the covered courtyard or on the roof.

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system of values is always expressed in terms of money. [437]

The town of Rowandum, occupying the sloping top of a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. At a steeper point of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (jami'h al-kabir), the garage, and two chayikhanas. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town. 361 [366]

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazar will 347

require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread out on the floor, hung from nails or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby <u>shaikhana</u>. Most merchants have a weekly account with the <u>shaikhana</u>-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. They are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils such as "Fragile" or "Ehsare Import Company," and are padlocked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or <u>chayxhi</u> might be considered first. There are ten <u>chayxhanes</u> in the town. That located beside the canal has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the <u>bazar</u> area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "nicest" <u>chayxhane</u> spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of glasses. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in shirt-sleeves and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner.

The etiquette of entering a <u>chayxhane</u> varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

345 346 347 348 consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

349 At Sulemaneh, the Kurdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built [p. 350] of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. 351 Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harem*lik, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of 352 leafy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mul- 353 berry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is 353 the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons 354 sleep on the roofs of their houses. Snow, in the [p. 354] greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *sherdabs*, or hovers, over the tanks in the courts, or in holes, to escape from the flies, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of 355 Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his *Cyropædeia*, or History of the Life [illegible] mentions that the Kurdish boys their wives in connected elements, bk. iv. chap. 6.

irregularities of the slope, and the general process has been one of building around or avoiding them. It might also be remembered that this is a new town, built up since the destruction of the old in the valley in 1917.

The streets and lanes are unpaved, their surfaces the rough face of the rock, resembling in most cases a hard, cobblestone pavement. As many of them are precipitous, sunbeats, particularly at night, are not uncommon, and in the winter of 1950 two persons suffered broken limbs by losing their footing. There is a "main thoroughfare," a central artery of travel to which most lanes lead, corresponding in part to the street leading through the bazar. On reaching the top of the bluff by the steep, winding automobile road from the valley, two streets branch out around the carel and join together just before the bazar to form the principal street and center. Where the bazar merges with the upper residential section, two lanes, more important than others, divide to skirt the hill which dominates this upper area and join again above the town. Along the streets, the open spaces between the houses are often lined with fences, either of rubble or of interwoven branches, usually enclosing a garden. The lots left vacant are either barren soil, such as the "brickyard" mentioned above, or covered with tough, long grass and scrub vegetation. A number of trees grow unattended along the edges of the cliffs, but almost all others are confined to the gardens and yards of private dwellings.

cradle is more or less perennial necessity for this class), 352
and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations 353
of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid 362
of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because
the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so
often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to put more detailed atten- 342
tion to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and land- 361
owners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic
life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of
rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an
interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to
the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked
on three sides by the building with the fourth left open,
and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or
Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of
the house and high brick walls on all sides. These court-
yards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with
hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, [361]
either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it,
watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of 342
such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a
layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same
material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a
white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are
usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the out-
side windows of the first story consist only of small,
unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Remains of

[illegible]

the summer heat; these rooms have a height which seems ab- 342
normal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve
feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally
raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the
level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those
of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in
wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist
of bundles of poles and twigs, and are usually left un-
finished, although a few have been plastered and pasted
with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed
with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before [356]
cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by
copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a
little of the flour. The roofs are equipped with long, [353]
smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter
and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the
roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of
these houses are of two storeys, and, although there is
considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of
which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in
the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is
marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient
the house and its windows so that household life, specifi-
cally that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the
street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a [351]
"true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the dwellings
are surrounded with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced
twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological [194]

pot invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of cut branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in these poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, as uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any one other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [364] 933 964

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretensions and is found in most cases on the first 353 379

fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children. A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Leli Khan and Leyla Amine, the Turkish wife of Khalil Effendi, both unveiled and neither of European education or inclination. Visiting women, almost always married and related in some way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain in the divankhane if the house-owner and a male guest should suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle, in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy,

not found just as strongly in the illiterate Ba'idi peasant of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In Rowanduz all of the wealthier homes have their gardens, surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be entertained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular garden near Rowanduz is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian, whose house is built over the course of an icy mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel through the plot itself. The melons beneath fruits chilled in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and children of the house, in addition to playing there, are held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the proprietors, as might be expected, make much greater inroads on the produce than those they are set to guard against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, always to be found on the first floor and more or less open to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

341 poles, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about 1 metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in low rainfall areas this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[4]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[5] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, below. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. As many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sangalo, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden locks[6]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 11. Wall of sun-dried bricks, Tanganyika.

351 333 241

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333
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Fig. 16. Longitudinal section through a house with columns made of elm, vertical poplar trunks with spaces of wood between, and a cupboard. Yeşilyurt.

and the window frames sometimes come apart from the clay walls as the latter consolidate or crack that large gaps appear. During dust storms doors and windows become more and more loose. 342

Two phenomena are typical of the Kurdish village houses of a certain size. The one is the second living room, sometimes placed on the first floor, the floor beneath being used as a stable. This second room, *heyvâti*[1], looks like a large niche in the body of the house for it lacks the fourth wall, thus becoming a cool, shady sport-room during the hot part of the year[2]. The second phenomenon are the columns, often with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. The pillars are formed of elm, vertical poplar trunks[3]. The three-walled room is possibly a Kurdish version of an Islamic architectural element, whereas the pillars may trace their ancestry back to Iranian-Achaemenidian architecture which is known as far east as Chihilminar[4]. Cellars are welcome. The underground living room, *mahâl*[5], typical of Arab urban architecture, is not found in Kurdish buildings. [199]

The houses in the villages are built on hill slopes so that they often have two storeys in the front and only one at the back. As previously mentioned, they are usually built together and provide accommodation for several families. The way up to the flat roofs is nearly always by narrow ladders[6] made of thin poplar trunks with rungs of rounded sticks or pieces of a tree trunk. Inside stairs from the ground to the first floor are very rare in villages, where they do occur they are made of clay with

Fig. 1. [illegible]

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides, the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admittance to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[1]. A guest wing is typical of the finer houses in Swedish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village or the region. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Berton, Edmonds and Lundell[2]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rekarne. An eight-angled stone step led up to the door of the family house; some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a hygge. The roof to this was supported by five columns of turned, low corrugated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hewn wooden blocks inserted as

[Text continues top of P 32 -- Analysis]

[illegible]

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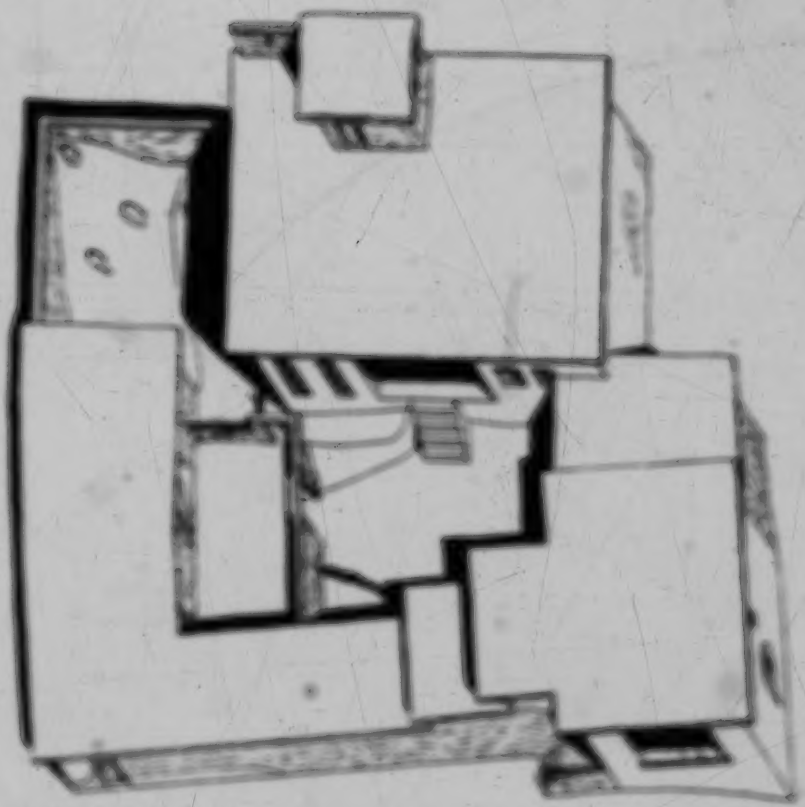

Fig. 5. [illegible]

[illegible]

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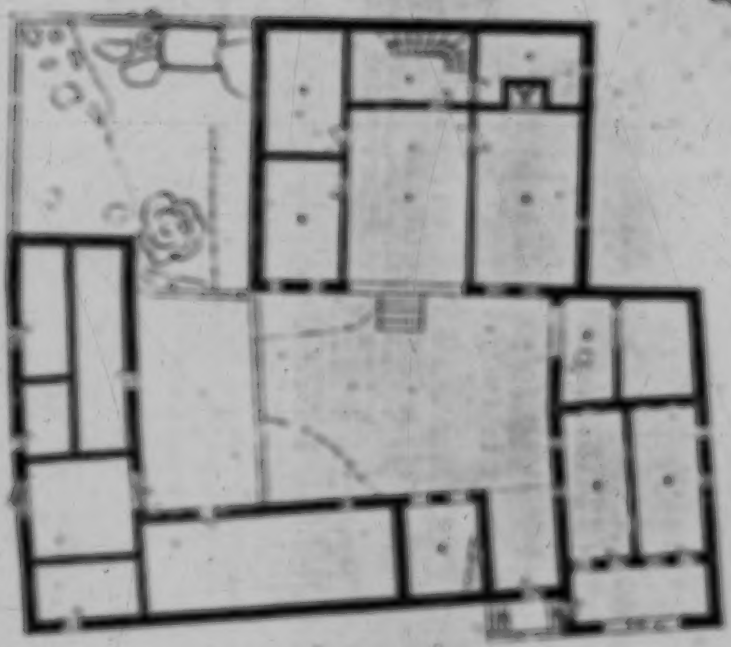

Fig. 2. [illegible]

The environment of the religious and of the ceremonial urban events

[illegible] of the Lodge from the street. Even here steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though not connected with the family section of the house[4]. Along the wall facing the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a seatless, pear-shaped bowl of fine bowl with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with water-ribbon piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it, to subdivide a water conveyance under which a few careful tin for washing feet taken to be obtained from the tap in the bath-room, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bath-room was constructed on the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Tuyuuna. The lamps then had three taps in all from which [illegible]'s guest and well-cleaned courtyard water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the golden wall and its entire were partly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural earth and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small kerb with a footpath, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central parts of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the wall around which was scraped away when needed after cooling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—like others, built of sun-dried bricks—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of keyhole—between. One opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of cement, which was also the case with the ceilings in the cool part of the house. Lighting the court there were barred glass windows giving right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and foodstuffs generally were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the penitentiary was separated

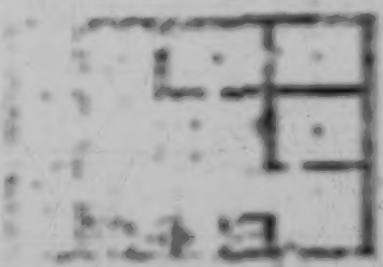

Fig. 84. [illegible] Family house. Tuyuuna
Scale 1:200
a - entrance hall, b - room, c - sleeping room, d - store-room, e - washing and latrine room, f - bath-room, g - [illegible]
f - latrine, g - guest room, h - [illegible]

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1885) 1891
MA11 Kard MA11

The country houses of the Kurds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the mándil, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of dung, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The cooking finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a somewhat cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek amphora. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called bóza, a liquor called sarabend, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, Shenkiri (the curved Turkish dagger)--many often be seen, because men with business in the court are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the court open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and commonest corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in winter time. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the <u>qaimmaqam</u>. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the <u>qaimmaqam</u>'s littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

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344
[232]

which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "government" chaykhana (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a kapir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

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[352]
[517]

To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldaean (Kaldani, a member of the Christian sect centering around Mosul), has several assistants hired from among the townspeople and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and cranking. It follows that the operators many times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

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in the primary schools, and about 35 in the intermediate school. All of the children live in Rowanduz itself, for there is no system of transportation for the children in outlying villages. 872

The primary school for boys is a large, mud-brick building standing within a wide gravel yard behind the serai. Constructed in 1925, it is in considerable disrepair today. Within it a number of classrooms open on a small central hall. There are diminutive rooms for the teachers and the director, a "library," and a closet wherein a servant prepares tea. The furnishings, forms and benches of unpainted wood, are the poorest, and the teachers fondly hope for the future construction of a new school with better equipment. The poorer students are furnished their texts, similarly bedraggled from years of use, while those of wealthier homes purchase their own. The primary school for girls is a short distance up the street, a smaller, square mud-brick building subsidized some years ago from private ownership. The intermediate school is to be found in the upper part of the town, a spacious single-storey structure of cement-block, completed in 1950. 344 [352] [872]

The several instructors of the girl's primary school are women. Those of the boy's primary school and intermediate school are men, numbering nine in all, including the three school directors. Because the Kurdish language is mandatory for beginning instruction, the teachers are either Muslim Kurds or Christians, Nestorians or Chaldaeans, most of whom come from Erbil or Mosul. Some 875

require detailed description, but it is possible to present 347
here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as
many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided
room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six
to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty,
although some are much smaller and a few larger than these
dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level
of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or [382]
mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases
for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread
out on the floor, hung from walls or piled against the
walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools
at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the
accommodation of more important customers and visitors.
In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and [374]
tea brought from a nearby shebitang. Most merchants have
a weekly account with the shebitang-owner, the latter
keeping the tally and presenting his bill. They are [357]
assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who
runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker
basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away.
At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters,
mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils
such as "Fragile" or "Ebears Import Company," and are pad-
locked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop 443
at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for 461
an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social importance in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or shavkh might be considered first. There are two shavkhana in the town. That located beside the canal has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the large area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "planter's" shavkhana spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of glasses. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner. 265 347 [352] [415] [451]

The etiquette of entering a shavkhana varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In 265 5?o

produced and cheaper, tends more and more to replace stone 935
in house building, despite the fact that thereby the life
of a house, particularly in a region of winter rain and
snow, is considerably shortened. Mud-brick has undoubtedly
been known in the region from antiquity, but its greatly
increased use in the construction of house walls is a
feature of the last half-century. Cement-blocks, which
have been cited in certain government structures, are im-
ported, and these buildings themselves are constructed
under the direction of government engineers. Some of the
chieftains in outlying villages have not missed the advan-
tages of building stone and concrete over mud-brick as
far as small arms fire is concerned, and one of them, [702]
Rukaud Bag of the Parakimat, was busy in erecting a large
building which on completion will be almost the duplicate
of a fortified police post.

The carpenters of the town are occupied partially 335
in building and partially in the repair of furniture and 332
certain manufactures. Regular pieces of timber are rare
in such a deforested area, and most of them, such as lintels,
are used again and again. Mud-roofs are laid down on a
thick layer of poles and twigs which are furnished by
village woodmen. Doorposts and doors are made of heavy,
roughly cut timber, and window-frames with glass must be
imported from Ereil. Furniture, benches and chairs, are [952]
used for generations, and the carpenters simply repair
them, rather than manufacture new items. Aside from this

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter.

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (an domestic soap is sold) is used, or water alone. Both laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handkerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of classing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rwanda, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one

yards has a fresh mountain spring running through it, 211
vigorously refused to drink the water of Kawandwe, asserting 913
it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the 365
channels are open, numerous things can get in the water,
to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it
causes comment, and the townspeople are cognizant of the
fact. In the larger households the interior basins and
water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water,
after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the
women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time.
"The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said,
although this in no way seems to operate to condition the
price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found 941
clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town.
While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing 942
several families, the characteristic form is a small,
rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a
rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and
ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any,
small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden
door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used
in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one [954]
corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the [952]
door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex
preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the 952
meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets 513
and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

cradle is more or less personal necessity for this class, and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to put more detailed attention to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and landowners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked on three sides by the building with the fourth left open, and in the great houses, such as those of Beit Khas or Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of the house and high brick walls on all sides. These courtyards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it, watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the outside windows of the first storey consist only of small, unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

[i.e. building the greater thickness, Arnold?]

fuggits supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens.

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Oriental notion of a harim with its guarded seclusion and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also

are invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of cut branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of the sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any one other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The <u>liwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second story. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a more family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Kabil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the Afghanistan has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the Ziyaratkhana of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

found just as strongly in the Hillstreets [illegible] peasant
contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In
London all of the wealthier homes have their gardens,
surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows
those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are
people to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off
one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number
wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be enter-
tained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the
usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular
thing about Rawandiz is that of Hajji Mohammed 'Ali Agha of
Sutlan, whose house is built over the course of an icy
mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel
through the plot itself. The pale beauty fruits chilled
the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running
mix together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and
cushions. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater
extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and
children of the house, in addition to playing there, are
often responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from
the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the
mongrels are, as might be expected, quite much greater in-
terest to the produce than those they are set to guard
against..

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of
forewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, al-
ways to be found on the first floor and more or less open
to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective bolshi, "rustic," is used with flippancy and condescension. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of the populist, the hardest distinction, both hard and real, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

These throws back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistence on "distance," the officials and officers here of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was established as a mejli or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and contains only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uniformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a tearoom, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

purchase bowel which he distributes to his neighbors among the townspeople. The ceremony for the first one is much more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a gift of God," and there is a "ceremony similar in size" for them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Kwavalua. Deformed infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy regulates weaning, because it is held that the milk is then "unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, as noticed previously, its foster-mother, kivyu, and the child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The wet-nurse resides in the home of the infant, and is established with money and food. In the event that a nurse cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are often left unsuckled in this respect for some length of time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, can be carried about easily by this last. The child is laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps of intrinsically woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin. In warm weather the cradle is covered by lions or goats to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross-piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye, curses from the Koran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded ornaments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a little agrun. No undergarments are in use. The shoulder of the dress is also placed with charms, like those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia, much like a representation of a sugus-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, an event which is not marked in Rwanda by an elaborate ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend, and entertains them in the guest-room with light refreshments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name selected previously by one of the family. He holds the child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear. He gently intones what was described in Rwanda as the isma (Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulis or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and the floor is covered with carpets. Matsiwanna run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, centuries of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, painted niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulis takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulis ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the hammam, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two easternmost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *hiyate* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servants' child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that, entered on a great stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a cumbus jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and bitter chewed, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[1] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed on the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[2] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taffir's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of this veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

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Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topsawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *kilaki*[P], and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārš*, (E. 2257)[P] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knotted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *sufra*[P] or *sīnī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *hayvān* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood unceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bāyān*, 0.323 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an antiquary's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

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Fig. 27. The chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammad's riding animal *Burāq*. Tuprawa.

decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kilīla*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *ṣwāq* (E. 2278). Made in the *sāq* of Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammad's riding animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[34].

The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There, for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilization of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

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wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

A quite small house in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the home round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable sprawled or dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, saj or tabu, on which the bread sheets, nan, was baked were placed on the fire. The outdoor bee-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

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in between the street wall and the room in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits (the case of cooking), or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the kitchen and the bathroom. Clothes were not washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of chimney sofas sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were evacuation moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule had beddclothes piled on it during the day. There was no used furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a cotton's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with th exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and sim like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood wit a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves but these had been taken out and replaced by hooks containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[28]. There were no restrictions in regard to women clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat *daywaf* of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that sector of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were piled up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping spaces on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in thisway as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an ajacent mosque, closed off by mats[29], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all thisown roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the diningroom was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience men being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, th hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasion.

Despite the beginnings of a farming scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the plants of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. Thisinterlaced daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

369 512 representing of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family unit would, after the birth of the first child, divide the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside — the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

[369] [359] [513] [591] [593] [592]

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

Fig. 31. (Cf. figs. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sakrawand. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, hy-oda; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e: (fire-media) + f: latrine; g: guest room.

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embroidered velvet slippers with high-in heels, *qundîrî* or *pâpuš*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left foot are identical. European footwear of "Bata"'s make, from high-heeled black patent leather to summer shoes, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture. [291] [[297]]

Elements connected with Islam. External garment and veil. In Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, *abâ-u-pîlî*, which completely concealed both the face and body. [292]

The face veil, *pîlî*, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.46 m. x 0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

The cloak, *abâ*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion [291]

[text continues top of p. 75 --analyst]

Fig. 59. Woman wearing the black veil and the black cloak, *abâ*, dressed for leaving the home. Sulaimani.

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Fig. 60. Diagram showing the cut of the *abâ* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the cuts. Scale 1:30.

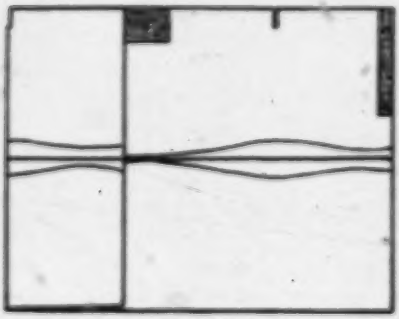

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Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 77,133). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

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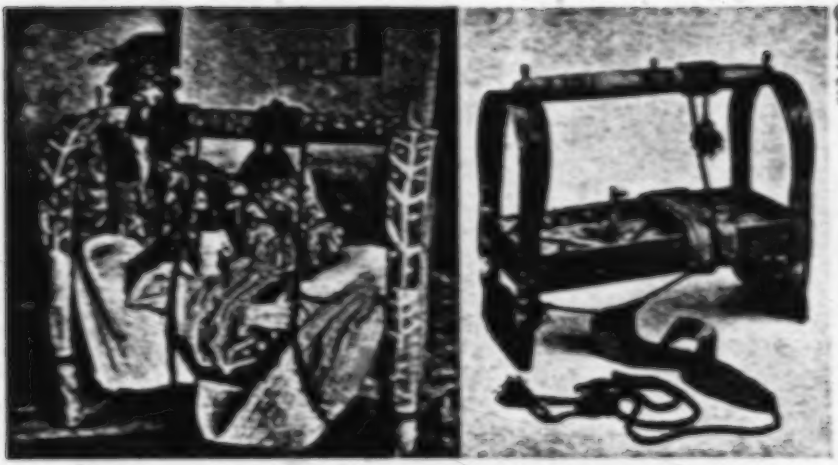

Fig. 84. Transportable cradle, *kyeliu*, arranged for the child. Behind the cradle the child placed on a nightmood. Sulaimani.

Fig. 85. Transportable cradle (E. 2304) with bandages (E. 2308a-b) and cords (E. 2309a-c). The urine discharge pipe (E. 2310) placed upright in the hole in the bottom.

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abdomen and legs, holding the urine discharge pipe in position. The woollen cords that prolong the bandages are passed under the cradle and then twisted round the heavy longitudinal carrying pole, the tassels hanging as decoration and perhaps for amusement of the tied-up baby. The application of the abdominal bandage turns the child's legs outwards, and I discovered that this out-turned position of the feet persisted until the age of three[10]. A small rug is placed under the baby to absorb any excrement, urine being taken by the pipe. I was told that a bottle or such like could be hung under the cradle[11], and that an arrangement of this kind was used during the winter in rooms covered with rugs, but I never saw this used in the summer on the roof, in the courtyard or in rooms without carpets, where all liquids running on to the ground or the floor evaporated immediately. Above the bandages a small quilt, *lifik*, could be laid. The cradle possesses a curtain. For a newly-born child this was of black material, suspended from the transverse carrying pole, so that the child lay as though in a tiny tent. For a slightly larger child a turquoise or purple voile curtain was hung up. This surrounded the whole cradle like a bag with an opening on the one side. The curtain, *perde*, (E. 2307) is formed of a piece of cloth 1.80 m. long and 0.84 m. broad. It is folded together into a bag of the same height and length as the cradle, and sewn together with a seam along the upper edge, with an opening on one side. If the night air on the roof was cool a woollen blanket was laid over the curtain to shield the child from draught. To enable the child to sleep peacefully it could be blindfolded with a white cotton rag.

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Fig. 87. The stationary cradle: a box-shaped bed suspended from a frame. Sulaimani.
Fig. 88. The transportable cradle. A curtain is hung over the transverse beam. Tegnaw.

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saw a cradle of this type in use at Balkha, near the Iranian border. On top of the vessel, under the mattress, was a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (E. 1968). This is used by the Uzes, Ferghana[12]. A quite similar cradle from the Tartars of the Crimea is described and illustrated This is fitted with a clay vessel and urine tube. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[13].

The two other patterns of cradles in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from its four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A rag is laid underneath the child which is taken up as soon as it wakes.

The stationary cradle is a hammock converted into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, box-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In th villages the box, which swings from side to side, contained straw, sacks or rags, in Sulaimani a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and cleaner children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress bed on the floor, just like an adult. A similar box-shaped bed (E. 773) has been brought back from Pushtu-speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan. It consists of a double wooden frame, 0.88 m. × 0.50 m. × 0.30 m. with base and sides of wickerwork and a coir rope for suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle in its Kurdish form is also found with the Ossetes[14] and Georgians[15] in the Caucasus. Ploss[16] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia[17] and in Turkey[18]. Bouchan mentions

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583 sum of money or in cattle, according to the circumstances of the family. Similarly, in a humble village millers (Topzawa) 200 Din. was paid for a bride from Sulaimani, the bride's father, it was said, retaining one quarter for himself; possibly this was the share kept in hand in the event of divorce or widowhood. The residue, 150 Din., was spent on jewellery and three complete outfits for the bride, on dinner service, mattresses and quilts for the bridal bed, plus a bridal chest. The bridegroom also presented the bride with a battery wireless set. Of gifts in return from the bride's family were mentioned six complete dresses for the bride (but nothing to the bridegroom's family).

[587] It was stated that the bride price for a widow or a divorced woman was less than that for a young girl, which corresponds to what Lane reports about the Egyptian Arabs[116].

In Sulaimani the highest bride price I heard of was 1500 Din., to which must be added the part deposited for payment in the event of the wife being divorced or widowed, which must have been at least about 500 Din. if a third, and 750 Din. if a half of the full bride price. As already mentioned, my interpreter's brother had saved up 500 Din., whereas the paid out part of the bride price given by the brother-in-law for her sister was 400 Din. In the meantime I was told that the girl's family had made it a condition that 1500 Din. be deposited.

As an example of the way the paid up portion of the bride price is expended, it may be of interest to review the purchases made with the sum of 400 Din. above-mentioned. As regards jewellery for the bride, turban chains with precious stones, and agates, plus chin chain with coins for securing the cap—all parts of gold—were ordered from a Sulaimani goldsmith. Compared with a similar set of ornaments I saw worn by the wife of the sheikh of Topzawa, we can assume that this set accounted for at least 100 Din.

583 352 The purchases in Baghdad were: a bedroom suite consisting of a polished wooden double bed with a spring mattress, a double wardrobe, dressing table with oval, adjustable mirror, two night tables, a stool, a large silk-lined, fitted beauty box covered with pink velvet, and a dumb waiter. In addition a spangle-embroidered rose satin bed-spread, material for a silk-embroidered rose quilt, white gauze bed-spread for use in great heat, rose satin curtains, two ornamental cushions sewn over with sequins, a rose satin housecoat studded with sequins, and rose satin for a pouch in which a copy of the Coran was to be hung[117]. Rules of cotton, plus material for covering pillows, an extra mattress for the double bed and two single mattresses for use on the roof and for sitting on were also bought, as well as bed linen: sheets, eiderdown cover and pillowcases. Other purchases comprised guest room furniture consisting of a sofa, three or four chairs, a larger and a smaller smoker's table, all in steel and green plastic. They there were kitchen and eating utensils, tea glasses, samovar, wash basin and appurtenant water jug of brass. European knick-knacks, paper flowers to put in china vases. Satin for coats and waistcoats; chiffon, nylon, and tulle interwoven with metal thread for kirtles; artificial silk with interwoven metal thread or taffeta for the long baggy trousers. Artificial silk and satin for the shift was bought either at Baghdad or Sulaimani and distributed among the home tailors, seamstresses and women at home to be made up.

To sum up, the bride price was expended on the bride's trousseau, household equipment, plus a bedroom suite in European style of the last century, very modern guest room furniture in functionalistic steel—in striking contrast to the furniture in the parental home, where the oldest things were

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MR11

clumsy, high-legged, un-upholstered sofas and chairs, whilst the later pieces were covered in red velvet in the French fashion of the '90s.

Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and for her personal use—purchased with the 400 Din. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expended about 150 Din. on gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

The bridegroom received from his coming in-laws his wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirt, underwear, pyjamas, soap, shaving tackle, bath gown, small bath mat of velvet to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a hand-embroidered silk cloth[19], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Those of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed cotton for kirtles. Seven of the bridegroom's male relations received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of drawers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, whilst the other four shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of drawers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs intended to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were not cut quite as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English greys was purchased for this purpose, being cut out in the home by a seamstress who took them away to be made up.

In addition to the expense on these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, came the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit in her family home a week after the wedding in order to take a bath. The value of these trinkets was said to be 42 Din. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my information: bridegroom and his family 400 Din.; bride's family 192 Din., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day until she left.

Hay mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village milieu in Kurdistan in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[19] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the man pays a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dress for the bride, receiving in return nothing whatever from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lane's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[18]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom and his relatives, plus the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts equaling about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness [352] [262] and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the [396] mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish [354] tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 13. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[45], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out [262] of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[46], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[47], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[48]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released [292] and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[49], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. [583] The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her 304 finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent 301 moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing [292] otherwise only saw among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

4: Human E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

HS Private

562 hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the streets. The division applied also to the adolescent
593 sons, who in their leisure hours were sent out from the homes to obtain a "street education" (see
593 p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 5 to 6 years of age still belonged to the home, that is to say, the
[883] women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused
517 the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From the houses, booths, or tea houses men saw only anonymous, concealed figures hasten past. No woman's face or form was visible. When Ostrup[2] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home meet the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual content, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the man also meets in other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social conventions of Kurdish men evinced at times a homosexual tinge; they could be seen walking together with arms round waists, holding hands
[1838] and interlacing fingers.

Within the home there seemed to be remarkable little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for
593 his clothes, a place on the floor by the meal tray, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided
562 to sleep—that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A woman's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 26 year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses and clumsy sofas, their black over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women
[359] present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to mask simultaneously to obtain their *abā* and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but insurmountable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over wide pants for the elder man and *pyjamas* for the younger. Re-appearing, they once more stole past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

593 The way this home was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the
595 husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However,
562 there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, twin houses at Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's home it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or retired to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a home possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

Chapter V.

The village scene

THE VILLAGE

The village, in its physical aspects, is fairly uniform over most of the South Kurdish area. The houses are built of mud, or rock in a mud mortar; the roofs are flat, held up by horizontal rafters — the most valuable item in the construction. Due to the nature of the architecture and the small size of available timber, the rooms of the houses tend to be quite small; pillars and posts are never used to support a longer span of roof. A second story on the building is rarely found. Frequently, there is no door with which to close the entrance, and never any glass in the windows. The windows are small and high up on the wall, the small room is always rather dark. There is no smoke-hole, the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor finds its way out through the entrance or the windows. The rooms are utterly devoid of furniture — the only contents of the room to which a visitor is shown is a tea samovar and some small glasses placed on an in-set shelf, and a roll of small rugs, mostly of felt, which are spread out on the floor to be sat on.

The number of rooms to a house varies, but is never very great, and must of course give accomodation to donkeys, cattle, and perhaps a horse, as well as to the people. To each house belongs a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall. In winter, the house gives only

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 3

The Guest House

622 So far we have been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kurdish tribal community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships on an institutional plane and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village Agha in functional terms as (a) the individual who 'owns' the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

574 622 559 It is a cardinal feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha. The more lavish the Agha's hospitality the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of reputation fully discount disadvantages of birth. Hamid Amin Agha of Rowanduz for example though only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. On all sides it was maintained that he was much more of a man (piaw - the Kurdish idiom is the same as our own) than his nominal overlord Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balesh. If Hamid Amin was not so generous, it was argued, he also would be rich and powerful; *Sheikh Mohammed was miserly and an old woman. It must be admitted that a mere reputation for generosity may not bring with it any particular tangible reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the pattern of the society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

344 574 352 †In the Balik country the Guest House is seldom actually a house. Winter travellers are few and can be accommodated if necessary somewhere in the Agha's own residence; during the summer on the other hand a shady pergola is erected somewhere close to the Agha's house and furnished with carpets, seats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

* This incidentally seems to have been Sheikh Mohammed's reputation throughout his life: see May p. 253.

† In the plains villages however the great heat of the summer and the greater frequency of winter travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see May 47 - 49.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

Rowanduz area, and approximately also to area B of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area C. 361 342

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarized as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main door faces downhill and leads out onto the roof of the house immediately below but this practice varies. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual; in both cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, these are very rarely any shutters. The fire is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin branches about the thickness of pencils. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a clayey mass from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly rigid floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight lengths of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common scrub. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the deficiency of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Shaikhs where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be erected from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of mudbrick instead of stone and plaster noted above. 342 352 • 415 342 331 463 342

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

At Sulemanieh, the Kûrdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *haremlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his 'Anabasis', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kurdes kept their wine in unmarked skins, bk. iv. chap. ii.

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salaam alaykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa alaykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a <u>shaykhana</u> can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the <u>shaykhana</u>, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The <u>shaykhana</u>, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the <u>qaimaqam</u> or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to [574] maintain a <u>diwakhana</u> or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community [558] who spends much of his time in <u>shaykhanas</u> will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from [701] the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk [578] that these places harbor homosexuals (<u>hatiw baz</u>, "homo- [838] sexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.)

265 554 [517]

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [854] 833 864

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first 353 574

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second storey. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a rare family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the chaykhanas has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the diwankhana of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

346 [352] [353] [217] [718] [576] [291] [353] [793] [788]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

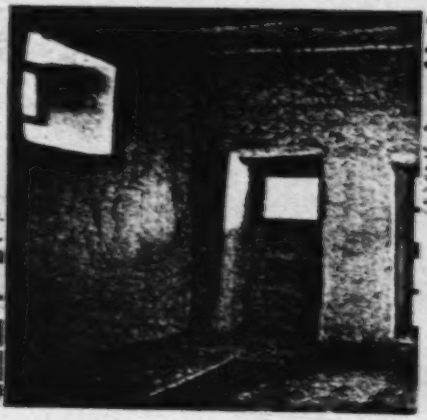

Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topzawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *lihdd*[22], and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārī*, (E. 2257)[23] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *majma'a* or *sīnī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *heywān* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood ceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bāwᵉzān*, 0,323 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Balkha, Serkan and Sargalu, but not by any means in all. In Topzawa and Rakawa there were no schools. Sometimes there could be a Coran school in connexion with a mosque as, for example, at Sargalu, which children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Longrigg and Stoakes[74]. I shall here deal with the reflection of the school in the homes where I stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out by Longrigg and Stoakes, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed"[75] in a community like the Kurdish. How decisive a watershed, can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Topzawa sheikh's 13 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unadaptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the house. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the wall niches, repositories for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in this dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, I faced examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a folk-school teacher at the Teachers' Training College at Baghdad[76]. During her studies she had lived there as a boarder. The training here lasted two years if the girl was to teach at one of the few 6 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Goizha School for Girls opened in Sulaimani in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible to the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 16 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete her 3 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her protracter and ruler, lay in the wall niches all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried in vain to concentrate on the circles and triangles she was describing or the calculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the house. With books and drawing instruments under her black *abd* she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with two uneducated women in the house, where all contact between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sulaimani's urban milieu, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training as wives and mothers is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were teachers, as was the case at my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 14 persons devolved, except for the holidays, on the two uneducated wives at home. In addition there was the cleaning of grain and the baking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman labour is

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The country houses of the Kūrds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *bóza*, a liquor called *nardenk*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khunjirs (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the serai are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the serai open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in wintertime. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

342

a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community [162] was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354] indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings [312] meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 366 village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] [346] the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417 of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231 smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342 animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361 The "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowanduz district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. 342 The kotchir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 265
implement (tika). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened clay, is a large beehive-shaped affair with its round, open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East, bread or nan is treated with almost religious reverence, and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Discovering this, some of the British troops stationed in Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about their messroom floor. In Rowanduz, it is customary when a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which was observed in the streets several times.

The hotel, khan or qarvansara, is reached through a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant. It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up

[1]Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, 'aysh, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

but found just as strongly in the illiterate Sa'idi peasant of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In Rowanduz all of the wealthier homes have their gardens, surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be entertained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular garden near Rowanduz is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian, whose house is built over the course of an icy mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel through the plot itself. The agha boasts fruits chilled in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and children of the house, in addition to playing there, are held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater inroads on the produce than those they are set to guard against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, always to be found on the first floor and more or less open to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

342
354
unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be 354
appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of 252
fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in [439]
Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous 415
collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, 251
and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

269 on a sheet of bread and grassed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from stone bowls[68], but forks
262 and knives were not used[69]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mâstâw* or the less-distinguished *dûgh*. These are drunk from glasses if
[397] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm: there are also water skins, *kawl*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one and being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilised extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[70]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the *samowar*. Of other forms of fuel there are [237] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[71]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat cooker pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
379 atures of up to 30°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[72] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[73] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool under a quilt ... formed the "kirsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[74] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret *(kursi)*, on le recouvre d'une couverture[75] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter V.

The village scene

THE VILLAGE

The village, in its physical aspects, is fairly uniform over most of the South Kurdish area. The houses are built of mud, or rock in a mud mortar; the roofs are flat, held up by horizontal rafters — the most valuable item in the construction. Due to the nature of the architecture and the small size of available timber, the rooms of the houses tend to be quite small; pillars and posts are never used to support a longer span of roof. A second story on the building is rarely found. Frequently, there is no door with which to close the entrance, and never any glass in the windows. The windows are small and high up on the wall, the small room is always rather dark. There is no smoke-hole, the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor finds its way out through the entrance or the windows. The rooms are utterly devoid of furniture — the only contents of the room to which a visitor is shown is a tea samovar and some small glasses placed on an in-set shelf, and a roll of small rugs, mostly of felt, which are spread out on the floor to be sat on.

The number of rooms to a house varies, but is never very great, and must of course give accomodation to donkeys, cattle, and perhaps a horse, as well as to the people. To each house belongs a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall. In winter, the house gives only

installations in Rowanduz, the air of the communications office is heavy with tobacco smoke and its floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the qaimmaqam. 205 206 655 [356]

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the serai, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the qaimmaqam's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time assures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households. 344 276 655 289 [651]

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-story cement-block hospital and several outbuildings 743 [344]

the summer heat, these rooms have a height which seems ab- 342
normal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve
feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally
raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the
level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those
of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in
wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist
of bundles of poles and twigs, and are mostly left un-
finished, although a few have been plastered and pasted
with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed
with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before [356]
cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by
copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a
little of the floor. The roofs are equipped with long, [413]
smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter
and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the
roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of
these homes are of two storeys, and, although there is
considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of
which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in
the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is
marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient
the house and its windows so that household life, specifi-
cally that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the
street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a [351]
"true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the deficiencies
are amended with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced
twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological [174]

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [857]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296] In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 443 556

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

515 [388] 296 [824]

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

296 [516]

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

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356 412

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezî*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sûq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the duststorm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating.

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356 513

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

4: Hansen. E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

356 513 All bedclothes and mattresses are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, the outermost being covered by a woollen rug, *barak* or *jājim*, (E. 2253, 2.80 m. × 1.48 m. brown-striped), or a carpet of Indian cotton with stripes in bright colours (E. 2255, 2.08 m. × 1.15 m.). Some mattresse may be covered with flowered cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor by the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons, or, after the midday meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, covered by a large piece of curtain-like gauze, which replaces quilts and such like at the height of summer.

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516 *Working postures.* In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kurdistan, where the floor is the place one sits and sleeps, the pattern of movements is quite different from that existing in Western culture.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent to a right angle at the knee, is only met with when working with the pit treadle-loom, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower legs, and when using the treadal sewing machine.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the ironing of clothes taking place on a table in the same way as we use an ironing board.

462 516 Apart from this all work is performed by the woman in a squatting posture or in a tailor's position with the lower legs strongly bent. The washing of clothes is performed squatting, whether at the water basin or at a circular, flat-bottomed, metal vessel on the ground by the tap. The same position is adopted when cleaning poultry and cutting meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whether in the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at the vertical loom, when setting up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at the basin or the tap. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of nose and mouth after meals, and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath in the bathroom.

516 How natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of the sheikh family in Topzawa. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French stone houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here washing up took place in this posture with the china in a wickerwork basket and the washing-up tub on the floor, although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel sink. All meals in this home, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on the floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had to be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the making of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's home at Sulaimani boasted of a wash-basin, complete with tap, built into the wall knee-high from the ground, the women washed themselves in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the wash-basin instead of washing their hands, face and feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down to the ground under their own weight. The overstretched tendinous ligaments in the hip joint[74] allowed the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibility

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

Because of the nature of this work, unemployment is frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty persons for the town as a whole. 464

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, are employed in the town as servants, but it would be difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two classifications, but they do not appear to have any precise social differentiation, and are only hazily distinguished in the popular mind. First, there are permanent servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own. Most of these work in one way or another for the government, a number in the government buildings, for example, the qaimmaqam's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen help, and still others as household servants of government and military personnel. The qaimmaqam's household has three attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening, perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male visitors in the diwankhana or the garden. To such persons as these a little of the scornful treatment of the professional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been 357 464 [465] 357 554

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or pilk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shakir Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (gholam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes shubana). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bawil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 357 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (atar), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the atar is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowanduz for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowanduz, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 [554] [426]

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [857]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296]

In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home.

Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 443 556

ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The deportment required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange mal is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a 357 592 [834] 589 357

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the veil of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The qaimmaqam, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

absolved him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household. 592 554 357

Friendships contracted outside the mal, as noticed in the discussion of society, are, in adulthood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is subsequently married, the other acts as his 'servant,' receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." Male companions of this sort visit with each other in the bazar or the mosque, and exchange calls at their houses. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the diwankhana or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of bread and salt, termed nimak, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each 572

other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the maids are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the diwankhana with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

572 562 572 [357] [584] [882]

Turning now to the course of an individual of Rowanduz through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the diwankhana or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor.

844 [782]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sâq* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[73] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sâq* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1936.

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independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A ruined fortress of this leader is to be seen a short distance north of the town, and his descendants, the House of Isma'il Beg, still own much of its property. The Turks, who appreciated the strategic significance of Rowandux with relation to the trade route and the possibility of a military advance along this line from Russia, made it the seat of a qaimmaqam, an Ottoman governor, subject to the Kirkuk sanjaq (district) of the vilayet (province) of Mosul. Administratively it was equal in rank to Erbil, and immediately prior to the first World War had one or two battalions of infantry stationed nearby, as well as a police detachment. As a part of the monarchy of Iraq, it is now much more of an administrative than a commercial center and is still under a qaimmaqam, but denoted beneath the control of Erbil.

In Ottoman times Rowandux was a flourishing town of about a thousand houses and had a population estimated at 5000. It occupied a sloping tongue of land, running east and west along the Rowandux river. The river was joined just above the town, to the west, by another stream flowing through a gorge then called the Kalund, and above this juncture rose a great bluff, several hundred feet above the floor of the valley, termed Qala Tiluk (Arabic, qala'a, "fortress"). The flat top of this bluff was occupied by the house of Sa'id Beg, a descendant of Kor Pasha, the villas of the Turkish officers, some summer residences of

the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handrin Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war.

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowandux and Handrin rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowandux, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowandux is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowandux river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan

route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at its rear. Rowanduz proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basis population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Rowanduz was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Rowanduz as an administrative and mercantile center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

102
133
341

Figure 3. Sketch Map of Rowanduz

1. Isma'il Beg. 2. Court House. 3. Police Post. 4. Tobacco Monopoly. 5. Girl's School. 6. House of Qaimmaqam. 7. Sayyid Heusni. 8. Primary School. 9. Veterinarian. 10. Serai. 11. Communications Office. 12. Sadiq Agha. 13. Hospital. 14. Ra'uf Effendi. 15. Lower Residential Area. 16. Bazar. 17. Cemetery. 18. Garage. 19. Ashi Shaykhi. 20. Garage. 21. Great Mosque. 22. Upper Residential Area. 23. Shakir Effendi. 24. Nuri Bawil Agha. 25. Women's Mosque. 26. Club.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER

To give a description of Rowanduz, its administrative and economic importance, as well as its social and religious life, demands a certain excursus above and beyond the actual physical limits of the town. To understand the role of the town, not only as a rural center, but in broader cultural horizons, one must have some understanding of the areas within which it lies. It is not intended to enter into an exhaustive discussion of either regional cultures or of a civilization, for that presupposes a much more extended survey than either the basis or the framework of this study can support, but rather to indicate the proper perspective in which the town must be viewed. The most convenient beginning to this task is not to be found in an economic or social background, but in the government, for in proceeding from its delineation, in many cases generalized with respect to district and to nation, an effective appreciation of later discussion can be formed.

Thus a clearer definition of the position of Rowanduz as an administrative center requires in some wise an appreciation of the constitution of Iraq itself, on whose northeastern border lies the district dominated by the town. A segment of the old Ottoman Empire, the territory of modern Iraq was

At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines, the country is divided into fourteen liwas, each under a mutesarif. The liwa is subdivided into qadhas, each under a qaimmaqam. The qadha is in turn subdivided into a number of nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a rais baladiya appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the intricacies of metropolitan administration. The people have a mukhtar, selected from the local inhabitants, who, while in no sense a public official, acts in liason between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the 'umda in contemporary Egypt.[1]

631. 648 [622]

The qadha or district of Rowanduz belongs to the Erbil liwa, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Rowanduz. In spite of this official's labors in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the "village" here referred to may vary from a few isolated

631. 162 361. [186]

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[1] Ayrout, 1945, pp. 47-48.

162 361 houses to a much larger number, which explains what may at first appear as abnormally high numbers. To these have been added the figures for nomads, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villages
Markaz Qadha (the central district)				
The town of Rowanduz	2,195	2,359	4,554	
The nahiya	9,012	7,098	16,110	92
Balak	4,047	3,768	7,815	70
Baredost	3,325	2,761	6,086	-
Margasur	-	-	3,078	55
Dara Harir	5,375	5,578	10,953	90
			48,596	
Nomads	2,427	3,123	5,550	
			54,146	

The numbers given for nomads may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less amenable than the villager to the census-taker, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the tax-collector or recruiting officer.

233 369 The matter of the nomad--kotchir in Kurdish, as opposed to karmanj, the villager--must give us pause. The term "nomad" has a variety of applications, and, in the Middle East, is given its classical sense in those Arab wanderers of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman horsemen of the northern marches, "true" nomads in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flocks

another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may reecho with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a <u>chaykhana</u> where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (<u>tawli</u> in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

roadside <u>shaykhana</u> between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>shaykhana</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowanduz and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year 231
approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that 241
planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques [251] known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is 256
ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashira) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlokan, and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to [465] pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" 361
agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along 342

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[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

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a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community [162] was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354] indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings meager. [312] Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 366 village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] [346] the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417 of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231 smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342 animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361 The "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowanduz district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The 342 kotchir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system of values is always expressed in terms of money. [437]

The town of Rowandus, occupying the sloping top of a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. At a steeper point of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (jama'a al-kabir), the garage, and two chaykhanas. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town. 361 [366]

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazar will 347

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Attention might be directed to the land of Rowanduz itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriya), private (tapu), and religious endowment (waqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here. [727]

It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economies of the Rowanduz district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion. 121 186 [123] [651]

The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious. 121

CHAPTER IV

HOUSE, DRESS, AND DIET

The town of Rowanduz, aside from its government buildings and bazar, contains some 800 houses. The four mosques, and the club, the only remaining specialized constructions, will be discussed in later sections, and the house itself, with other material features of daily life, such as diet and clothing, may be treated here. The town has three general divisions, the first largely unoccupied, the second containing both shops and dwellings, and the third almost wholly residential. It would be incorrect to say that building has been completely without reference to any overall plan, for, although there has certainly been no conscious attempt to build according to any preconceived design, Rowanduz, with its specialized bazar surrounding the principal mosque and its lanes of houses, some of them cut at right angles to the main thoroughfare, follows certain very generalized notions of the constitution of towns elsewhere. Any construction, however, has been greatly conditioned by the land, because beneath the scanty topsoil there are hard, irregular crags of rock, and both houses and streets have out of necessity adapted themselves to their contours. There has been little attempt, particularly in the absence of any but the most burdensome means, to level or to build up the

irregularities of the slope, and the general process has been one of building around or avoiding them. It might also be remembered that this is a new town, built up since the destruction of the old in the valley in 1917. 361

The streets and lanes are unpaved, their surfaces the rough face of the rock, resembling in most cases a hard, cobblestone pavement. As many of them are precipitous, accidents, particularly at night, are not uncommon, and in the winter of 1950 two persons suffered broken limbs by losing their footing. There is a "main thoroughfare," a central artery of travel to which most lanes lead, corresponding in part to the street leading through the bazar. On reaching the top of the bluff by the steep, winding automobile road from the valley, two streets branch out around the serai and join together just before the bazar to form the principal street and center. Where the bazar merges with the upper residential section, two lanes, more important than others, divide to skirt the hill which dominates this upper area and join again above the town. Along the streets, the open spaces between the houses are often lined with fences, either of rubble or of interwoven branches, usually enclosing a garden. The lots left vacant are either barren soil, such as the "brickyard" noticed above, or covered with tough, long grass and scrub vegetation. A number of trees grow unattended along the edges of the cliffs, but almost all others are confined to the gardens and yards of private dwellings. 363 351 361 [137]

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargala and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the uppermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out water-courses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

Two Pizhder warriors from the agha's bodyguard. These men are regarded as personal retainers and therefore they rank higher than serfs. Each man has his own horse and rifle

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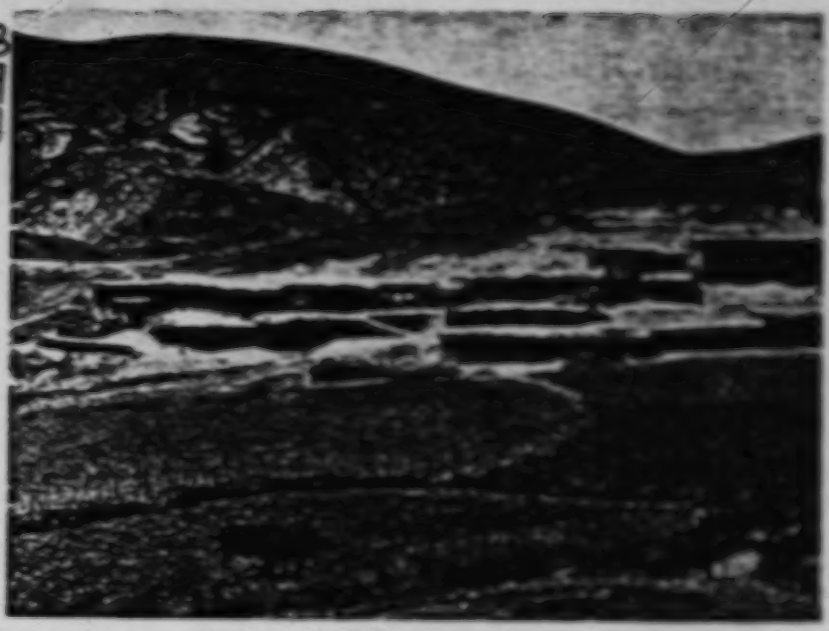

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Tejuosmo.

216 Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be kept for
[illegible], but is pressed by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the city in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2345).

562 Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

491 The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an ajiri or rajiri[?]. He had no need to
525 live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sukiranci on the Bandima plateau. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not
[illegible] reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adibi's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sukiranci. It was said that she owned "many villages and womenswear". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Lundi[?], a manager "Sukiki", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tejuosmo, Bakoum, Bergala and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

The village scene

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Tsgaroto

owner of the village land, the ground to be farmed and some useful soil, some stony or worse to cultivate the mountain[8]. Tenants owned their seeds, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 30% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village council[9]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 30% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[10] gives 10% of the wheat crop, wheat and barley-plus free for grazing, house and eggs. Lund[11] states 30% of the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 70% of the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, 1918-1922, the Land Settlement Commission was established to "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive programme" of surveying for the purpose of assessing systematically all cultivated land and finally "settling and register proprietary rights"[12]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the district's courtyard at Sellan during my stay there.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *rešmâl*[1], the easily erected dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Fröhlich[2] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of existence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the *kal* hut, *kâpân*[3], only erected for a single summer's habitation, and the permanent house, *odeh* or *mal*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Topzawa and Rabzewa at the beginning of June when the summer, *hâwîn*, really begins. They are erected on the shelf[4] harvested winter fields and on slopes in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 3 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones rank around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin saplings reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[5], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (In June '54 several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house. [342]

It is said that in the trading centre of Urmiâh, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, 346
which families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had 321
no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. They maintain that "in Mergâwar" 345
families are erected in the fruit gardens"[6], but does not further describe them.

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat 342
clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains 334
near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, blind, the walls of the houses are built

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23 -- 4/4/1958]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

a ledge forming the exterior edge of each step. These steps are exceptionally high and uneven[1]. Some of the houses in Sakhmani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of unfired clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. Where the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The two-storeyed houses had a staircase which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a house made of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargalu, incidentally its most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of women's life within the four different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential frame surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Ta'fiz's property in the village of Topawwa will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Balkhe. The two urban environments, the "educated" and "uneducated" were found within the walls of a single house, that of my interpreter's family at Sakhmani. The picture of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, inhabited by women representing both states.

Sheikh Taffiz's house at Topawwa is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, wife, 40, three sons, 18, 15 and 6, two daughters, 17 and 8, a daughter, 12, of another wife now returned to her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 20, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 20 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a tenant of a room that had no entrance into the house was a poor widow with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 15—18 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Taffiz's house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay close to a slightly sloping, unlevelled piece of ground on the outskirts of the village, a little above it. A watercourse, which even in the hottest summer never ran dry, passed alongside the back wall of the property, and water from it was diverted through the wall into a cemented basin, about 2×1×0.75 metres, lying in a small garden, with an shallow under the wall.

The property was divided into three contiguous zones: the family house, the farm and the guest wing. The family house was orientated like an ancient house with court and hall; houses oriented a court. Four high, irregular steps led from the court to the dwelling house, which, on account of the

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taiba's property. Tegawra.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the high-road was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing. A guest wing is typical of the finer houses in Kurdish villages and is understood by outsiders from the whole village as the right. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Bertram, Edgcumb and Leigh[9]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the eastern highway that passed by the property to the village of Kalawra. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family living room were steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a hujra. The roof to this was supported by five columns of hollow, but variously shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hewed wooden blocks inserted as

[Text Continues Top of P 32--Analyst]

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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

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In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 55 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

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Like the Sheikh property at Topawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

341 342 361 369 [312] [364]

off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though no connexion with the family section of the house[29]. Along the wall lining the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a sunken, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it; in addition a water container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small disrobing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaimani's good and well-cleaned municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *hayvān*—between, that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the newer part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was squeezed

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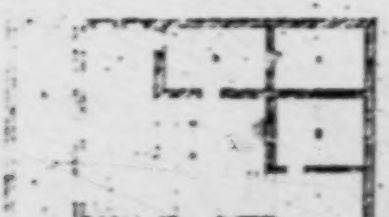

Fig. 30. Ground-plan of family house, Sulaimani.
Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hayvān*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store rooms; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, *hammām*; f: latrine; g: guest room. (I.T. fig. 20).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[39]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunk led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent transept, closed off by mats[39], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

764 cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rôle is a completely passive one. The ceremonies must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth. Neither knifes nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the home to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the ceremonies. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother: *xalf*), [369] accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl [765] were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of 765 the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults [515] is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of [301] the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

Fig. 95. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Topzawa.

764
342
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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet of Mosul: Mosul (35% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (52%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas*[1] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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[1] [Territorial-administrative units, with vilayets sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.—Analyst]

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

INTRODUCTION

621
• [36] Scattered over the South Kurdish countryside are a great number of small, compact villages, essentially similar in their physical aspects, yet highly variegated with respect to their composition and organization, ranging from extended lineage organizations to fully developed feudal organization. Thus, on the village level, there is a great diversity of forms of social organization. Yet the *culture* of the area seems essentially uniform, and these alternative principles of organization are universally known. In the recent history of some villages, there has been a rapid, fundamental change from one type of social organization to another. In the following, an attempt will be made to discuss these various types of organization as they express themselves in the actual power hierarchy of individuals in the village. The discussion will thus be directed towards discovering what types of social categories exist, what actual powers each category entails, and which of these categories are found in harmonious conjunction — since some of the categories that belong in different basic frameworks of social organization are, as might be expected, mutually exclusive in any local community.

177 It seems probable that a fluid and complex situation of this type is characteristic of societies which lie in the shatter zone between larger culture areas — in this case, between the Arab, Persian, and Turkish. Such a location produces familiarity with various competing normative systems, principles of organization, and power hierarchies. This familiarity on the part of the villager leads to attempts at

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

stable, and official administration, directed from Baghdad, grew in scope and progessively enlarged its area of effective control.

Such then is the background of the villages where the following material was collected. They are primarily tenant villages in the Suleimani valley, or villages dominated by freeholding Hamawand farmers. However, certain aspects of local social structure become clear only by comparison with other situations — particularly those found in the *Jaf* areas — or by historical comparisons and deductions. The data on Jaf organization was obtained from a limited number of informants on short visits to various villages. For historical material, C. J. Rich's accounts (op.cit) have been found most useful.

I have tried to avoid bringing conditions and factors in the towns of Suleimani, Chemchemal, Halebja, etc. into the picture. The numerous «Western» influences in these centers are extremely complicated and difficult to evaluate. In the intricacies of the class and near-caste system, differential contacts and reactions due to sub-cultures are indeed complex. The rural areas, on the other hand, show greater uniformity in patterns: the tribal areas are organized and separable, and the tenant villagers, in their small, endogamous communities, have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism. There is a popular story illustrating this localism: A donkey belonging to one of the tenant farmers in a village ran away; so the farmer followed it, to catch it. The donkey climbed up the hillside, far away from the village, but the farmer did not want to lose it. So he followed it high up into the mountains, never turning, and finally close to the mountain top he caught it. On turning around he saw below him the whole beautiful Shahr-i-zur plain, in which his own village lay. The peasant gasped and exclaimed: «I never knew the world was so vast!»

What goes on in the towns belongs, as far as most villagers are concerned, to a quite separate world, and it seemed both in the field and in working up the notes valid to separate off the Kurdish *countryside* as the area of study. But due to diversity even in this area, any attempt at giving a conventional anthropological description of «the culture» of «the society» must fail. Each of the compact, widely separated little villages shows characteristics of its own, local

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

are members during their lives. The suffix *-aza*, literally «child of» or «born of» indicates removal by one descending generation from this group; repetition of the term indicates two generations' removal. Thus son's son is *kurraza*, while FaBrDaDa, a frequent substitute wife when a closer relative is unavailable, is *amoaza-aza*. Ascending generations are categorized by constructing similar bilateral units with ego's father or grandfather in the position of ego. They may thus be described in several ways, according to the type of relation one whishes to stress. E. g. FaFaBr may be *bra-i-bapirem*, brother-of-my-grandfather, or more commonly *mam-i-baokim*, uncle-of-my-father. 601

So much for the structure of the family and household. The village community, in which these activities take place and relations exist, will be described more fully at a later point, (p. 101 ff). Suffice it here to say that in physical layout it is a very compact, small unit, located close to or within the village agricultural lands. Usually placed on a hill, one will tend to find the un-irrigated fields of beans and lentils above the village, higher up in the valleyside. Irrigated tobacco and vegetable plots, where such are found, generally depend on the same source of water as the village itself, and are thus found close around and below it; while the dryland grainfields usually cover the flats in the valley bottom. The village grazing grounds may be quite large, stretching from the fallow fields in the valley bottom to the top of the ridge which divides this valley from the next. And the limits of the village lands are the limits within which most life activities take place. 361 •

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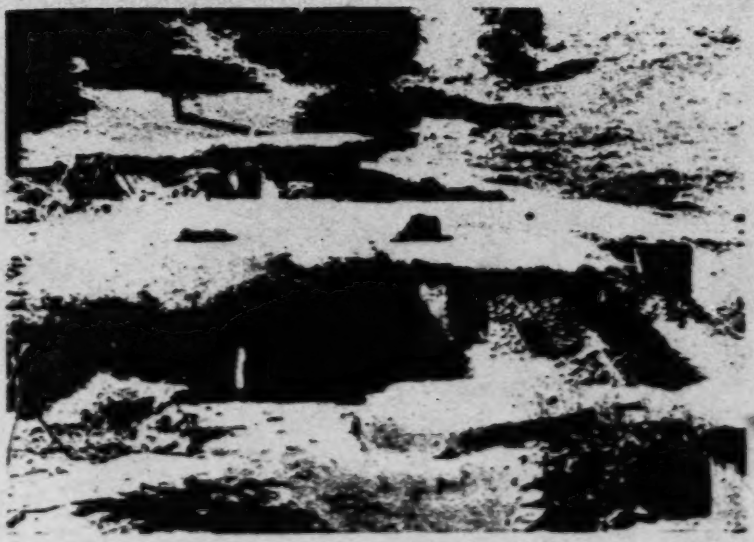
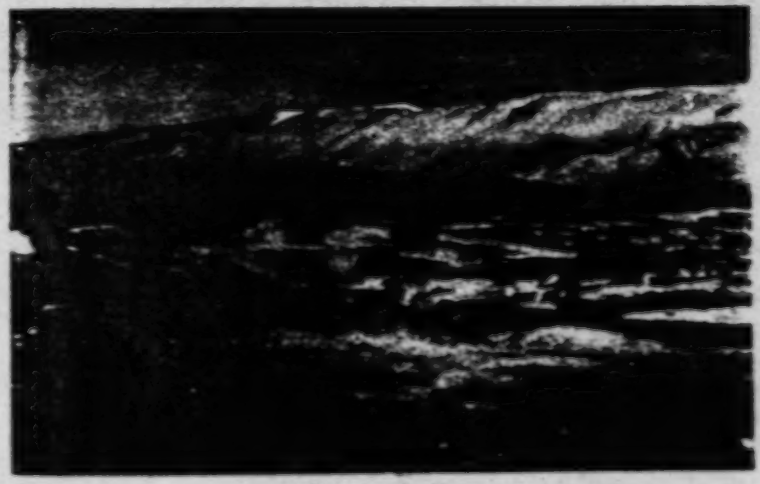


Houses in a tenant village (three households).

361



A Hamawand village.

[opposite p. 96 -- Analyst]

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter V.

The village scene

THE VILLAGE

The village, in its physical aspects, is fairly uniform over most of the South Kurdish area. The houses are built of mud, or rock in a mud mortar; the roofs are flat, held up by horizontal rafters — the most valuable item in the construction. Due to the nature of the architecture and the small size of available timber, the rooms of the houses tend to be quite small; pillars and posts are never used to support a longer span of roof. A second story on the building is rarely found. Frequently, there is no door with which to close the entrance, and never any glass in the windows. The windows are small and high up on the wall, the small room is always rather dark. There is no smoke-hole, the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor finds its way out through the entrance or the windows. The rooms are utterly devoid of furniture — the only contents of the room to which a visitor is shown is a tea samovar and some small glasses placed on an in-set shelf, and a roll of small rugs, mostly of felt, which are spread out on the floor to be sat on.

The number of rooms to a house varies, but is never very great, and must of course give accomodation to donkeys, cattle, and perhaps a horse, as well as to the people. To each house belongs a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall. In winter, the house gives only

342 partial protection from the icy gales that sweep down from the Zagros mountains. In the warm weather, the family moves out on the flat rooftop after sundown, primarily to benefit from the cool breeze off the mountains.

• 361 Wherever a hill is available — which means nearly everywhere in Kurdish territory — the village is placed on a steep slope. That way, the flat rooftop of one house forms a kind of front terrace for the house above it in the hill, and the families tend to use the roof of the house below them for their own purposes, and so on down the line. As indicated by this, the village forms a very compact unit — maybe originally for defence purposes; certainly in part to save trouble by making double use of all walls and partitions in house construction. Frequently, the village is placed in the slope below a cool spring; only in the low country does it depend on wells for water. A common feature is a small pool, fed directly from the spring and protected from pollution by a low stone wall. Around the pool stand tall, shady trees, from which no branch must be broken, and in it one frequently finds large fish, fed by the villagers, which similarly must not be molested. The pool serves as a place for ritual washing and a favorite place of prayer.

621 Although considerable respect is shown for the sanctity of the home, many household activities must necessarily become public, especially in the half-year when they center around the rooftops. A certain everyday pattern of community life thus emerges in the cool of the evening. It requires much cooperation and bustle to direct the returning animals to their respective homes in the evening, with shouting and chasing of stray goats over rooftops and along partitions, away from the grainbins and waterskins and infants. Later, each family gathers around the evening meal, and then there is visiting back and forth, news being swapped, a glow in the dark from the fires where the tea is brewing, and a steady murmur of conversation. All through the night, the clamor and activity continues, with braying donkeys, crying babies, dogs chasing cats, cows shifting and groaning.

Though the patterns of each village differ, and any one of them may appear to be only utter confusion, there are of course, regulari-

G14 The taifa in turn is frequently divided into subsections called tira (branch), though in many contexts the two terms appear to be interchangeable. The Mallasherifi taifa referred to before are for instance subdivided into three tira each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Malla Sherif. These sons (I did not obtain their names) are supposed to have settled respectively in Nerga, Gelala and Rust, and these villages remain the centres of their respective tira to the present day. Thus the Agha of Rust is overlord of a number of villages by virtue of the fact that he is head of his tira. The Shevdini taifa is similarly subdivided into three tira, the names being given to me as Badr Agha, Laka Hasani and Hamadi Bahakhr Agha - these being presumably the names of the ancestral founders of the lineage. On the other hand some persons at least did not seem to be clearly aware of this subdivision and on being asked the name of their tira would reply "Shevdin". Moreover I was assured by one informant that there is no difference between taifa and tira, but that the one is bigger than the other. This is I think an accurate description. Tira is a type of kinship group fairly frequently encountered by anthropologists. Usually termed lineage, but more aptly described by Firth as ramage, it differs only from the clan group in scale and political cohesion. With the loosening of political ties the distinction between the two types of grouping tends to disappear. The Agha of Rust for instance claimed to me that he was head of his own taifa and as such of equal rank to Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash. Sheikh Mohammad of course did not admit this claim but maintained that Mir Sadik, Agha of Rust was his subject.

From this description and the examples quoted it is clear that the terms ashiret, taifa and tira fall into the normal anthropological classifications of tribe, clan and lineage (ramage), with the single abnormality that the clans are in this case endogamous, or largely so.

Inheritance of Land Tenure

• 36/ The settlements for the most part consist of small villages (gund) scattered along the valleys. The term gund really includes both the houses and the cultivation surrounding them and may at times prove confusing. The gund of Nanparian for instance contains two houses only, that of Dergala has over a hundred. Every gund is the 'property' of a landlord (Agha). If the Agha owns only one gund as in 621 423 the case of Hamid Amin Agha of Nanparian he will live in it himself; if

*See C.Daryll Forde - Fission and Accretion in the Patrilineal Clans of a semi-Bantu community in Southern Nigeria J.R.A.I. Vol. 68; 314,
R.Firth - We, the Tikopia;370,371.
582. Note however that owing to the rule of cross-cousin marriage, Kurdish taifa and tira tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

622 landlord of the soil - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village Guest House. As we shall see later these two functions are closely interrelated.

000 Social Organisation Areas other than Balik

As explained earlier my information for groups other than the Balik must be treated with reserve. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

621 177 Area B. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as the Surchi and the Khushnao were originally organised on much the same lines as described above but that owing to their relatively long period of contact with an external administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relation with their tenants. The villages moreover lack the clan homogeneity noticeable among the Balik.

621 Area C. Mention has already been made of the principle settled tribes of this area, the Dizai and the Girdi. With the Dizai as recorded by Say the organisation is feudal rather than tribal, since the village Aghas are not of the same kin group as their tenants. I was told that "all the Dizai call each other amras" implying, if true, that the whole tribe consists of one taifa only. With the Girdi the position appears to be somewhat different. Jamil Agha, their paramount chief, is himself a Girdi but is a townsman in habit and holds himself very much aloof from his followers.

• 361 312 In its technological aspects the plains culture differs markedly from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important sociological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are larger than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites (Bahrika for instance) have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Nomads

621 Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organisation of tribes such as the Herki differs in many respects from that of the settled tribes. In terminology the term hahila appears to correspond to ashiret and khel to taifa but the identity may not be exact. The term hoba corresponds to gund and implies a small settlement of tents in one location. This last term is also used by the settled peoples. Those among the Shwdizi

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land Scarcity, House Construction and Kinship

311 The indications are that land resources are for the most part as fully utilized as present technical equipment permits; the amount of 433 marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement is small. Except on the scarland country above Khalan where conditions are too severe, wheat is cultivated wherever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shelter permits subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried far up onto the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the food supplies grown are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

• 261 Land scarcity anyway seems the most plausible explanation for the 342 very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages 62/ are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible 512 agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes as at Balash and at Bayat the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the cohesion of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village. As can be seen from photograph No. 3 the houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is no exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconvenience of such close proximity it could hardly be otherwise. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which complicates any effort on the part of the Agha to reorganise the system of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

261 One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole 342 agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the limitations of water supply radically affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. What follows applies only to the villages of the

[illegible]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Rowanduz area, and approximately also to area 3 of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area 6. 361 ● 342

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarised as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main door faces downhill and leads out onto the roof of the house immediately below but this practice varies. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual; in such cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, these are very rarely any shutters. The fire is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin brushwood about the thickness of pea-sticks. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a slurry made from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly rigid floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight lengths of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common earth. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the deficiency of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Sheikhs where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be erected from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of mudbrick instead of stone and plaster noted above. 342 352 415 342 331 462 342

Dijkhuizen G-9 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

Halabja, the largest town in Iraqi Kurdistan with an entirely Kurdish population, [illegible]
[illegible] Passengers [illegible]

438
• 341

[p. 383(A)]

Highlanders G-3 (no date) 1945 MR.11 Kurd MR.11
Iraq

• 361 Sulaimaniya is the chief town in Iraqi
349 Kurdistan, in that it is the largest town in the Kurdish area whose population is entirely Kurdish. Other towns exist in Iraqi Kurdistan, but the larger ones—Kirkuk, Erbil and Kifri—are inhabited by as many Turcomans as Kurds, although the tribes around are Kurdish. Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains, and do not take easily to the life of a townsman.

175 In this they resemble their distant
178 relatives the Pathans of Afghanistan and north-western India, who, in the early migrations of Aryan-speaking peoples, penetrated into the highlands east of the Persian plateau while the Kurds spread westwards into what is now north-western Iran, eastern Turkey and north-eastern Iraq. Here, in secluded mountain valleys, they preserved many ancient characteristics which their fellow-migrants, settling

in

[p. 383(B)]

• 361

Encampment of nomad Kurds, who, moving yearly in near frontier regulations which bar the way of their old summer grazing grounds in Iran, are being gradually forced to abandon their wandering life

B-W3

Nomad Kurs in area of black canvas goat-hair tents with bamboo walls—surrounded by domestic animals

Lilliphoto G-9 (no date) [Pat MA11 Kind MA11
Iraq

221
[491]
[492]

Complete camp of a semi-nomadic tribe and its flocks on the Baghdad-Basra Road, constructed under British supervision in 1936, in Mesopotamia's typical semi-desert grazing grounds. Cows and an ass[illegible]

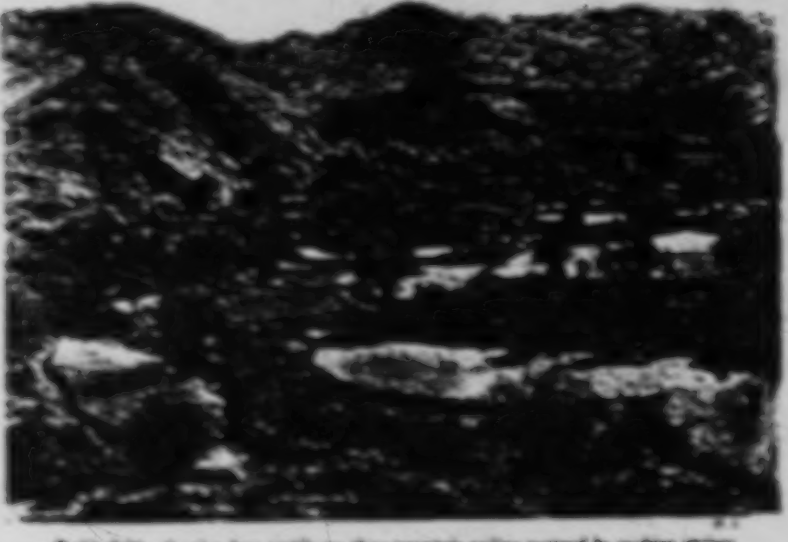
[361]

Encampment of tents occupied by semi-nomadic tribal camp from their villages with flocks on summer

• 36

View in the Amadiya Pass, one of the villages in which the semi-nomadic Kurds live, and learn to cooperate with the Arabs. A few villagers remain to tend the crops

311



Pushti Kuh, showing how people use these mountain valleys watered by gushing springs

3 Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date) 1984 M1 Middle East
Turkey MB1
Kurd MA11

The definition of 'mother tongue' allows room for classifying as Turks persons brought up to speak Turkish, who might in some contexts consider themselves as belonging to a minority group. Some private estimates, for example, put the Kurdish minority at a considerably higher figure than that given above.

The number of non-Muslims was in 1945 only 298,000 of a total population of 18,790,000.[1] There is also a large minority, which may be 4 million or even larger, of Shiī Muslims,[2] who are very definitely regarded as a distinct group by the majority of uneducated Sunnī villagers. But the population of Turkey is sufficiently homogeneous to form a united nation in the Western sense, without the problem of violent internal antagonisms which face so many nation-states that have come into being in the last thirty-five years.

The Kurds

The Kurds[3] are Turkey's largest minority and the only one to have given serious trouble to the Republic. Though an increasing number are settling down in permanent villages, the Kurds have been a mountain-dwelling, pastoral people. There have been demands from time to time for a Kurdish national state, but it is doubtful whether the majority of the Kurdish villagers and nomads have any notion of such an overall organization, and it is unlikely that any Turkish Kurd seriously entertains hope of establishing national autonomy. On the other hand, they are a tough and independent people, and though it is often said that the two or three revolts[4] which the Republic has had to face have been due to religious factors, it seems much more likely that the Kurds objected, as any independent warlike people do, to outside political control. Although the main Kurdish areas are now peaceful and administered just as any other region in Turkey, the Government is sensitive on the question, fearing that the USSR may attempt to encourage incipient Kurdish nationalism and use it to divide and weaken Turkey.

Immigration

The spread of the idea of a nation as a culturally homogeneous territorial unit causes very serious problems in all areas of mixed population. Turkey sought to rid herself of her Greek Orthodox minority by arranging, through the Treaty of Lausanne, to exchange them with Greece for the Muslim minority in Greece. In the 1920's, about 1½ million Greeks left

[1] Ibid. [2] See above, p. 33. [3] See above, p. 58.
[4] These occurred in 1925 (the most serious one), in 1930, and in 1937.

4c Wilson G-2 (no date) 1927 MHI Iraq MHI
Kurd MAH

I K 438 439 173 782 539

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mewali quinquan and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Lamsa, a great friend [illegible] of the Nestorian church.

cradle (a more or less perennial necessity for this class), and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations of this type[A] are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to pay more detailed attention to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and landowners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked on three sides by the building with the fourth left open, and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of the house and high brick walls on all sides. These courtyards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it, watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the outside windows of the first storey consist only of small, unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

[A] i.e. houses of the poorer townspeople. -Analyst]

irregularities of the slope, and the general process has been one of building around or avoiding them. It might also be remembered that this is a new town, built up since the destruction of the old in the valley in 1917. 361

The streets and lanes are unpaved, their surfaces the rough face of the rock, resembling in most cases a hard, cobblestone pavement. As many of them are precipitous, accidents, particularly at night, are not uncommon, and in the winter of 1950 two persons suffered broken limbs by losing their footing. There is a "main thoroughfare," a central artery of travel to which most lanes lead, corresponding in part to the street leading through the bazar. In reaching the top of the bluff by the steep, winding automobile road from the valley, two streets branch out around the serai and join together just before the bazar to form the principal street and center. Where the bazar merges with the upper residential section, two lanes, more important than others, divide to skirt the hill which dominates this upper area and join again above the town. Along the streets, the open spaces between the houses are often lined with fences, either of rubble or of interwoven branches, usually enclosing a garden. The lots left vacant are either barren soil, such as the "brickyard" noticed above, or covered with tough, long grass and scrub vegetation. A number of trees grow unattended along the edges of the cliffs, but almost all others are confined to the gardens and yards of private dwellings. 363 351 361 [37]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

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Fig. 16. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams, Urmia.

of this, with a kind of timber frame consisting of short, dumpy-like, wooden beams placed horizontally in the stone walls through not jointed together. The stones in the wall have either no binding agent or clay is used as mortar. In the newer houses cement has been adopted. The interior walls in some of the rooms are covered by a clay or gypsum layer applied by the women, which is afterwards polished with flat stones. It appears like a thick white oil paint. In villages and in the older houses in Suleimani, on the other hand, the walls are made of mud bricks, still. The newer houses in Suleimani are built of burnt brick. In the villages the bricks are first formed from the clay available on the building site, mixed with water and thoroughly kneaded by the feet of men. Water for the kneading process is obtained by diverting an irrigation channel to the building site, or fetched in goatskins which are hung in pairs on the back of a donkey. Pebbles for the foundation, and for the rear wall if the house is built out of the side of a hill, are also transported by donkeys, being carried in basket-shaped frames. The kneaded mass of clay is formed into the individual brick in a rectangular wooden frame, in the same way as we form new pans. The brick is put out on the hillside to dry for some days without much attention being paid as to whether the surface is really flat. After the foundation of the wall has been

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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The house now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the city with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small writing-shop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this house consisted of two wives, 35 and 30, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 20, 15, 8, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters, two youngsters, 20, the others 18, 17, 16, 13 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Personally, then, 14 persons lived in the house.

Like the Sheikh property at Tagawra, the house was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of unburnt clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong arm for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the little entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth.

There was a man in Rowandiz who had great influence, Sayyid Mousai Effendi Zhkrian. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir effendi her knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the gelmeqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'uf and put him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowandiz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and drinking. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I beg to give up being mukhtar and Ma'uf effendi was given the post again.

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the gelmeqam to give me full authority, and Rowandiz did indeed become clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Ala any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling me them the proper measures. I covered the tip of the stream which gives Rowandiz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowandiz, Ewelakan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the gelmeqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post.

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowandiz. I became a darvish and a khalifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, colonial capital. From the side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built not over the lower-lying field—a latrine, adequate, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe over the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

342 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the latrine's waste-pipe over the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who have visual rites, washed themselves, collected vessels, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, gourd cans or goat's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for their dues, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to draw the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

343 The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room, looking towards the court, represented the entrance, three-metre square. The mud-plastered earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the eastern back wall of this sitting room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

[text continues top of p. 34 -- Analyst]

[M] ...wages from the work on the Dokan dam), water vessels, sacks, glasses, and utensils, lighters, tools, brushes, tin openers, and grass plaits.

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[342] [B42] A quite small house in the village of Bekka has been chosen as an example of the home owned by most of the plain peasant women. In it dwelt a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it disturbed, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was an oblong shape, so that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and other fruits stored in the way of kishmish utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of breastwork at the entrance side, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a half box.

[344] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a fairly peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was split upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cellar—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Grass is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable on a pallet on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the saucepan, circular iron sheet, set on stone, on which the bread sheets, cake, were baked were placed on the fire. The modern box-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or in immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, open-like washing place with numerous facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—home in especially in a wash. There, in small houses, built houses, made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fresh water. The latter in the latest was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where was slept on bedrooms devoid of sheets, was at night closed by bulky branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though not connected with the family section of the house[34]. Along the wall facing the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a narrow, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. To the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it, in addition a water connection under which a jug could be fit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Tripoteno. The latrine also had three taps in all from which Sebastenon's good and well-drained municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were nicely built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of keyhole—between, also opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the corner part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and foodstuffs generally were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was opened

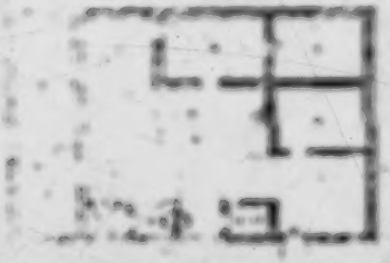

Fig. 35. Ground-plan of family house, Sebastenon
Scale 1:200
a central living room, b–c side, b, sleeping rooms, d store-room, e cooking and baking room in flat-roofed kitchen, f latrine, g guest room. Cf. fig. 34.

representation of the "uneducated" urban woman, as fully as it did that of the woman in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a conditional conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

An example of a new house intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one erected by a young newly-married couple, both fellaheen workers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's house: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bedroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with families, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father or members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide the women entering the women's world of the home, the man the man's world outside the furnishings would be included in the wardrobe, flexible, movable pieces.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing on large a number of family members in a house with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

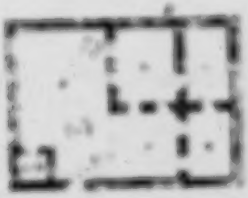

Fig. 11, 12, 13, pp. 39 and 40. Ground plans of house for newly-married couple. Reconstruction. Scale 1:200.
a, central living room; b, room; b, sleeping room; c, store room; d, cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e, thresholds; f, f, latrines; g, guest room.

There is no electricity in Rowanduz, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or chaykhanas open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Ashi Shaykhi, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of its relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jindian, whose father's

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

a hillside, the roofs of the lower three serving as
porches for those above. The population of this community
was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house
is single, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without
glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an
indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings
meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This
village boasts no specialized constructions and is without
shops. Larger villages, such as Butaz or Dyaus, have a
number of buildings for special purposes, for example,
the police post and the Protestant church in Dyaus, and a
definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards
of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences
of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the
smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic
animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during
cold weather, and in some localities in the area cows are
used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. The
"agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the
Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often,
but in the Rawandan district it is possible to find isolated
farm settlements of as many than one or two houses. The
Fulbe, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a
black goat-hair tent flanked with rugs, in general appearance
not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of
these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer
guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique design.

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system of values is always expressed in terms of money. [437]

The town of Ruwenkuru, occupying the sloping top of a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. As a steeper part of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazaar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (Jumah Misikiti), the garage, and two storehouses. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town. [364]

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazaar will 361 397

CHAPTER IV

HOUSE, HOUSE, AND HOUSE

The town of Rowanduz, aside from its government buildings and bazar, contains some 800 houses. The four mosques, and the club, the only remaining specialized constructions, will be discussed in later sections, and the house itself, with other material features of daily life, such as diet and clothing, may be treated here. The town has three general divisions, the first largely unoccupied, the second containing both shops and dwellings, and the third almost wholly residential. It would be incorrect to say that building has been completely without reference to any overall plan, for, although there has certainly been no conscious attempt to build according to any preconceived design, Rowanduz, with its specialized [344] • being surrounding the principal mosque and its lanes of houses, some of them cut at right angles to the main thoroughfare, follows certain very generalized outlines of the constitution of towns elsewhere. Any construction, [175] however, has been greatly conditioned by the land, because beneath the sunny topsoil there are hard, irregular crags of rock, and both houses and streets have out of necessity adapted themselves to their contours. There has been little attempt, particularly in the element of any but the most businesslike sense, to level or to build up the

CHAPTER III

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

These forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one incomparable, the two others extremely

The incomparable form is the black tent, *reshaP*, the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, and only to detail by Fridtjof and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of existence as well as of life.

The two variants of the customary form are the *kal* hut, *kâpâ*, only erected for a single summer's habitation, and the permanent house, *xânî* or *mal*. *Kâpâ* huts are put up around the villages of Tuqurra and Bakuwa at the beginning of June when the summer labour usually begins. They are erected on the district's harvested winter fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in plateaux. The framework of the *kal* has consists of 6, 8 or 9 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones piled around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin poles reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls*, but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of door scenes. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished *kal* huts were shown down to these two villages). The huts do not have flooring or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent homes, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house.

It is said that in the trading centre of Tutmilla, higher up in the mountains near the Iranian or Iraq, which families move out in the hot plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. (Say sometime that "in Shaqlawa families are erected in the fruit gardens"), but does not further describe them.

The permanent home is built of various materials, but is everywhere settled in shape, with a flat clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the gabled roof of the Turks). In the mountains near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, [illegible] the walls of the houses are built

[SEE CONTINUATION ON P. 28 --- 6/10/1997]

[P. 31]

in terms of the three questions just noted above. While in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This ability, which has a moderate degree of realization, does not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of a company may visit each other and in other ways express their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their homes. Just so in Rowanduz friends are to be found among those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by joking. A man can always have a joke at the expense of an inferior, but never the reverse. "Ahmed, you do business like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a gathering in a <u>chaykhana</u>, causing general laughter. The person in question could only share his host, laughing at himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to insult in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the village where almost all belong to the same social stratum, think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

advise or scold their employers.

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalil Sayabbandi, an aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalil Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the former town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsman there is no participation in

route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at its rear. Rowanduz proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basic population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Rowanduz was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Rowanduz as an administrative and mercantile center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

62 because to a much larger number, which explains what may at
Sal first appear as abnormally high numbers. To these have been added the figures for vessels, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villages
Marine Delta (the central district)				
The town of Kawaloa	3,103	3,103	6,206	
The outlying	8,013	7,098	15,110	92
Point	4,047	3,766	7,813	70
Surveyed	3,305	2,761	6,066	-
Unsurveyed	-	-	3,078	93
Open Water	5,375	5,378	10,753	90
			48,706	
Vessels	2,427	2,123	4,550	
			54,256	

The numbers given for vessels may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less accessible than the villager to the census-taker, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the tax-collector or recruiting officer.

293 Sal The writer of the count—outside in Turkish, as opposed to internal, the village—must give no pause. The term "vessel" has a variety of applications, and, in the MIAIA Sect, is given the classical sense in those area numbering of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman hinterland of the northern marches, "true" vessels in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flocks

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and herds. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the matter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted to move the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were once nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Medieval days but a generic term for rough mountaineers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the hostile, with their mobility and firepower (the sound of the Middle East euphemisms weapons to a much greater extent than the agriculturist), survived until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with nomadic groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

[1]Nowbakht, 1951, p. 234.

lightly. There are, to be sure, a number of pietists, old men or youthful fanatics, centered around the ruling who insist on the strict observance of the demands of the Quran and condemn those things which have grown up beyond its scope, such as the shaving of holy men or the use of charms. Those who seem to pay the least attention to religion are members of the government elite, but even they are hardly unbelievers. What is perhaps most important is the fact that Islam is a part of the daily round rather than something specially relegated to a single day of the week. Unlike the perfectionism of Christianity of the New Testament, it is a practical faith which makes few demands upon its worshippers which are incongruous with the way of the world. It is thus that one rarely, if ever, finds a person in Rwanda who is having difficulties with his religion. Those who neglect their daily prayers or fast are assumed to make amends for this failing sooner or later and it is thought that all will be well with them. It cannot be legitimately said that the townspeople, as previously, are closer to their religion than those of the cities, for, insofar as one has been able to observe, the urban populations of the Arab Middle East are just as rigorous, if not fanatic, in their worship as those in the country. The religious complex of Rwanda, in its multiplicity of aspects, constitutes much to daily life. It does not constitute a logically consistent whole, but is rather a loose aggregate of many beliefs and practices whose origins, whether they are Islamic or

[16].

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be established below relation, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish women". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigative material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and pre-tribal environment, but there two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village sphere can be socially divided into two zones, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the chiefs' houses in Tirgavera, Shahida, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant houses in Tirgavera, Bilkoma, Hilkoe Bostana and Nalbiba. The palm offshoot's house I check in at the first house of Hilkoe Bostana was in between the two.

The pre-tribal camp environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban-urban) I first met with in the Iraqi Line capital, Sulaimaniyah, but also in Erbil, Kirkuk, Dohuk, Zakho and Amadiya. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group while the daughter had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent storm on June 6th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the subterranean lower home on open space outside the one above it. The accommodations consists of numerous rooms lodged for work and living-out rooms, on the bottom of stone-and-mud construction. The average two storey-home rises to level the ground. The subterranean and ground-floor

to discover in the dining room or bathroom to manifestation of the home's economic standard, even kept in this room, which then became more a treasury than a familial room. The articles of value are locked in them were carried on the person to the home of guests. Wealth was being on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their unluxuriously bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home rises also to interest in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1]; brothers, a married couple withdrawn to one of the other rooms. There was no embarrassing where going to bed or lying down to rest on the unfastened mattress. The custom kept to the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the indoor of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil that covered the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be yours and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the example of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not to the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had entered, via Europe, in the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it meant a day dress which was kept as clean as was easy to keep. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed to enter to wash a multiplicity more, and more, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The general or lower washing of the body whereby one washes a disadvantage more, prior to prayer, is hardly ground hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time natural had been relieved, simply described by any conception as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablutions, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or washing toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" does had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in as large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a few primitive lamps and a quantity of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed on a bamboo screen of the family circle, where the last "alcohol lamp", whether on the wall, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. In lighting it was gently and more inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workhouse by the light of a fire, or to work on the garden beds in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the weak light from the lamp. In the city home of the village schoolmaster, generally European elements could be found: mirrors, framed window curtains with rather coarse (only hand) on the

Fig. 24. Lane in Sulaimaniya. Left: wall of house inside. Right: wall of next house.
Fig. 25. Mud wall with entrance to sleeping room. Woman is sifting dough on a raising with Sulaimaniya.

The home was to be reviewed as a type of [illegible] background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, in the family [illegible] of any entrepreneur in Sulaimaniya. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimaniya. Although he invited us three months before the business was [illegible] one of the larger booths in the city with a comprehensive [illegible] for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, shown 46), the family in this home consisted of two wives, 31 and 27, and eleven children, (31 [illegible] five were sons: 26, 23, 9, 8 and about 4 months, and six daughters: [illegible] eldest), 25, the others 23, 17, 15, 12 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Personality data, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Tagawra, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of non-terraced houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimaniya, and looked out on an external alley between [illegible] walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with [illegible] brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that also

...of the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former lying slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though not connected with the facility section of the house[37]. Along the wall facing the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a cushion, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it, to withdraw a water container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bath-room, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bath-room was constructed in the same way as that in the Shaikh's house at Tuqueres. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaiman's genial and well-dressed counterpart water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were evenly built of pebble brick. The court-yard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small bank with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after sorting the coals. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the woman's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, the part of the house—the object, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of keyhole—between, this opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had horizontally built floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the cooler part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows giving light down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and foodstuffs generally were kept, lay behind the glass reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the gentlemen was squeezed

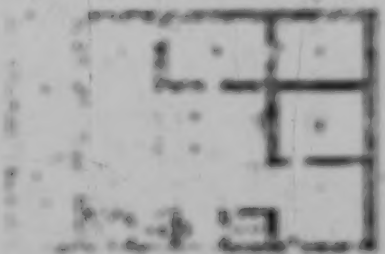

Fig. 36. Ground plan of [illegible] house, Kermanshah
Scale 1:200
A = central living room, to note its sleeping recess at one corner; B = courtyard and living room; C = flat-roofed passage; D = latrine; E = guest room; cf. fig. 34.

to between the stone wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Tripoura there was an all-weather and cooking pit built in the floor. There was skylight in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was demonstrated, also as at Tripoura, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the stone-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the shelthouse, either over the all-purpose or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a numerous iron sheets, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the kitchen and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat round placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of cheesy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasions moved down to the courtyard. As we complete the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no spell furniture, but the guest room possessed an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a crochet's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with clothes, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Enclosed in the corners stood the tins, old and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[9]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the workhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimaniyah the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a rain storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, too, with the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Tripoura, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent transept, divided off by mats[10], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A considerable contrast was evident between the extensive night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the lower half, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the home,

representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages. But was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both fellow-school teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

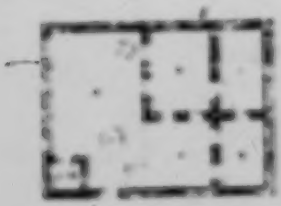

Fig. 11, 427, figs. 24 and 30. Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Mohammed. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, b: cycle, b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and bathing facilities on courtyard; e: thermometer; f: latrine; g: guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hand MA11

Edentarul and semi-sedentarul urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the house of my interpreter at Seketuri it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but some of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Seketuri bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Milk* is delivered daily from outside. Sours to be put in *mămăliță* is fetched from the *stâlp* by one of the kids, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The normal consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Lăbăr* is made specially by the husband[1] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *Lăbăr* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the *stâlp*. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *stâlp* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and cooking. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman commissioned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within one's own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

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Fig. 49. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in determining (Cf. p. 80). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 48).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

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Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawella the women even spun during their long walk to and from the orchards.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *ebil*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindle-whorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstretched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

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Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the women wear in a tent along the transverse room. This tent is narrowness behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and wraps it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from below to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 391

Loose dress from Western culture. Long nightgown with gathered sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is worn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1927. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dressing or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long sleeves, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 391 (?)

Distribution of the elements of women's dress. Within the East Greek environments dress elements very conspicuous of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress types from the West. These dress elements varied multifariously in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village environment. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, cloth or petticoat, gown or tunic, waistcoat, jacket, sarban and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also cloth cap, cloth veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and loose cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married women often disappear with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the bride impregnated with metal thread, and coarse nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 325 391 [434]

It is typical of the dress whereby that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the district's home in Tuppawa rolled out dough and baked in woollen-green brocade trousers, waistcoat of the same colour, and black tulle bride with patches of gold thread. She rolled the gold thread in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the worst and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads crowned in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn, in bed are the turban, the cloth shoulder cloth and loose cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Belts, cloth and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which later would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the cloth also. Only the padded outer gowns of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 391 [513] [396] [411]

Fig. 40. Village ensemble. Married woman's dress, front and back. Tegouma.

The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black face veil and the black silk, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village ensemble within the village area, but become obligatory when wandering from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, etc. Sokoinsé or places further distant like Kirkyé and Mopti.

The ordinary peasant ensemble. Here also three versions of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a brown-brick outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried women and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Bandiagara no turban, but the whole skull cap covered with silver coins (E. 2883) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant woman did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant woman was mainly composed of flowered cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Tegouma and Kalassa are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Sarkasi is vermillion, and in Mossa Bassam black, navy oil, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheath. During work at Tegouma the lower

peculiar to that village. It always used by the poorest women on their way to the fruit plantations at Tamelle. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this headdle on the head, an attitude similar to that found in Europe to the door of the hands. During work in the fields it was a kind of apron to me. This consisted of a large piece of woven wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Darkun while threading tobacco leaves for a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—as far as I was given to understand—by rare arrivals in Tegsana, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an entire long tunic (shift) up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver brooch[1]. The surface was worn with this dress, but a head with now long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Khanzenan[2]. As with the village environment the plain peasant woman dress the black veil used also among town.

The urbanized urban environment shows a highly homogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[3]. If I review the various dress types to which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the home, were, as for other urban women within the women in the new village environments, the black face veil and shift. Under this her dress could be a complete complement of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the environments village clothes, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, while at the same time retaining as usual the trouser-like material tied her hips—an arrangement she transformed to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her earlier colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer bodies of coarsely-woven tulle or transparent that they disdained the fashioned European petticoats which in the female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (I, 295) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black shift my interpreter might have a long wide nightgown with or without its appurtenance jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is not in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adapted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In the urbanized urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of [illegible] girdle. The adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that also

78 *Female clothing: dresses distributed over the four female cultus*

Fig. 41 Ewenjare wedding dress (cf. p. 71) (23). Ethnomet cultus environment. Additional

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an ethnomet cultus belonged a satin loose coat and a nightgown (wedded solely for just an night, which prerequisite wednesday. In the cultus were also found trousers and dress combined trousers of linen cotton, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the ethnomet cultus environment:

The upper garments connected with bikini are the most important dress elements. The Kandak elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of disappearance in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Bakalemui a short European shoulder-less part of the cultus is retained together and placed like a hoodle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

Female clothing elements distributed over the four possible outfits 70

evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress covers the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The westernized urban environment. In this outfit also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is more composed: we usually the same fibre as that worn in the rich village environments. As regards the essential it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women. In the westernized urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the westernized lady wears a head veil.

Fig. 41. Ordinary peasant environment, Antalya.
Fig. 42. Westernized urban environment, Kahramanmaras.

Female clothing elements distributed over the four Kandili castes 61

Kandili women and the Kanjarbhat castes with saree, respectively. Kandili female dress is most clearly predicted by the other three of Parkin's contrast contexts (cf. S. 1978). Accordingly, in Bellary (1961), S. 216) the Kallu concepts to dress has undergone a great change in the last eleven years, that is since 1950. The dress type of Parkin (Kandili dress with sarees) revealed and "Kallu" dress is a quite different type (cf. S. 1978).

The Curry is here, rather over described by Hutching, from the same type of transport/distribution sarees, with a sarees like the Kandili, though the sarees are sparrower and less visible than those of the Kandili sarees in Gujarat (Hutching 1970, 145, 153, figs. 111, 112, 113).

Elements of women's dress and their distributions

Group	Elements	Village settlements		Town areas		Regional cities		Industrial cities	
		caste girls	women	caste girls	women	caste girls	women	caste girls	women
A	Trousers, shirt, frilly, sweaters, jackets, and collar	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
B	Top, skirt, frilly, shoulder shirts, collars, and dress shirts		+		+		[illegible]		+
B1	Short skirts	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
B2	Skirt + belt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
B3	Trousers	[illegible]	+			+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
B4	Tops, veil, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+
B5	Cotton sweaters			+	+			+	+
B6	Silk, synthetic silk, and blouses	+	+		[illegible]	+	+		
B7	Dress designs					+	+		
B8	European garments					+	+		

+ : The element appears consistently everywhere.
(+) : The element appears sporadically.
1 : Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not standard in the observed urban settings.
2) : In the local dress of the married women in all environments. Not standard in the observed urban settings.
(2) : In supplementary to the functions of the married women and continues the use functions of the unmarried girls. Not standard in the observed urban settings.
(3) : Only standard in the observed urban settings.
4) : Not standard in the village environments settings or in the unobserved urban settings. Exceptions belong to the Kandili village settings.
5) : Worn down in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
6) : Used mainly in the common village and unobserved urban environments.
7) : Silk Armenia is characteristic of the village environment and observed urban environments. Can be observed be worn with evening married women in the Kandili village settings.
(8-9) : Dress designs characteristic of the observed urban settings and as European trends.

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common habitation. During their stay at home in the village they led the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They used to night the cow bells, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the home was the nothing upon any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

The elder of these two sons, aged 16, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers on the Dokan Dam Site, which involved to an irreparable breach in his pattern of behaviour, the structure of which has its basic coherence. As the leading young man of the village, he left the district farm every morning on horseback. The other lands from Tiqtaana and Rikaan (several on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk, only trying in great summer heat). At the Dokan Dam Site he then was submerged among the other unskilled Kurdish labourers, a dirty task, exclusive in overalls, renewing his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back on his ass of the mountains to his father's home. Here his 12 year old half-sister took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash, if this was performed on the day known outside the normal room and not at the garden basin.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation or a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the selling of his hours, for he only received money which was of no interest whatever in the preconcrete village milieu, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the Europeans, a thing he had desperately hoped for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed scale of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

The girls in a humble village environment, like these in the aforesaide, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the fetching of water, often from far away, and walking out in the mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and rushed to the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages have nothing of schools, but they grow up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

For two months schooling did not enter into the life pattern of boys either among ordinary peasants in the villages. On the other hand their labour was much utilized in agriculture. They watched the sheep and goats. They fetched grass from the mountains on Tuesday, equipped with sacks and sickles. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

In the tribal and Kurdish environments, the educated and semi-literate urban milieus, schooling was necessary for both boys and girls.

An elementary school scheme exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 3 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 2 year intermediate and a 2 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1946 a 4 years primary schooling is obligatory when possible.

[illegible]

[illegible] of women in the home, where the younger replied on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by the opposite. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still so to found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

[illegible] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longing and freedom which they childhood is true in no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time when the child becomes a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion one culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, look to regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to harness the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child so he able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, practising in definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and other goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home

Activity	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work in home								
Work outside home								
Schooling								
Sport etc.								

A restore to girls in all four Kurds environments is necessary in the home according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village settles, also help in the adult women to work outside the home, milking, thrashing of wood etc. For girls in an urban settles, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys running in the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village settles they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urbanized village settles the boys are sent away to school to learn like Sulaimani and Erbil. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

...

...

...

While, today, the conclusion of marriage is signalled by two things, the drawing up of a marriage settlement and the wedding festivities.

The drawing up of a marriage settlement is, as Levy points out[1], the more I am inclined to see the basic feature of a contractual marriage. According to what my interpreter told me, a marriage settlement draws up by Qadis in the urban milieu of Sulaimani demands the presence of two male members of the bride's family, the most important of whom is the bride's guardian, as well as two fully mature male members of the prospective bridegroom's family, that is to say the groom and three others, must also be present. There is also a male and the girl by whom the marriage settlement is drawn up[2]. My interpreter informed me that the prospective bride might also be present, though silently veiled and in a concealed passive role. Whereas the bridegroom thus has no opportunity of seeing the bride until the marriage is consummated, the bride apparently is afforded a chance of seeing her future husband. I was also told that on this occasion she is asked whether she agrees with him in that case is her to refuse to go on with the marriage, her father being unable to force her. According to the Mufti she has three years to the marriage[3]. The marriage settlement is not concluded between the bride and bridegroom, but between the bride's wali and the bridegroom with the other present as witnesses[4]. The bridegroom agrees to pay the bride price, in one a finally fixed, and with it the dowries given from grain a gift of it is to be immediately available, before the wedding, and how much is to be held back for payment in the event of a divorce, that is to say if a man repudiates his wife or right not divorce by the latter), or in case of the husband's decease. When my interpreter's sister contracted marriage, I was told that the sum set aside for the contingency of divorce or widowhood was not, as normally[5], a half or a third, but if I understood aright - exactly how much the sum paid was, 1000 Din. (£166). The paid up part of the bride price was 400 Din. (£66). This large sum my interpreter's family demanded guaranteed to secure the girl's marital position and to prevent any repudiation in the event of another wife[6]. I cannot say whether the sum was made larger than in fact it was in order to add prestige to the family's economic reputation.

With the drawing up of the marriage settlement the man, in addition to paying out the bride price, undertakes to support his wife, give her food, clothes, and incidentals commensurate with the standard obtaining in her family home[7]. A breach of this marriage settlement gives the wife grounds for divorce. The other possibility a woman has of obtain divorce is the repayment of the bride price. Apart from these occasions the right to dissolve marriage lies with the man, who utters three times the word talāq, "I repudiate thee", or better, in Ayoubi's[8] translation, "I renounce all rights over thee", or in some cases when drawing up the marriage settlement certain clauses, of by can be inserted or attached so that definite legacy or positive actions on his part nullify his rights over the wife, thus providing her with one more possibility to obtain a divorce. On contracting marriage the wife undertakes to bear the husband children who belong to the husband, also in the event of divorce. Even if a man, the woman takes the children with her so long as they are quite small, but is obliged to send them back to the father's home when the boys are six and the girls eight years old.

As mentioned, the drawing up of the marriage settlement takes place at the qadi, the judge. (It was stated that in the villages only the local mulla was necessary). This has caused Barnes[9] to declare that the drawing up of a marriage settlement is a civil act, advancing as proof of this assertion that

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in the room, more or less with whom marriage was precluded. After the drawing up of the marriage settlement he was thus considered as already her brother-in-law. (The engagement [illegible] year or [illegible] marriage is mentioned by Westermarck[1] in regard to the Egyptian fellahin. On the other hand, he was never alone with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the two young people were talking together, and he did not every other pay a visit. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the veiled veil over her head when speaking to him, her or the same time never about in a remarkably decently way, almost to old, dirty clothes. The two young people went to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with their part of the [illegible] bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture items were to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedroom suit in polished wood and so forth. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 13 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed at an huge hotel in the main thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all five shared a room in which they had both days and seven food meals, prepared food having been brought at stops in the town. As a bonus there was no sightseeing at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 30-year old brother in the same hotel. Here also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay at Baghdad the young people were never down but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them.

When the prospective bride was on an occasion by car with the women of the house and her elder brother, she took the other women's shoes and said soft, great care being taken that the veil was not lifted or shifted. It was explained that this was in order that nothing could be said about her either by her prospective husband or his future brothers. There was no actual sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Granqvist[2] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people never see each other while they are engaged, and the prospective bride runs hide herself when the young man pays a visit to the home. However, the young people in my interpreter's home in Sulaimaniyah appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their affianced state than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[3]. Its employments and sociological significance.

[illegible] The bride price mark is mentioned in the Quran, Sura 4, verse 4 and Sura 2, verse 5, as the ordained morning-gift, for it expressly has been done that the Faithful are permitted to take in marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the people who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1716 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from Old Arabs in that greater pleasure was evinced at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could later be obtained (pp.361, only a small consensus being given for B-tokens, whereas the Arabs and Turks regard the whole bride price on the bride's affairs and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying "many daughters are thus with them a source of wealth"[4].

In a Swedish village culture, Sollefte, I was told that a 15-16 year old bride was acquired for a bride price of 20 Ore, plus a dress for the bride. Whether the sum was paid over in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Bishop[5] says of the Babylonian that the bride price was be paid in the form of a

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a chunky wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narrow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red velvet silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connexion with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amounting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[11], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She does run the same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying women did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

595 595 children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[588] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[589]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 595 Two half-grown 13-14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 369 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children—a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 3, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[590] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 595 595 363 There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bicycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Koran to persons up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes—when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Koran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

595 a hand with the housework, look after her future children, and keep her company when the husband,
565 as is the custom in Islamic areas, spent a large part of the day in company with other men. This arrangement, I was told, was purely due to practical considerations. The presence of the second, younger wife in the home in Sulaimani with her nine children (one, a daughter, was married), who with the three adult children of the elder wife, plus the husband, brought the size of the family up to 14. All the girls over a certain age had, as opposed to their mothers, gone over to an educated milieu away from the home, and left behind a colossal burden of work, particularly in the winter, in the form of cooking, baking, washing, etc., for the two wives at home. This burden was equally divided between the two wives, which was too much for the elder. By moving out to the village with her newly-married daughter she would obtain a far easier life. In the home in Sulaimani it was apparently not possible for the one wife to leave an undue amount of work to the other; on the contrary they appeared to share it all loyally. The one making tea made it for the whole family, the one cooking or washing clothes did the same. Similarly, the two wives certainly seemed to share the daily work in the home, and their children showed equal affection for both mother and stepmother.

595 In this case, then, the husband had seen in a village a beautiful, accomplished girl with whom, to
586 use a European term, he fell in love, showing due consideration for his first wife he had made her his second. The divorce here was due to the fact that the two women could not agree.

A young wife with two quite small children, who was returned to her family by the husband, was quoted as an example of incompatibility of temperaments. The husband was much older and very wealthy, but, it was said, incredibly miserly, and the wife refused to submit to this. Before I left I heard that the man had regretted his repudiation which apparently had not been triple and final. He now wanted her to return before the expiration of her 'idda-period.

A man of my interpreter's [illegible] a half-brother of her stepmother, was married to a woman of about 25, who since she was married to him (at the age of 11), had borne him four daughters, two of whom (7 and 2) had survived. As all the children had been female, and under pressure from friends and neighbours, he was seeking a second wife who would, he hoped, be able to bear him sons. Three times marriage negotiations had been initiated on his behalf but for various reasons had broken down. The man was now at the end of the thirties. His wife appeared to be reduced to despair by the situation, and it would be difficult for the new wife to cooperate with her; furthermore she faced the prospect of the new woman demanding her divorce before consenting to matrimony, or that, cooperation failing between the two wives, she would later be cast out.

595 To sum up: Polygamy exists among Kurds in the urbanized urban milieu, but the number of
565 wives does not exceed two. Successive marriages, with children of earlier marriages as members of
369 the family, exist among the village aristocracy. Monogamy prevailed in the humble village milieu, perhaps mainly for economic reasons. Monogamy also prevailed in the educated urban milieu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

964 cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rôle is a completely passive one. The ceremonia must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth. Neither knifes nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the home to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the ceremonia. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother: adf), accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of 965 the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connexion with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

[369] [765] [513] [301]

Fig. 91. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Tuyuren.

964 342 361

782 1179 pious exercises, which : the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

[857] [883] The youngest girl I so engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village women said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stones, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a steelsete for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

782 562 565 369 The women in the outward urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated mins, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—t all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests-opportunity provided for ablution, and they respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noted also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this as not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and, midday restroom for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest base by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed [935] on the shoulder of th other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the mid-hand or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheik's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regards the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

782 935 The result of thisobligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on thecharity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feebleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents a what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said tat although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

1778 revered .... the credulous .... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "first soon couture" is mentioned by Masse[56].

1789 1778 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[49] writes: "... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Fellberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

[1911] There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Mauss[56], Ehrenp[45], Fellberg[46] and Sonne[47], Ehrenp[45], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

1955 1982 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended to due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

[369] [1894] [565]

Visible amulets	+	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy hand	+	+		
Saints' graves			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

293 562 [184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban woman, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

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[554] *The head veil* of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Topzawa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[1]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village woman in Topzawa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women were black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the now flooded ferry hamlet of Mirza Rustam all were black and in Sargalu bright red.

293 576 562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the *roof* at sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, *or* a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to she, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Serkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

● 369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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293 562 *The yellow-silver "bridal" veil* I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Topzawa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

4: Hansen E-5 (1937) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

be residents of Tepsawa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sleeves of the costume to cover the face even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[1].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Sulaimani or the smaller trading centre, Halabja, could leave the home, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its seclusion in the form of the *abā-u-pīčē*. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13-14. One of the adolescent daughters in the home of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realized until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very shoddy European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the *sūq* to buy the necessary *abā* and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu uphold the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Taifir of Tepsawa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She clad herself in *abā* and veil in order to walk from Tepsawa to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this covering ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain track carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Tepsawa closely veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Chamchamal pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this around her as, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sargalu nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her inevitable companion, back to to the Sheikh's house at Tepsawa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakawa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear *abā* and veil after the first day in the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four milieus.

Veil types	Village milieu/society		Rustic village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular neck + shoulder veil tulle		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ochre bridal veil		†		+				†
European white bridal veil						+		
Face veil black	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

WOMAN'S POSSIBILLITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

562 569 564 565 *Possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion.* In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Topzawa the wife and daughter in the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pinch fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained to themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

562 [123] In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the sons received my interpreter and me in the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

569 562 A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Topzawa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sargalu, was blankly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. This what we understand by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of them must allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

369 562 554 565 In the meantime the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brother-in-law,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA I Kurd MA II

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Tegnawa this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sagala and Serkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind *mulla*[20], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Halabja's first lady, Lady Adela, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my house is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the *Aghas* consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[21]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellahin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womanfolk"[22]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[23] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Mohammedan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[9]. As early as 1881 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[10]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that some of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[11] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They are apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1956.

4: Nasreen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edge of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the man's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
591 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other houses. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ostrup[2] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a sunken, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the convex iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the house only made purchases in the city and then only of material, never, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[3].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind op-

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

562 592 not "free", being subjected to an elaborately-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose the spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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585 572 462 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milling in the mornings, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 329 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 329 592 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home (in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

594 593 579 During *qurbān bairām* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Hakkāja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Gautier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville .... condition abracadrante, assurément implacable", and goes on to say: ".... Cet affreux tyran, le maître de harem, ayant du pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus révoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ...." As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

G Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women.

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his realm of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, inspected his fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimiyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, urge, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the home. (This is to seem a matter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the men spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or chatted with groups in the village booth. Village men danced alone some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some musicians who had arrived. In the village milieu there was far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Muslim areas—was encountered.

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the man's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home thus belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, created out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way.

This division appeared in its purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate both a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home opposed to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dukan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit .... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there .... It is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[9] says of the Egyptian *fellahin*-women: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practice they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands .... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of various elements inside the four milieus.

Milieus / elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and shut	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the man's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "low position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

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10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

361 Sulaimaniya is the chief town in Iraqi
• 369 Kurdistan, in that it is the largest town in the Kurdish area whose population is entirely Kurdish. Other towns exist in Iraqi Kurdistan, but the larger ones—Kirkuk, Erbil and Kifri—are inhabited by as many Turcomans as Kurds, although the tribes around are Kurdish. Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains, and do not take easily to the life of a townsman.

175 In this they resemble their distant
178 relatives the Pathans of Afghanistan and north-western India, who, in the early migrations of Aryan-speaking peoples, penetrated into the highlands east of the Persian plateau while the Kurds spread westwards into what is now north-western Iran, eastern Turkey and north-eastern Iraq. Here, in secluded mountain valleys, they preserved many ancient characteristics which their fellow migrants, settling

[p. 383(B)]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The country houses of the Kûrds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *bâsa*, a liquor called *narâmâ*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the serai an excise and customs director who must supervise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jindian, Rayat, and Hajji Umran on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offense) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an

offense against a conservation law, because charcoal is not taxed. 314 656 372

The census officer and an assistant have an office in the serai, as has been mentioned above. The difficulties encountered in preparing a census for a district such as this are formidable, but administratively the task does not have the priority of others. The chief problem is simply the determination of the numbers of men and women in the district, itself a Herculean labor, and statistics in matters of births, deaths, marriages, and the like, are simply unknown. Because this is a new department, however, one might expect expansion in the future. 659

Finally, the serai houses the office of a civilian recruiting officer and his assistants whose task is the selection of recruits for the army. In Iraq every male must perform two years' military service after reaching the age of 18 years unless deferred for unfitness, pursuit of a higher education, or some other reason. There are four divisional commands to which recruits are sent for training and service, the transmission from Rowanduz being by lorry to Erbil. The Iraqi army, while equipped and organized on a British model, has little appeal for the poorer Arab or Kurdish youth, for the pay is almost nothing, the food reduced to bread and soup, and the regular enlisted personnel tyrannical. Thus, while the Kurds are noted for their love of arms and fighting, conscription is a joyless event in the poverty-stricken households, and 702 [703]

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowandus and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and some of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowandus, particularly for chilling drinks such as sharbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and water, ab, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude. 514 [415] [515] 826 576

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile, 354 [439] [291] [372]

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a 276
long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of
a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little
more than curiosity value for the local people. European [439]
cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with [293]
the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every
adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of
these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen [372]
in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but
this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and
thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as
their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters.
Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical
distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them.
During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered im- [785]
polite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although [576]
tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, 136
insofar as their inroads are not too intensive, they are
not regarded as a particular nuisance. Homes of the lower
classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with
vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the
flea. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the
summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them
from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little
attention to them. Scorpions and snakes sometimes turn
up, and are killed with the greatest possible dispatch.

4: Hanner E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

264 on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[66], but forks
362 and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mastav* or the less-distinguished *dūg*. These are drunk from glasses if
[392] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2239), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm: there are also water skins, *kund*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilised extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[68]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [739] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[69]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat ember pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
374 atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool under a quilt ... formed the "kirsu" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[72] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret *(kursi)*, on le recouvre d'une couverture[73] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the coolhouse or on a hook in the wall just outside the way down to it. The clay sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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462
234
231
291
415

Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

462 Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung
512 is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house.
[312] The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the
[482] home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in [296] association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the [356] house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of [476] food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The country houses of the Kūrds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *bóza*, a liquor called *nardenk*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

There is no electricity in Rowanduz, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or chaykhanas open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Ashi Shaykhi, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of its relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jindian, whose father's

information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[32], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[33], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In this clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[66], but for and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed food. The beverage drunk is *mastaw* or the less-distinguished *dūg*. These are drunk from glasses not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the me Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rins and cleaned.

Fetching of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kind clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slight burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the h shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, *kunā*, made out of whol tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled wa skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, th the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one e being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin in place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a co stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilised extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the cla lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed wi whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form these cooking pits[68]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slig and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there a cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[69]. Cattle manu is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat enth pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires a braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

Heating. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temp atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the cold periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a l niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further part ulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool und a quilt ... formed the "kirsu" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitin writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret *(kursi)*, on le recouv d'une couverture[72] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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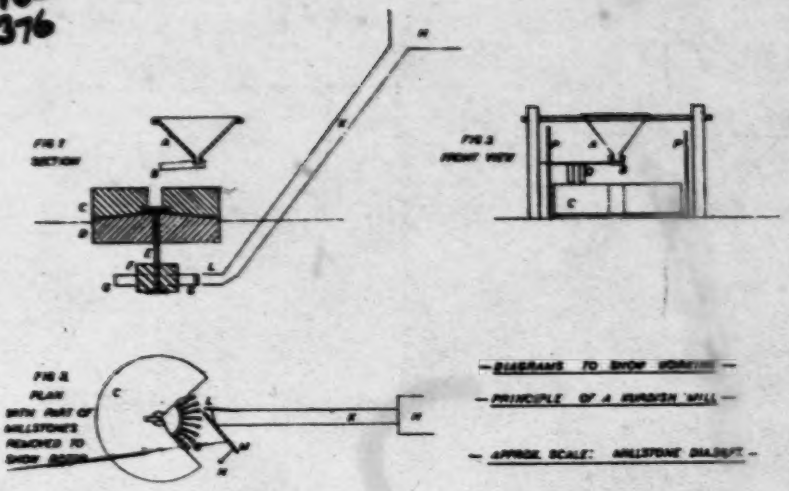

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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The Kurdish Water Mill - Hill Country, Turbine Type

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The diagrams opposite should be read in conjunction with the photographs at the end. The type of mill illustrated is found all over the Rowanduz area (Map 1. Area A) and probably has a wide distribution, it is not found however in the plains districts where an entirely different type of water wheel is in use. I have so far failed to trace a description of any similar mill elsewhere.

The operation of the mill is very simple though I know of no other example of primitive mechanism employing this turbine principle.

Water is supplied from a channel H and falls down a steep chute or feed pipe K. This is sometimes totally enclosed but more usually takes the form of a deep sided channel. The total head of water obtained by this means is about 20 feet. At the bottom of the feed pipe the water passes through a horizontal jet L, the aperture of which can be adjusted by a mechanism MN operated from the floor of the mill-house. From the jet the water plays onto a turbine rotor of wooden blades G set in a heavy stone boss F. These blades are set slightly on the skew and have a portion of the upper face cut away to provide a cup. The extent of the skew can be judged from photograph No.15 where a spare rotor block can be seen on the left of the picture. There is no bottom bearing and the whole rotor mechanism hangs freely from above, supported only by the steel shafting E. This latter passes through a hole in the lower millstone D_1 (which is fixed rigid in the surrounding masonry) and is slotted into the upper rotating millstone C. I did not see the apparatus dismantled so I am uncertain as to the precise method of keying the shafting into the rotor stones F and C or of the form of the bearing where the upper end of the shafting spins on the fixed stone D. The corn feed mechanism is best understood from the photograph. The corn passes from the bin A, into the dripfeed B. The dripfeed is attached to the device Q which is joggled by the rotation of the mill-stone. This causes the feed B to vibrate and drop the corn grains into the central hole of the millstone. The rate of feed is adjusted by varying the incline of the feed B. The screen P is erected round the back and sides of the millstone so as to prevent the flour flying out in all directions.

The following additional explanation refers to the diagrams only. In Fig.1 the structure supporting the corn bin and the screen P and also the mechanism for adjusting and vibrating the feed B are omitted. It should be understood that the lower stone D is set rigid in the ground, while the rotor mechanism FG hangs freely in a cavernous space underground. In Fig.3 the rotor and jet setting is oversimplified, and the skew setting of the rotor blades ignored. The jet L is actually slightly above the rotor blades and the direction of the water flow slightly downwards. The blades are thus struck in the centre at an incline of about 30 degrees rather than at the ends horizontally as the diagrams would seem to indicate. In actual operation the machine works remarkably smoothly at slow speeds, but as might be expected a violent vibration devlops if any attempt is made to drive the apparatus hard.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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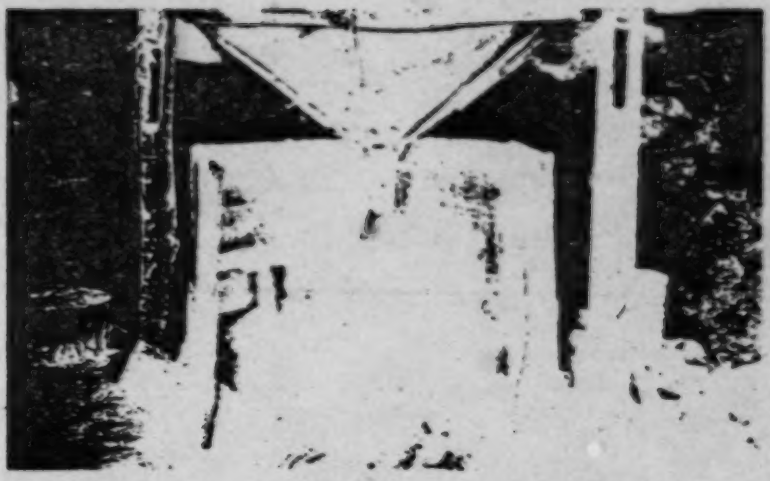

Plate 15.
Turbine Water Mill. (For comparison with diagrams; especially Fig. 2.)

Plate 16.
Turbine Water Mill. Rotor blades.

[Opposite page 74 - N.]

There is no electricity in Rowanduz, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or <u>chaykhanas</u> open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill <u>Ashi Shaykhi</u>, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of its relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jindian, whose father's

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 Kw. (and an ul-

Beauty culture. Women's hair is cut short at the side of the head in line with the mouth. Older women in the two village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu wear their back hair long, plaited in an unequal[33] number of plaits. The cutting off of the side hair has led, in the case of the younger women of the village aristocracy and all women in the educated urban milieu to cutting it all round the head so that the result resembles the European-American bobbed hair of the '20es. Kurdish women's hair is curly and looks as if it were permanent-waved, but I never saw any woman go to the hairdresser. The women cut each other's hair and that of their girls. Women's hair is black, but ash-blonde or blonde is not unusual in the case of small girls. Women often dye their hair red with *xanna*[34]. The result is a somewhat carroty tint. This is done in the case of young people and children for æsthetic reasons. On the other hand the grey hair of age is concealed by the aid of a double dye. The hair is first dyed red with *xanna* produced from the dried, pulverized leaves of *Lawsonia alba (inermis)*[35], which is bought in the *sûq* in linen bags ready for use (E. 2356). It is then dyed green with indigo *(Indigo fera anil)*. After 24 hours, during which time the head is swathed in a cloth, the hair assumes the desired ink-black, rather heavy, colour[36].

Henna is also used to stain the soles of the feet, the sides of the foot, the toes, and the palm of the hand and finger tips[37]. This staining I only saw resorted to in the two village environments. Within the village aristocracy this form of beauty culture is gradually becoming engaged in a struggle with European-American nail varnish which, like the henna, can be purchased in the *sûq* and has also found its way to the villages. Nail varnish of whatever tint serves to emphasize the whiteness of the skin. The henna dye hides it. Use of them both results in a most unfortunate meeting between East and West, particularly when the henna dye gradually fades without at any time appearing unsightly, whilst the nail varnish peels off, as varnish remover is not apparently indulged in, giving a very slovenly effect.

Beauty aids also includes eye make-up, *kŕl*, that is to say powdered antimony (E. 2355), kept in a small brocade bag, *kŕl-dân*, (E. 2354a). Eye make-up is smeared on with a small wooden stick, about 0.062 m. long, *kŕl-krw*, (E. 2354b-c), which is pasted over the lashes, the eye being kept closed[38].

American cosmetics could be bought in the *sûq* at Sulaimani, in the big store, Orosi Bak, and similar shops in Baghdad. A large flat velvet beauty box belongs to the trousseaux in urban environments. A bride coming from Sulaimani to a humble village milieu will be very made-up, but this is only practised on special occasions.

Tattooing[39], on the other hand, must be considered as belonging to the more permanent forms of beauty treatment, though it was not practised among the Kurdish women I had an opportunity of observing. Tattooing consists of single or groups of spots round the mouth, a stroke across the mouth, spots on the forehead, or the back of the hand, the instep or between the breasts. It was said that tattooing was performed with an ordinary sewing needle dipped in a paste of eye make-up (antimony) or soot mixed with milk[40].

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days 294
preceding the celebration in their preparation, something 955
which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing 796
on Easter.

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women 296
belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse [352] [415] [388] laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rowanduz, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezi*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sūq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the duststorm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating.

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

311 241 421 denied this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of commoners must hold in separate plots at least the following:- one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of fallow. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my first hand evidence is very slight. As I have shown, it appears that so far as land is concerned the injunctions of the Koran have scarcely even a nominal relevance. Granted however that the Agha as landlord has a nominal right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land tenure among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

243 622 The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Agha - this being true at least for Walash, Nayat and Dergala. I did not discover what particular individuals are conscripted to work this cultivation or how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Walash this cultivation is not turned over to tobacco. Sheikh Mohammad actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with his enemy the Mir of Dergala was that the latter owing to better water supplies was also to grow so much more tobacco. Possible political reasons for this conservatism have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Kurdish point of view it just is not sense to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Aghas show remarkable intuitive foresight.

The Mill

256 • 402 An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Dergala, Nayat and Merga. Walash has none but there is one at Naupurdan. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very advanced. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked as a horizontal turbine and thus uses the 'velocity' head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it disposes of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were 'precision made' there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the crudity of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about ½ ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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Where possible the driving water is obtained by diverting some main stream. This is done at Nampurdan, Rayat and Merga and the operation of the mill then has no effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the cultivation on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some friction arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good kicking from the Agha for cutting the dyke during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hastily thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a near relative of the Agha. In Nampurdan it is the Agha himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the Agha. The terms are in effect that the owner of the wheat hires the mill at a fixed charge for each sack of corn ground. The man who owns the wheat himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The millowner merely obtains a rental for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with up-to-date apparatus in the towns, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the trouble involved in carrying the wheat to Rowandus and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In outlying districts at any rate then the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

Weaving

*The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the cloth loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "beater in" suspended from a rigid rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 10½ inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. Thus from specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trouserings of commoners, has Warp 19; Weft 22 threads

*The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not considered here since its social relevance seems insignificant.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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402 per inch; while a good quality coloured cloth such as worn by Aghas has
286 Warp 44; Weft 28 threads per inch.

As mentioned already the village weaver, where there is one, now
462 has to face serious competition not only from the cloth dealers of the
178 town but also from certain large scale weaving concerns in Rowandus and
286 Erbil. The latter still use the ordinary Kurdish looms but seem to be able to produce a better quality product than the village craftsman. The difference may be due to the fact that the town craftsman uses a mechanically spun thread, whereas the village weaver in the main works with a hand spun article. But there is no definite tradition that the town made material is superior. The clothes worn by the Mir while I was in Dergala had been made from local cloth, his son Jelal, on the other hand, had purchased the stuff for his new blue trousers in Rowandus. My impression is however that with the ever increasing facilities for contact with traders from the town the functions of the village weaver will soon become superfluous and the community will become completely dependent upon outside sources in yet one further respect.

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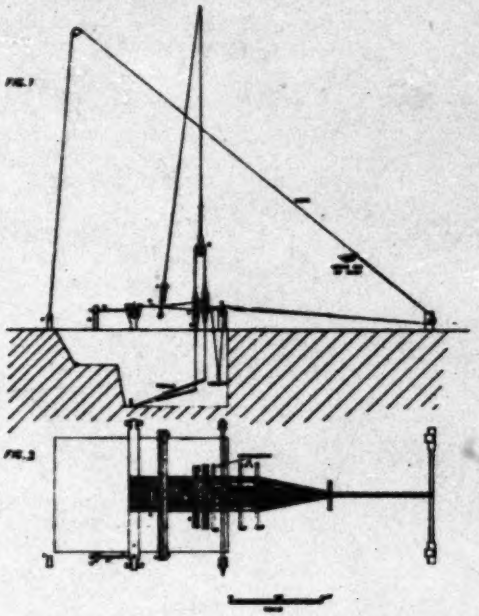

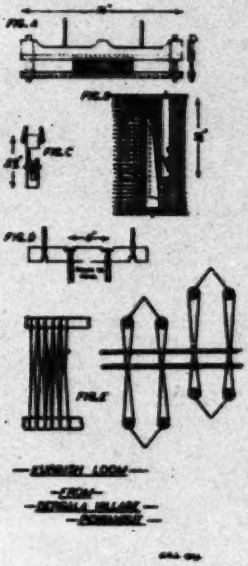

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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The Kurdish Loom

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The Kurdish Loom illustrated on the opposite page has not, so far as I can discover, been described in detail before. *Ling Roth mentions the Hindu Pit Treadle Loom as a variation of the Horizontal Narrow Band Treadle Loom but does not describe it. The Kurdish Pit Treadle Loom, here shown, is similar to that used in Central Mesopotamia except that the latter has the sley slung from a rigid rectangular framework thus allowing of a wider warp.

Taken in conjunction with the photographs (unfortunately blurred owing to overexposure) the diagrams opposite should be more or less self explanatory.

The weaver sits in a pit beneath the loom. He operates the heddle mechanism with his feet by means of a treadle and works the shuttle and sley with his hands.

Fig. 1 is a section through the loom and Fig. 2 is the corresponding plan. Portions of the apparatus marked A.B.C.D.E. in small letters are shown in larger scale in the subsidiary figures to the right of the diagram. The scales for figures A.B.C.D. are as indicated; Fig.E is diagrammatic only.

Fig.A shows the sley (reed, beater in). As can be seen it can be readily taken to pieces. The comb of the reed is not rigidly attached to the batten frame but runs freely in grooved slots indicated by the dotted lines. This prevents the warp being 'dragged' on one side if the weaver fails to pull the sley quite straight.

The woof (weft) on the finished cloth immediately behind the shed is kept taut by the device shown in Fig.B. I am unaware of the English technical term for this device. It can be seen in position in one of the photographs. It consists of two pieces of wood, each with a steel needle at one end, joined together with string at the other. By adjusting the length of the string the two pieces can be made to form a rigid bar of variable length. The diagram shows the pieces in position on the cloth before looking one inside the other.

Fig.C shows one of the two pulley blocks supporting the heddle rocker.

Fig.D shows one of the bars from which the pedal straps are suspended; it appears in cross section in figure 1 at the point D.

Fig.E shows (diagrammatically) the way the warp threads are threaded through the leashes of the heddle. Note from figure 1 that both heddle and counter-heddle are double, the odd threads passing through both sets of leashes on one side of the rocker and the even threads through those of the other. I did not obtain precise details of how the leash strings are knotted and looped.

*H. Ling Roth - Studies in Primitive Looms

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The finished cloth is rolled on the square sectioned breast beam (J). This is held in position by the rod H which fits into one of four holes in the sides of J and is hooked under the fixed ground peg F. To adjust the warp the rope is freed at F, and H and J can then be adjusted at will. It should be noted that for convenience F.G.H. have been shown in Fig.1 as well as in Fig.2 though they are positioned on the weavers right hand side as indicated in the plan. 402 • 286

There are three spreaders (lase rods), the front one of which is in front of the raddle beam K. This last is held down by the weight shown in figure 1; this prevents the spreader slipping forward into the heddle mechanism and prevents the warp 'bouncing' on K. Without this device the rear spreaders would require constant adjustment.

The raddle beam K is slightly grooved on the top face so as to keep the threads in place; it serves the same function as the spreaders - that of keeping the warp threads taut and spread out. Its occurrence is unusual in primitive loom designs.

[p 68 is blank]

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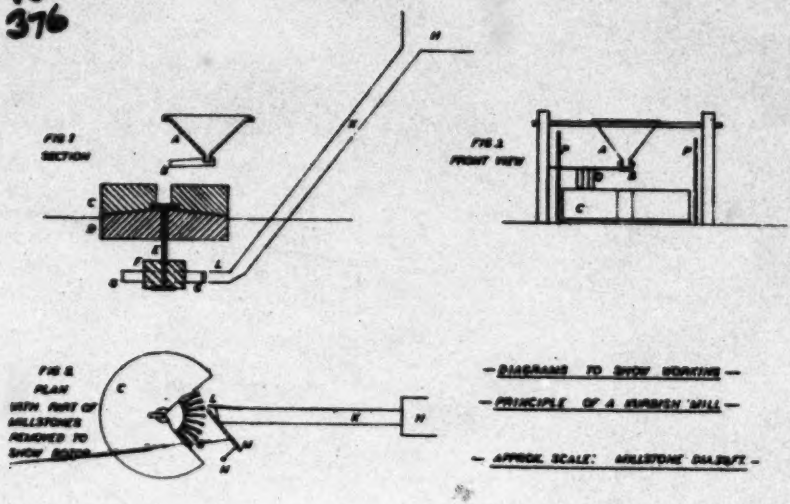

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The Kurdish Water Mill - Hill Country, Turbine Type

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The diagrams opposite should be read in conjunction with the photographs at the end. The type of mill illustrated is found all over the Rowanduz area (Map 1. Area A) and probably has a wide distribution, it is not found however in the plains districts where an entirely different type of water wheel is in use. I have so far failed to trace a description of any similar mill elsewhere.

The operation of the mill is very simple though I know of no other example of primitive mechanism employing this turbine principle.

Water is supplied from a channel H and falls down a steep shoot or feed pipe K. This is sometimes totally enclosed but more usually takes the form of a deep sided channel. The total head of water obtained by this means is about 20 feet. At the bottom of the feed pipe the water passes through a horizontal jet L, the aperture of which can be adjusted by a mechanism MM operated from the floor of the mill-house. From the jet the water plays onto a turbine rotor of wooden blades G set in a heavy stone boss F. These blades are set slightly on the skew and have a portion of the upper face cut away to provide a cup. The extent of the skew can be judged from photograph No.13 where a spare rotor block can be seen on the left of the picture. There is no bottom bearing and the whole rotor mechanism hangs freely from above, supported only by the steel shafting E. This latter passes through a hole in the lower millstone D_1 (which is fixed rigid in the surrounding masonry) and is slotted into the upper rotating millstone C. I did not see the apparatus dismantled so I am uncertain as to the precise method of keying the shafting into the rotor stones F and C or of the form of the bearing where the upper end of the shafting spins on the fixed stone D. The corn feed mechanism is best understood from the photograph. The corn passes from the bin A, into the dripfeed B. The dripfeed is attached to the device Q which is joggled by the rotation of the mill-stone. This causes the feed B to vibrate and drop the corn grains into the central hole of the millstone. The rate of feed is adjusted by varying the incline of the feed B. The screen P is erected round the back and sides of the millstone so as to prevent the flour flying out in all directions.

The following additional explanation refers to the diagrams only. In Fig.1 the structure supporting the corn bin and the screen P and also the mechanism for adjusting and vibrating the feed B are omitted. It should be understood that the lower stone D is set rigid in the ground, while the rotor mechanism FG hangs freely in a cavernous space under-ground. In Fig.3 the rotor and jet setting is oversimplified, and the skew setting of the rotor blades ignored. The jet L is actually slightly above the rotor blades and the direction of the water flow slightly downwards. The blades are thus struck in the centre at an incline of about 30 degrees rather than at the ends horizontally as the diagrams would seem to indicate. In actual operation the machine works remarkably smoothly at slow speeds, but as might be expected a violent vibration devlops if any attempt is made to drive the apparatus hard.

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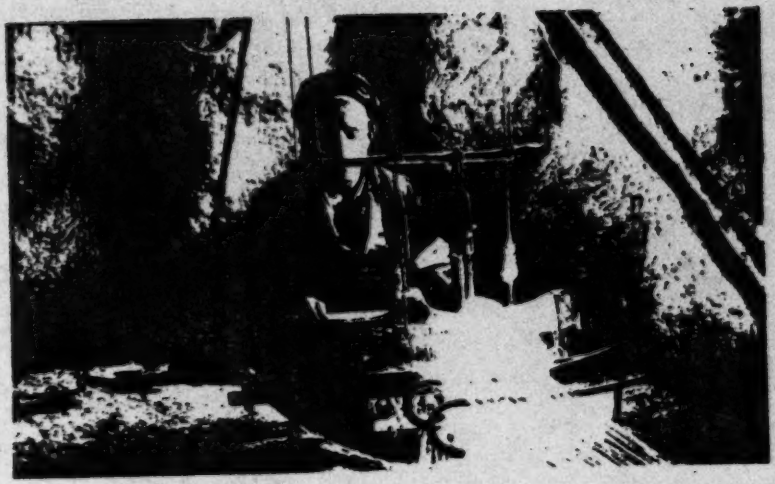

Plate 13.
Loom. (For comparison with diagrams.)

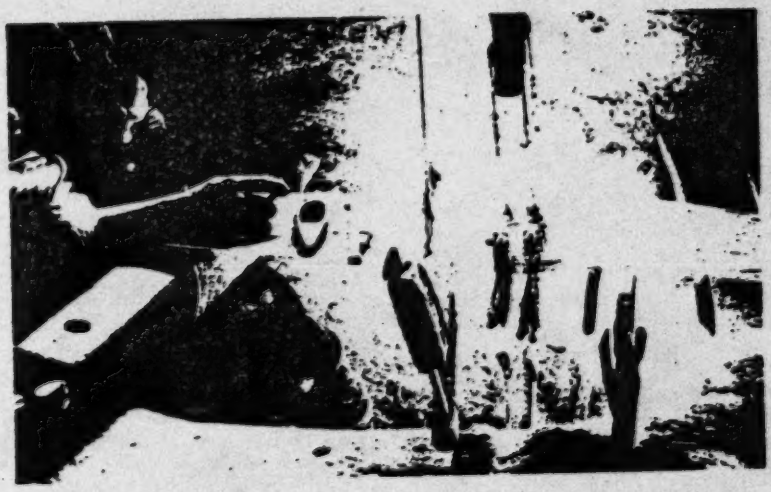

Plate 14.
Loom. (For comparison with diagrams.)

[Opposite page 74 - G]

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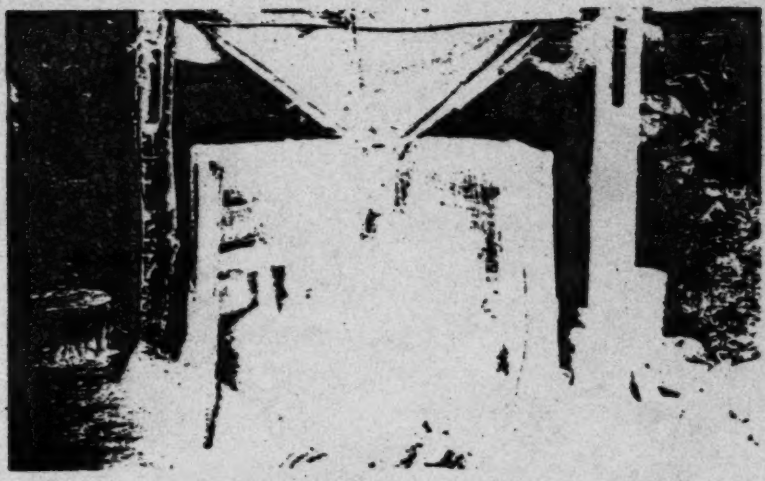

Plate 15.
Turbine Water Mill. (For comparison with diagrams; especially Fig. 2.)

Plate 16.
Turbine Water Mill. Rotor blades.

[Opposite page 74 - H.]

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khanjirs (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the serai are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the serai open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in wintertime. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kandahar.

The water supply and irrigation

The villages are situated on the slopes of the mountains, and the water supply is a problem. Most of the villages have springs, but the water is not always drinkable. Some villages have wells, but the water is not always drinkable. The villages have springs, but the water is not always drinkable. The villages have springs, but the water is not always drinkable.

The villages have springs, but the water is not always drinkable. The villages have springs, but the water is not always drinkable. The villages have springs, but the water is not always drinkable. The villages have springs, but the water is not always drinkable.

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Fig. 15. Threshing by means of animals driven round the fully-forged corn. Dogurun.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second method employs a machine, *laqlaq*, which can be called a threshing sledge[1], threshing cart[2] or threshing roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[3]. These blades are so placed that the machine runs alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

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According to Hayit[4] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [84]

it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Fellberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Tahir, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Sjehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandi or emde*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the man's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is man's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jit*, has a plough-share, *gâsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2340) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kevjak*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Worth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Tripolanese plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Worth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hesselø and Vebbestrup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dreslip-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small field's owned by Kurds. The same point

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Topzawa. Sole and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2340).

is also stressed by Leach[39]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[40].

The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-mouldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[41]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as is the case when transporting corn from the field to the home—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[42]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

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Ploughing

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The technical equipment available for land cultivation is extremely rudimentary. The principal implement the plough (see photographs) is of the simplest possible type, though small details of design vary from village to village. The example illustrated comes from the Rayat district. Its great advantage from the cultivator's point of view is its extreme lightness; it can be dismantled easily in a few moments and carried about by one man. This is of great importance where in order to reach some of the plots to be cultivated it may be necessary to ford a stream or climb half way up a mountain. Thus despite its crudity of construction it is doubtful whether any more modern implement could fulfil the special requirements of the environment equally well. In the plains things are different. There in the big wheat areas capital expenditure on large scale mechanical equipment would be well worth while,* but in the hills the individual plots of cultivation are so small and the inclines so steep that a small portable implement is essential.

The disadvantage of the existing hill country plough is its appalling slowness. The chief reason for this is that instrument makes a straight furrow and has no curved plough share to turn the soil over as in the European instrument. Each furrow is thus less than half as wide as that of an instrument which turns the soil over. But here again any immediate modification is difficult. To use the European instrument efficiently the land must be divided up into long rectangular strips so that the ploughman can go up one side and down the other. With a primitive straight furrow plough, such as the Kurdish, the ploughman returns on his own track so that it does not much matter how short is each individual furrow. The typical smallholdings resulting from the use of these different instruments are thus of different shape - with the European plough the typical smallholder's cultivation plot becomes as in France or Germany a long narrow strip; with the primitive instrument the typical plot is nearly square. Even if the existing Kurdish plough were to be improved so as to carry a curved blade, it probably could not usefully be employed without a considerable redistribution of existing land holdings. Thus though educated Kurds, when lamenting the backwardness of their people, tend to deplore most of all the primitive inefficiency of their equipment, it seems to me most

* It is of interest to note that the manufacturers of harvesting machinery seem to be unaware of the existence of Iraq. I discussed the matter with the landlord Agha of Saadowa, a village some twenty miles west of Erbil. He was a rich man with advanced ideas. He said that he was quite prepared to invest several thousand pounds in ploughs and harvesting machinery but that as far as he could discover there was only one firm of machinery makers with agents in Baghdad and they carried no spare parts.

unlikely that there will be any serious modification of the existing type of plough, at any rate in the hill country. 241 407.

Threshing

For threshing the hill people use no instrument at all; the cattle are merely walked round and round on the piled straw until the whole is reduced to a fine chaff and the straw then winnowed with a fork in a light wind (see photographs). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late October; any drastic change in the economic programme of the village - such as a switch over from rice to tobacco - must as I have shown be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very puzzling is that throughout the plains area, - where the wheat harvest is very large - use is made of a relatively advanced 'threshing machine'. This consists of a horse drawn sled (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for mincing up the chaff. The apparatus is very simple and not, one would have thought, unduly expensive. But the curious fact remains that this device is not found in the hill country around Rowandus at all, though its advantages must be well known to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the wheat production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that as long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in November it was good enough. Whatever the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any radical extension of the tobacco cultivation.

Land Utilisation

The actual lay-out of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Rice, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently sited, their position being determined by the lay-out of the irrigation system. The wheat on the other hand is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram map shows roughly the lay-out of cultivation in Walash at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow lies on one side of the stream and all the (1938) wheat crop on the other. Nothing corresponding to this neat symmetry could be observed in the other villages I visited. It emphasises the fact however that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one place; - in Walash obviously each working group must have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of reallotting land to different individual cultivators in successive years but my informants

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1/ [See page 73 - - Analyst]

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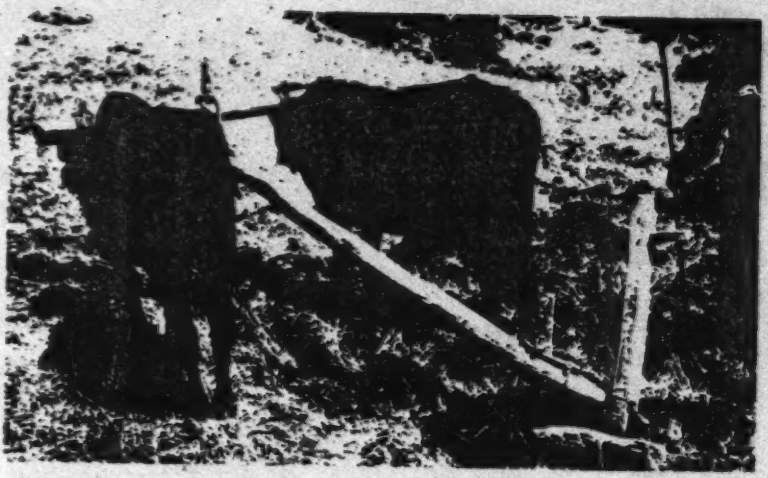

Plate 7.
Plough. Rayat Village.

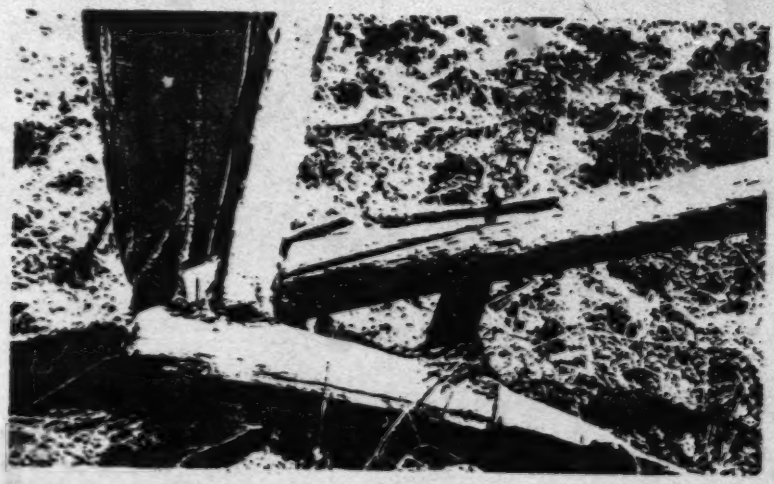

Plate 8
Plough. Detail. Note the simplicity with which the apparatus can be dismantled.

[Opposite p 74 - D]

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Plate 9.
Threshing. Hill country style; Walash Village.

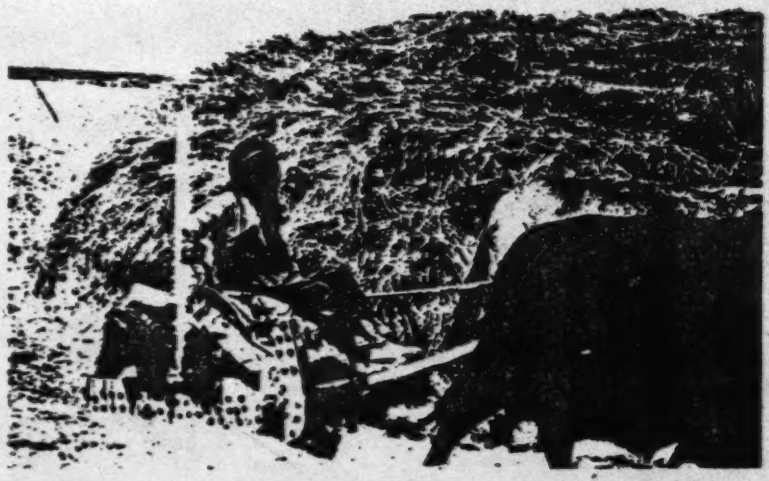

Plate 10.
Threshing. Plains style. (See comments in text.)

[Opposite p 74- E]

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

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From 'Road Through Kurdistan' *A. M. Hamilton*

A Kurdish plough: as of old it is made from a forked tree, cut with one long limb and one short, to form a wooden hook. This is dragged through the ground by a pair of oxen. The ploughman welcomed the chance of showing off his child

[58 B]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khanjirs (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the serai are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the serai open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in wintertime. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

and his Marsh Arab constable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police are furnished their uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who can bear the expense may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is pinned, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in Baghdad and other larger towns, is never seen in Rowanduz. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality, long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Arabic terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender batons to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Rowanduz police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries.

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[713]
[493]

The police are assigned in small numbers to the nudirs, while a larger unit is kept in Rowanduz at the

The town of Rowanduz, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowanduz, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

dangerous if it reaches the point of knives. The blow 579
with the closed fist is unknown in Rowandus, and one
strikes with the open palm or wrestles. Stiaks or [411]
khunjirs are the next favored weapons in such an exchange,
and it is considered shameful for a man to bite or scratch
like a woman. As in other Islamic communities, quarrels,
sometimes quite serious, are much more common during the
fast of Ramadan. Four violent exchanges were observed
between women on one day during Ramadan. However, there had [682]
been in 1951 no homicides in the town for a period of three
years. Criminals of a higher order are at present unknown. [674]
The last of them, Nuri Bawil Agha, who dabbled in brigandage,
smuggling, and blackmail, now suffers life imprisonment for [682]
the murder of Isma'il Beg. Nuri is said to have often
arranged the theft of goods from merchants, and then to
have sold them back to the owners for appropriate sums.

The office of the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, in Rowandus 622
is peculiar, for it does not seem to have an incisive
everyday definition. It is not elective, and a mukhtar
is selected by the government with the more or less tacit
consent of his fellows. His work, such as it is, con-
sists in acting in liaison between the people and the
rais baladiya (at present, the qaimmaqam) and, to a certain
extent, being a guarantee for their good conduct. He is
without police authority, but acts to mitigate minor
quarrels between townspeople, and, with the force of
public opinion, as some power to command. He stands be-
tween the people and the government, presenting the

today, a number of troops were garrisoned there. With respect to Erbil, the administrative equality has been changed, although a fifth nahiya added to the Ottoman four. It cannot be said that the Ottoman administration with its officers, judges, tax-collectors, and its serai was too different in outward form from that of today. The knowledge of bureaucratic government is nothing new to the district. In contrast to the present administration, however, the Turks were extremely venal, but it cannot be legitimately said, as it is with respect to other former Ottoman holdings, that they were vicious. While there were often skirmishes between segments of the population and the Ottoman gendarmes and troops, there is no particular recollection of Turkish "atrocities" in the area, for in the nineteenth century the Kurds, at home in their mountains, were the military equals of their opponents. The opening of new roads and the adoption of modern arms has changed much of this, and the Kurd has learned to respect automatic weapons, artillery, and aircraft. In a number of regards, such as education and public health, it can be seen that the new government enters much more completely into the interests of the people, and, according to popular opinion, has subverted many functions formerly reserved to the chieftains alone. In summary, it appears that the administration today is at once more rigorous and more enlightened than that of Ottoman times.

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[417]

In conclusion certain observations on the present administration may be reinforced. It can be observed how

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army officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective baladi (from balad, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an official or an officer has entered a higher class of society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing, say, a skullcap, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," baladi, who has no understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be interpreted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolutionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing as far as the government service and the governed are concerned.

291 186 291 554 [668]

Most of the men of the district are armed and appear frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most widespread is the khunjir or dagger which is a curved blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

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is of wood or horn with a studded pommel, and the sheath is of rawhide. There is some variation in size, but the typical weapon is about a foot in length. The best steel is supposed to have tiny undulations in its grain, and comes from Mosul or Damascus. The finer examples have engraved silver hilts and sheaths, and the grip is often bound with silver wire. The khunjir is worn in the sash on the right side and is held with the blade curving downward toward the user. From this position virtually the only stroke is a vertical slashing motion with the raised forearm, and its use does not have the versatility of a straight blade, which, for example, can be used in thrusting. Often the rosary (tezbih, from Arabic subha) is entwined about the hilt. To digress, the Muslim rosary in its complete form consists of 99 beads, separated into groups of 33 by 3 markers, but today this is only found preserved in the homes of the extremely pious or worn around the waist of a darwish. It is used in certain devotional exercises, and the number of beads is popularly supposed to correspond to the 99 names or qualities of God found in the Quran. The common form, such as that referred to above, is of 33 beads with two markers, and has a much simpler application in occupying the hand whenever idle, with no reference whatever to religious sentiment, a substitute for the cigarette. Most are of heavy amberoid beads imported from Germany and strung in a loop ending in three small tassels. The most precious come from Mecca and are

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of ebony or some other wood inlaid with silver dots. 788 293
The rosary may also be carried hanging loosely about the wrist.

The chieftains, and other townspeople of high station, carry pistols, almost always of the automatic type, in oilcloth holsters on the right or left hip, sometimes attached to the belt with a lanyard. The butt is often wrapped in a silk handkerchief, and this, together with the type of holster and the position in which it is worn, mitigates against the most efficient use, as in the case of the dagger. Bodyguards, as well as most of the populace, when fully armed, carry rifles and oilcloth bandoliers of ammunition, the latter hung crossed on the chest. The rifles are usually Iranian Army Mausers. British army weapons, such as the Webley revolver, are avoided because their possession is not easily explained to the authorities. It is difficult for Americans, in whose homes firearms are commonplace, to appreciate the apprehensiveness of government officers in an area of well-armed people such as this. In Egypt, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, as well as most of Iraq, the bulk of the agricultural population have comparatively few rifles among them and there is little threat of armed revolt in this quarter, save in the case of a few minority groups, such as the Druzes, who have maintained their integrity by precisely this means. The sale of arms and ammunition, except by almost impossible government formalities, is

411 ● [578] [656]

forbidden in the Rowanduz area and an investigation of their sources might prove embarrassing to the government itself. Most of the modern items, however, have an Iranian Army history. The adulation of weapons, common to the youth of many countries, is a prominent feature of Kurdish adolescence, and a lad who by diligence or a stroke of good fortune has obtained an elderly pistol or a rifle has a treasure indeed. The skill of the Kurds with arms is open to some question, in view of the high price of illicit ammunition, but several demonstrations were witnessed on vultures (whom it is strictly forbidden to shoot) which gave evidence of capability.

In treating the costume of the women of the town, it is important to remember that three different categories must be dealt with, the wives of the civil officials, Kurdish townswomen of the upper class, and those of humbler stations, although the difference in dress between the latter two groups is largely a matter of the quality of the material and the wearing of the veil. To describe first the garments of a Kurdish woman of the lower classes, the basic undergarment, as in the case of the men, is a pair of white cotton drawers falling below the knees, although in these the bottoms are more tightly bound about the calves. Above this a simple cotton shirt may appear. Over the drawers full trousers of dark-coloured cloth, drawn in at the ankles, may be worn, an invariable item in the attire of village women. To build up the outer garment a series of chemises and simple dresses with long,

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowanduz the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in shapeless black, and in the ten or twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their footwear includes European models, some single slippers, and the kabkab. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

people and supervising the entertainment. A party of men 585
is assembled at the home of the bridegroom, and the bride- [497]
groom himself is seated on a horse. This group, leading the
animal, makes its way through the town, accompanied by
shouting, music, and the noise of rifles fired in the air.
Arriving at the house of the maiden, the bridegroom dis-
mounts and is led inside with his followers to be offered
food and drink. A second group, made up of the bride and
her female relatives and friends, is formed, and the bride
also mounts an extravagantly caparisoned horse. A more
striking procession now begins, headed by the bridegroom
and his men. Following these are the bride, her relatives
and friends, and the rear is brought up by donkeys and
porters carrying the new household goods, clothing, and
other treasures in brightly painted chests. The Kurds
take great delight in discharging firearms on such
occasions, and permission for this must be obtained from
the government. When the bride of a chieftain was taken
by automobile to Astara from Resvanieh, several thousand
rounds were fired in the air along the route. The bride- [411]
groom arrives at his parental home before the bride, and [456]
takes up a station on the roof or balcony, furnished with
a tray filled with grain, coins, and candy. When the bride
is led up on her horse, he showers the contents of this
tray over her and her women. As she dismounts, a sheep
is slaughtered before the door of the house and her shoe
is dipped in its blood before she can enter.

The consummation of the marriage is usually deferred

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Ehr Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short pules. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and farrish, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa carried before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the mills, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "was to heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

000 of blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

291 As the sun peeped over the rugged
• 411 mountains the blankets moved again and men rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waistband; they also disappeared silently below.

438 I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

515 A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "*Hotta!*" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

000 The night has ended. Sulaimaniya is awake.

[text continued on p. 383(B)]

[p. 382(A)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

J. C. A. Johnson

Two Pizhder warriors from the agha's bodyguard. These men are regarded as personal retainers and therefore they rank higher than serfs. Each man has his own horse and rifle

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[P 3109 (1)]

Aside from this
work in building and repair, the only significant production 335
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 322
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 322
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of 415
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may [583]
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 412
carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, [439]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [764]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are [854]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 5. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

[133]
[243]

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kurdistan.

The watercourses and springs

311 condition the siting of the villages. Some deep hits—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former
241 use of qanāts. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the fetching of water and
for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging
[412] these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot ploughs[32], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The
805 foot plough was seen in use down by the Lesser Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages
[137] of Topzawa and Rabawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have
245 stunted growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for
must and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sergalu, Bulkha and Tawella, which have ample
water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are: oxen
231 and cows, yak, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, mules, donkeys, fox, and swine, horses, with
ducks, fowls and geese. Bees, too, are kept in a hollow and ridden with a cork lid[33]. There are also
big, yellow sheep dogs and fox hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[34]. At 5 a.m. the cattle
233 are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day
the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkha that his wages were 25 fils — 6d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are clipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Scythes are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, *dās*, (E. 2243) about 27 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *qaydx*,[38] (E. 2242) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[39]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *gwīz*, (E. 2244) about 6.80 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung aroundа shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over herright shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[40], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled witha wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 9 Harvest implements, sickle (E. 2243), claw (E. 2242), and handmade rope (E. 2244).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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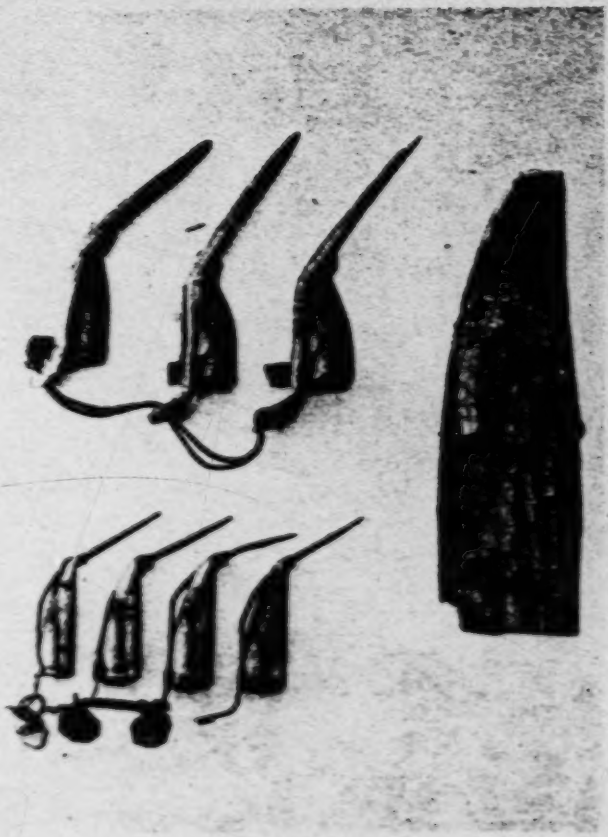

Fig. 9. Harvest claws from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark. Above, Turkish bone claws (M. 566). Below, Kurdish metal claws (E. 2262). To the right, a curved wooden board with rooms for three fingers; from the Luru. Iran. (E. 327).

343 water from the clay roof of the house after rain. Threshing at the open threshing floors takes place from July to October[42]. It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the fully-heaped corn[43] three to seven domestic animals, such as donkeys, cows, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was seen used up in the mountains and on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, [364] built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, *alapzâlus*, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin 313 lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the [364] basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their [415] families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to [252] pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for [412] rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. 343 Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless [412] store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading 342 up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the niche-like, three-walled *heyvân*. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two [515] steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

[Text continues top of P. 34 -- analyst]

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Fig. 34. Baking implements: table (E. 2261), rolling stick (E. 2263), baking pillow (E. 2264), and iron spoon (E. 2265). Small wooden spoon for eating (E. 2269) and wooden ladle for drinking (E. 2268).

252 oven, *tandir*[33], or on an iron sheet, *tāwa*[34] or *sāj*. In both cases the woman, who squats on the floor, uses a low baking table, *pīna*[35], cut out in one piece from a large block of wood producing a thick, rectangular sheet with rounded corners and a slightly convex surface, supported by four short legs or blocks narrowing towards the floor (E. 2661, sheet 0.365×0.250, height 0.07 m. – E. 2262, sheet 0.50×0.42, height 0.10 m.).

[416] When baking in the earth oven several women, as a rule three, work together[36]. The lumps of dough are rolled out with a rolling pin, a thin wooden stick about 70 cm. in length, *shōy* (E. 2263)[37], decorated at both ends by 6–7 incised flutes all round. The two women use this implement to roll the dough into quite thin pancakes. During this process the sheet of dough is often lifted from the baking table by means of the stick, more flour being strewn on the surface before the dough is put back to be rolled out still thinner. The skill of the women was evinced in proportion to the thinness to which they could roll out the dough.

The dough is then lifted up, hanging over the stick, and placed on the "baking pillow", *mash* (?), which is shaped like a thick, rectangular pillow and made of cloth. On the one side is an opening

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[39].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandir* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[39]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sibbil*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tāwa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[40]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[41], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *kallak* or *kūd* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Balkha, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, *ḥīr*, is never used raw[42]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flat-bottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *māst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *māst* or curds. A clay vase, *dōst*, (E. 2260), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawlā*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the house will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *bōdāl*, (E. 2256) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samōwar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samowar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samowar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samowar waisted tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samowar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *âsh*, sheets of bread folded into corners to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[28], and, rarely, fried eggs, *hêlka*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[29], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[30], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to roast dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[31] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmiyê*[32] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdhjân* or eggplant[33] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[34] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in water at the morning meal and also grown as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Balkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and currants, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[35]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the sauce bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225-0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

269 on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from [illegible] bowls[48], but forks
262 and knives were not used[49]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed a
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mâstâw* or the less-distinguished *dûgî*. These are drunk from glasses
[272] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinse
and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2239), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the he
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, dead, made out of whole
tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, o
on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled wate
skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, the
the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one en
being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin int
place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a sac
sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the workhouse, both the clay
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed wi
whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form o
these cooking pits[50]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight
and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there ar
[239] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[51]. Cattle manure
is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat embe
pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Baleisawar and i
the villagers there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places these
braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was sometimes with tempe
379 storm of up to 30° C (122° F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the cold
periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some thirteen, a fire was lit in a ho
niche in the wall under a kazan. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further partic
ulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[52] states that: "In winter the main room i
heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be)
a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[53] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a wood-
a quilt ... formed the "kirsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine
writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus du foyer un tabouret (kursi), on le recouv
d'une couverture[54] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a vice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before Europeans soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the houses I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezi* (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *suq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the dustcarts whirls about, but there is no carpet beating.

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a common factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has chanced to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

the summer heat, these rooms have a height which seems ab- 342
normal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve
feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally
raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the
level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those
of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in
wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist
of bundles of poles and twigs, and are mostly left un-
finished, although a few have been plastered and pasted
with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed
with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before [356]
cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by
copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a
little of the floor. The roofs are equipped with long, [413]
smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter
and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the
roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of
these homes are of two storeys, and, although there is
considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of
which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in
the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is
marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient
the house and its windows so that household life, specifi-
cally that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the
street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a [351]
"true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the deficiencies
are amended with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced
twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological [174]

413

Fig. 46. Left: [illegible] (E. 2372) used in [illegible] (Cf. p. 60). Centre: spindle (E. 2340). The yarn wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: the wooden comb (E. 2339), [illegible] material is wound and boiled to get glucose. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

286
A42
369
[illegible]

Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant women when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawalla the women even spun during their long walk to and from the orchards.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *dîli*, (E. 2340) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindle-whorl of about 0.050 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. While making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstretched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

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Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2332) intended for smooth-woven rugs,[illegible] the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2347) intended for material for men's clothes. The

[illegible]

is an event which always attracts a number of spectators. 326
The blacksmiths also forge a few crude agricultural tools [331]
and do a certain amount of repair work. There is extensive
scavenging of iron, and the blacksmith's establishment con-
tains a huge number of odds and ends which might some day
find a customer. Hinges and nails, for example, are pur- [414] ●
chased by builders and householders. Tinsmiths exercise 326
considerable importance in domestic economy in the fabrica- 46
tion and, particularly, the repair of cooking utensils, and
their workshops in the bazar are daily sought by a large
number of persons, not only from the town, but from the
district at large. The poorly-made metal pots and pans
are always in need of repair, and the tinsmith, much more
so than many of his fellows, has an extremely brisk trade.
One important specialty is the repair of cracked or broken 323
porcelain dishes. Large platters, imported long ago from 415
abroad and used in serving food, are precious family heir-
looms and handed down from generation to generation. A
crack is repaired by drilling a series of tiny holes through
the dish on either side of the break and fastening them
together with metal clamps. One of the dearest possessions 415
of a housewife is her samovar for brewing tea, and those 326
of the wealthier families, of etched brass or pewter,
were brought in by trade from Russia or Iran many years
ago and inherited through the family. The tinsmiths
manufacture a bright, but poorly soldered, tea-urn of
sheet tin which is in great demand among the poorer
villagers. A villager carrying one of these home from 415

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The country houses of the Kurds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *boza*, a liquor called *sarabat*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

At Suliemaniah, the Kürdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *haremlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his 'Anabasis', or Retreat of the Ten Thousand, mentions that the Kurdish boys their wine in ornamental skins.—Bk. iv. chap. ii.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

538 Hodja administers a severe rebuke to the avaricious; in another he enunciates a wise maxim for general observance; in many he is a mere buffoon; and in some his own honesty and integrity are more than questionable. Underlying the majority, however, is a vein of quiet sarcasm; and the *jeux de mots*, so much appreciated by Orientals, and to which the Turkish language especially is so well adapted, are very frequent, but impossible to reproduce in another language.

The Adventures of a Cooking Pot.

539 One day the Hodja borrowed a cauldron (*kazán*) from his neighbour. Now this neighbour was a bad man, and the Hodja did not like him. After the cauldron had remained some days with him, the owner knocked at the Hodja's door and re-demanded his property. The Hodja placed a smaller pot in the cauldron, and handed it to him. When the owner observed this, he said to Nasr-ed-Din:

"This little pot is not mine."

The Hodja replied, "Thy cauldron has given birth to a young one; take them both, I do not want thy goods."

At this the owner of the cauldron rejoiced greatly, and exclaimed, "*Allah kerim*—Allah is great! with the Almighty nothing is impossible!" and so saying, he took the pots and went his way.

A month or two afterwards the Hodja again went to his neighbour to borrow a cauldron. The man brought out the biggest he possessed. "But that is too big," objected Nasr-ed-Din.

nd distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal 283
ettles for dyeing the finished cloth a single brown or 286
lue. In the villages women do a certain amount of 531
mbroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely- 286
oven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched 294
ogether to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as
tockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff 323
ottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with
esigns in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, 322
uch as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
alking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the [439]
own to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of 439
arving, however, almost none of these products ever
each a larger market than that of Rowandus and bring only
he smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer
hem for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a
ew coppers with which to buy trinkets, and some of these
ransactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
ay great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal 322
or winter fuel are important services performed by the 314
illagers for the larger towns of the district. In the 322
ummer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
own of Rowandus, particularly for chilling drinks such
s sherbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and
ater, qq, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumber- [495]
ome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and
illow branches which are constructed into summer arbors 323

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social im- 241
plications in the life of the townspeople.

Of those who furnish the community with food and 265
drink, the tea-shop owner or *sharbji* might be considered 347
first. There are ten *sharbkanes* in the town. That
located beside the serai has already been noticed, and the
other nine are all within the *bazar* area. The buildings
vary considerably, for example, three occupy second
stories overlooking the street, but the furnishings are
singularly uniform. One such building, the "sinner's"
sharbkane spoken of above, was of a single storey, rec-
tangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the
street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind.
The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of [352]
high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about
it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within
the building. In a corner of the room near the door was [415]●
a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants
for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of
utensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the
door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which
he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters [451]
for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A
waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers
and brought the money to the owner.

The etiquette of entering a *sharbkane* varies some- 265
what according to the personalities of its customers. In 576

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "th peace be upon you," as-Salaam alaikum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa alaykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and t raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goduss of God," Ullah bikherr, which is returned with: similar salute and the same words. The refreshment of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istikan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mazat, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often have bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tavli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kebab) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 265
implement (sikh). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private houses, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
shirkheng. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kebabchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

Aside from this
work in building and repair, the only significant production 335
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 322
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 323
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of 495
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may [583]
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 412
carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, [439]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [348]
carpenters. [194]
Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their distinctive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

is an event which always attracts a number of spectators. 326
The blacksmiths also forge a few crude agricultural tools [231]
and do a certain amount of repair work. There is extensive
scavenging of iron, and the blacksmith's establishment con-
tains a huge number of odds and ends which might some day
find a customer. Hinges and nails, for example, are pur- [414]
chased by builders and householders. Tinsmiths exercise 326
considerable importance in domestic economy in the fabrica- 415
tion and, particularly, the repair of cooking utensils, and
their workshops in the bazar are daily sought by a large
number of persons, not only from the town, but from the
district at large. The poorly-made metal pots and pans
are always in need of repair, and the tinsmith, much more
so than many of his fellows, has an extremely brisk trade.
One important speciality is the repair of cracked or broken 323
porcelain dishes. Large platters, imported long ago from 415
abroad and used in serving food, are precious family heir-
looms and handed down from generation to generation. A
crack is repaired by drilling a series of tiny holes through
the dish on either side of the break and fastening them
together with metal clasps. One of the dearest possessions 415
of a housewife is her samovar for brewing tea, and those 326
of the wealthier families, of etched brass or pewter,
were brought in by trade from Russia or Iran many years
ago and inherited through the family. The tinsmiths
manufacture a bright, but poorly soldered, tea-urn of
sheet tin which is in great demand among the poorer
villagers. A villager carrying one of these home from 415

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its arrival an event of great joy in his household. 95

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in the bazar, and, like the carpenters and blacksmiths, they live more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkab) are produced for women. One shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and shoptheques with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for customers and passing on gossip with considerable haste.

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter.

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handkerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleaning in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two [illegible] to the laundress in Rowandoz, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ~~at~~ post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Kigali. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the hammam so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, has largely disappeared in modern Kurdistan.[1] Bathing in Rowandus is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the khan or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and one washes by standing with a bucket or tin of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

[1]Hamshere, 1951, p. 175.

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the First World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. [illegible], when one or two wicks are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any one other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [864] 933 964

The *divankhana* or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first 353 574

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354

used in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, heading above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

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[439]

415

251

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shiwi sayaw, are considered a delicacy.

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, liwan ewal, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Khatay, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of virulent fever.

The diet of the civil officials and their families

flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the meze (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Montagnes is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the divanhane, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, Bismillah, "In the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

[illegible]

Fig. 4. Female woman holding hand on shoulder (see also: Addie (See p. 43))

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the Sufi family of Barzinji (Sheikhs[4]), and the representative of the Greek of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adile died in 1934 during the British mandate period. She grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Khalkhalo, some distance from Dukan, was in 1997 deserted and neglected. My companion told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adile's wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove away and grate over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adile of Dukan, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my companion, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adile's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and noble (Iraq) of Kurdistan.

Whereas Lady Adile then cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the occupation, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kadir, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by the revolt and handed over, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that area in 1919. The relations of this man deteriorated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Persian Front and, on account of his behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life, which later was concluded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fikriye Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[illegible] when her husband's death she administered the estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and other surroundings. Monogamic prevails. "Love marriages" are rarer.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information differs with my personal experience of a certain amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 1 Female [illegible]

Fig 4. Urban culture. Uneducated married woman and educated girl eating tea in the courtyard. Diyarbakır.

The Kurdish women whose cultural patterns is to be considered below consist, as my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish women". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigative material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and city/urbanized environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the chiefs' houses in Tirgavera, Shaikhs, Bergala and Xerbas. I visited peasant homes in Tirgavera, Xikavra, Mirve, Kaniya and Bekiha. The police official's house I visited is at the fairy town of Mirde Kuniya was in between the two.

The provincial city environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban culture) I have seen only in the town Lice capital, Bakalorsel, but also in Kirkuk, Midyatja, Tunceli and Bismarkiye. The women of this urban culture could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same home, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group while the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent storm on June 5th (1987). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the underneath house forms an open space outside the one above it. The accommodations consist of economic rooms (lodged by wood and beaten-dry straw), or the bottom of inhabited rooms. The storage has sometimes been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

capitals, which were a primitive form of the elaborate, volleted capital. From the side of the façade two wooden doors each led to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the façade, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls mirror of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be welcomed a small white clay building on the opposite side of the road, built not over the lower-lying field - a latrine, subjacellus, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waterpipe over the garden wall, and lay in the area of the forte. In the evening the forte's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully bolted and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, through the area of the former. This was where all washing work took place - food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the latrine's waterpipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who have closed ties, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, goatskin sacks or men's skin waterbags. Some of these women took upbringings of their children to the basin to wash the area of the family house, either to have a rest or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rye for their flour, or of barley whose grain as a substitute for rye. Moreover, just as many came merely to fetch the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the entire thin, three-walled layout. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were covered from it. Each possessed one low-lying, iron-sited, glass window overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular oval floor, the other a somewhat finer tiles than in the central room. In the eastern back wall of this sitting room was set up in a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

[Some corrections to p. 64 - illegible]

Fig. 31. Wooden table-tending in rural Bengala.
Fig. 32. Some table and bench. Their cells, as furniture, Cyprus.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, durrie, and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs. [illegible] imported from Iran or Kurdistan. Some of Kurdistan other than these I visited. Neither felt mats nor knotted rugs were ever swept or dusted by Europeans, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal was, whether it was or did not—was for several purposes, what intentionally changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the flat roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the cooler coolness of the layrahs in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood unceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flap-chapel fan, [illegible], 6,000 A. D. 371). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for giving [illegible] on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the division of the men in the house, and were stored in the most masculy of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an antiquary's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no space for exercise or any idea that furniture was to

Fig. 01. The chest G. 2276 on top of wooden locker chest G. 2276 with painted glass from doorway Mohammed's riding animal Bardy, Tripoli.

decorative. On the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the house. Wine, grain or nail jammed into chests (G. 2276). The key, Hilla, in the paintings, in each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vase in which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had in which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, empty (G. 2276). Made in the city of Sulaimani by craftsmen using an additional wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Mohammed's riding animal with a woman's head, Barby, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also served about a good deal in this cultural gesture, which most originally have been based on the rest and on hanging up of objects.

The one bed was left to me, the two were of the lower usually slept in the two others. The rest of the family slept on the floor. The original arrangement of the bed was further arranged by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the muddled mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds often made in the area of the house in which one had dwelled to sleep. There, for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilization of the store room meant also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

Fig. 15. Loom in Suleimaniya. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 16. Wool wall with woman in baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Suleimaniya.

The home was to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, in the family house of any interpreter in Suleimaniya. The father was a Suleimaniyan who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Suleimaniya. Although he tended to these modern things the business was kept up the one of the larger booths in the city with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small working table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in the home consisted of two wives, 32 and 31, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 20, 13, 9, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters and stepdaughters, 22, the others 23, 17, 14, 12 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 12 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Tiqueena, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Suleimaniya, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The home consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and of some section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a prong save for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that also

Fig. 1. Baking implements: table (E. 224), rolling pin (E. 220), baking pillow (E. 224), and two spoons (E. 214). Small wooden spoon for saving (E. 224) and wooden bells for whisking (E. 224).

352 oven, *wendo*[1], or on an iron sheet, *shaf*[1] or *afj*. In both cases the women, who spend on the floor, use a low baking table, *plaf*[1], cut out in one piece from a large block of wood producing a thick, rectangular sheet with rounded corners and a slightly convex surface, supported by four short legs or blocks narrowing towards the floor (E. 264). sheet 0.90×0.230, height 0.07 m. – E. 240. sheet 0.50×0.42, height 0.10 m.).

[illegible] When baking in the earth oven several women, as a rule thirty, work together[2]. The lumps of dough are first rolled out with a rolling pin, a thin wooden stick about 70 cm. in length, *ruleg* (E. 220)[3], decorated on both ends by 6-7 incised lines all round. The two women use this implement to roll the dough two quite thin pancakes. During this process the sheet of dough is often lifted from the baking table by means of the stick, more flour being strewn on the surface before the dough is put back to be rolled out still thinner. The skill of the women was evinced in proportion to the distance to which they could roll out the dough.

The dough is then lifted up, hanging over the stick, and placed on the "baking pillow", *madi* (1), which is shaped like a thick, rectangular pillow and made of cloth. On the one side is an opening

Fig. 31. Churns of milk on display and milkers from Adamawa Province.

It was reported that the Bura make cheese by adding the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in sweet milk. The skins of invited milk is eaten as a special delicacy[1]. Milk would be eaten with sliced plantains or it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It would also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving what is called cheese[2].

Milk offered with cream becomes nukuru[3], a delicacy, but thin and weak sugarcoated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. Milk is also the material from which butter, ghee, is churned[4]. Every day or two, in the villages, water is poured into the churning pail, usually made of a whole pumpkin turned in and hard, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the cook oven. The legs are wires together and the wide opening closed with a leather patch. The makers pour the milk down the wide opening of the skin, which is then kept over, mixed lengthways, and finally laid inward with a wooden spoon fastened to the skin. The churning pail has two pieces of wood inserted between the front and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the work is suspended horizontally[5] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

the milk of the multiparae or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard, it could also be hung up on a support, rigid, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the loom.

The churning milk is jerked back and forth by a woman, who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 30 minutes the milk is opened and sqilli water is poured down, whereafter the milk is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the milk, and when butter has formed[1] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a reddish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, stirred well, and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly until the impurities evaporate. In this clarified state it is called *rougui*[2].

Fig. 16. Woman churning. The leather sack made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a post in the wind-walk. Fogaroua.

Making of tea

The samovar's containing chai is, when served with sweets, is called chay. It is a beverage common to socialize, has a social quality as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is exhilarating and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the shaving sack and, like the latter, stirred by a wooden rod, " around the neck, it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, or well.

For the cooling of samovar to Subsequent change of water, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer also is brought down to the town and sold in the market[illegible]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drank with the help of a big conical wooden ladle, Cowl[illegible], cl. (Zinc, about 0.39 cm. long, of which 0.12 cm. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. Big use to conduct with whole grains of wheat was a privilege, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter been at Bukhara.

The making of tea, to the part of Kandahar in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper samovar, tiered vessels and beaks, with a bell-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.4[illegible] m. high cl. (270)[illegible], was bought in a second-hand shop in the city in Kabulistan. It was a foreign (Turkish) domestic which I saved size to see. At certain intervals along the highroads were a tea-shop, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, rice. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea forbids being a seasoned refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made especially for these occasions, is also offered to guests[illegible], and to the making accordance with a circumstance and entertainments. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

In a rich one particular woman in the house stands in the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small stump rice, cream mat or kilt (pg. Webb) (1. (294) about 1.28 / 0.72 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the gaudy samovar of glance or brass[illegible] standing on five legs and filled with water. A large part of glance is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven. From the earthenware pot with charcoal heated on a fire, rectangular iron trays with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small stationary is placed on the top of the samovar and it contains stem and the upper body, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, to which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is formed, sufficient, however, to have the body for the innumerable glasses of tea to the utmost in an unending sequence to those present. On the side of the samovar support two glasses about 9 cm. high with uppermost flowered saucers and spoons[illegible] for to a tea bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the city in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with sweetened sugar equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces [illegible] by a special sugar hammer[illegible]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also placed ready[illegible]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are closed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is inverted and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village statements in Tegueme like baking of bread often about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and oxen are milked by mother and daughter or boy as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are herded over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 10 a.m. and 3 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. After a week daily in the home, Beatriz is churned every morning. The churning unit is hung up on a beam in the smokehouse or on a beam

Fig. 18. Woman smoking before the fire. Tegueme.

511
462
534
831
911
415

Fig. 41. Village women go out to the mountains to meet shepherd who is dry. Tupiarm.

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with sons and married sons on the land. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The mixing of the water given in the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the house. Whatever grain is ground in the home of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done in turns, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big combined parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in succession. The clothes are laid out to dry on the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, [illegible] was called for during the day. An extra task in Baffinland was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up, apart from the washing of food and bed washing, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Baffin the distribution of milk and the transmission of the mail were also collective.

Fig. 41. Material folded vessel + stick + ladle in a pot. (C) by Ms. Angela.
Fig. 42. Wine placing + rope tie box + joint hole by man and woman. Below.

be done by either men or women. On the other hand it only men were wearing suits (Wine Runners). After the material of narrow widths has been woven to suitable lengths for jackets (3 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a (bird or quarter of its width), wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2288, 9.25 in. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, removed from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 46).

The production of clay vessels. There are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type are sold in the city of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2291) is used to hold water from wells and tanks and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual women for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[1]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved line affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by slight impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars then

Fig. 41. Left: bottle-shaped jar with handle (E. 2291, Tegumia.
Right: milk container made of a whole waxed hot skin (E. 2246, Bellima.

323 I had an opportunity to watch being modelled were formed, they were dried in the sun where they received a greyish tint. Thereafter eleven are at a time arranged in a pile, a larger jar being placed on its side in the middle. The others, placed in a circle, lean up against this. This pile, resting on the ground not of ovens some distance from the house, is then covered by a mound formed of flat briquettes made of camel dung kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the house. Firing lasts three hours, after which the jars are placed on one of the flat roofs of the house to cool. The colour of the finished jars is reddish-brown with black traces of the firing (cf. E. 2239, bottle-shaped, 1.260 m. high).

Under the production of clay vessels must also be reckoned the making of the rectangular type of large grain silos or decorated with rims. These are of dried clay, neither fired nor glazed, to be found in the store rooms in villages.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Rowanduz area, and approximately also to area 3 of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area 2. 361 342

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarized as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main door faces downhill and leads out onto the roof of the house immediately below but this practice varies. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual; in such cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, there are very rarely any shutters. The fire is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin branches about the thickness of pencils. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a clayey mude from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly rigid floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight lengths of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common scrub. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the deficiency of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Shaikhs where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be created from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of mudbrick instead of stone and plaster noted above. 342 352 415 342 331 463 342

342

Middle, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as
urches for those above. The population of this community [40]
s estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house
s simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without
lass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354]
ndoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings [312]
eager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 344
illage boasts no specialized constructions and is without
oops. Larger villages, such as Betas or Hyaus, have a
umber of buildings for special purposes, for example, [347]
he police post and the Nestorian church in Hyaus, and a [346]
efinite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417
f the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences
f interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231
maller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342
nimals were housed within the dwellings themselves during
old weather, and in some locales in the area caves are
sed as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 341

agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the
iddle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often,
t in the Rowandus district it is possible to find isolated
ura settlements of no more than one or two houses. The 342
otshir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a
lack goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance
ot unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of
hese tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer
uest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

d distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal 387
ottles for dyeing the finished cloth a single brown or 246
ue. In the villages women do a certain amount of 53/
hawlbery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely- 246
own piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched 234
gether to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as
ockings is crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff 383
tiary jugs are fashioned without the wheel and decked with
signs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, 372
ch as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and
lking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the [410]
as to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of 419
rving, however, almost none of these products ever
ach a larger market than that of Rawanduz and bring only
e smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer
em for sale to the merchants in the hope of realising a
w coppers with which to buy trinkets, and some of these
nsactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce,
e great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal 372
r winter fuel are important services performed by the 394
illagers for the larger towns of the district. In the 372
mmer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the
wn of Rawanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such
sherbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and
ter, qq. drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumber- [405]
me wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and
llow brambles which are constructed into summer arbors 383
418

or viaHorwuda, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villager. There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the year "Gi" or "Isaa," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the first World War when a Belgian army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and emergencies since that time have been few. For the surplus, the fuel of district marketing have some variation. It has been seen that the Tutsi aristocracy, centered at Rwanda, controls the harvest and sale of tributes. A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Kabil, others bought up in the town of Ruwanda, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Ruwanda exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Iyuma, and others a natural response to the requirements

[illegible]

The most important "pieces of furniture" for sitting, resting, working and sleeping purposes were the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *shaddeh*, and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *farsh*. (S. 2377)[1] imported from Iran, or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knotted rugs were ever [illegible] on by Kurmanj, for all stood their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces they covered. Left was lived on the floor; there was evolved, we said, [illegible]. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal was, whether it did,—was for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the flat roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *kyosk* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood unceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *tahrifak*, (LXIII i, (S. 2371)). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling [illegible] on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite rare elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most masculy of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be o

[illegible] 345 [illegible]

[illegible] 345 [illegible]

[illegible] 345 [illegible]

[illegible] 345 [illegible]

[illegible] 345 512

they do not exercise the influence, economic as well as social, in the community of those of larger estates. Without enumerating the list of the "rich," the two wealthiest persons in Rawanduz, together with the types of their property, are given here:

Sa'id Effendi:	1 house, 1 shop, money
Ma'ruf Ibrahim:	2 houses, 1 shop, money
Ma'ruf Mohammed Amin:	2 houses, 1 shop, money
Hajji Mustafa Khalil:	1 house, money
Beli Khan:	9 villages (including Qaimal, land, many houses, about 20 shops, money
Mirt Hamid Agha:	1 village, land, 1 house
Sa'id Effendi:	land, 4 houses
Hadji Agha:	1 village, 1 house
Hajjia Malika:	2 shops, 1 house, money
Ghafur Effendi:	1 village, land, 1 house

"Money," of course, here represents cash capital, and a "village" includes not only houses, but agricultural lands. It would be difficult to form any estimate of the fortunes involved, because, among other reasons, a single large building can have a greater value than a number of smaller plots totalling the same size. Similarly, a concentrated sum of money can be worth more in certain situations than its equivalent in agricultural lands, although most people in Iraq prefer to believe that this is not true. In any case, the holdings of such a person as Beli Khan, while they cannot compare with some of the immense estates of southern Iraq, represent many thousands of dinars. That these persons have their residence in Rawanduz adds to the importance of the town, quite apart from its role as a mercantile center, and many people in the town gain their livelihood wholly or in part from their service.

its lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the 423
inalienable character of the civil code reinforced by 426
scripture, how one half might be completely cut off in
favor of another, and no exception could be elicited. If 428
a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful
event, he could do this best by leaving his property to
the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest,
a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the
equality of the claims of sons.

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, 427
tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although 562
there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well.
Hali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprison-
ment of her almost sole relatives, offers a case in
point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding
property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and
household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the 583
generality of Islamic society, and at Kwesukum, is paid in 421
money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the
girl. It consists of two parts, the muqaddam and the
mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The
first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid
in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to
the parent of the bride who is responsible for its adminis-
tration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must [586]
be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will
or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for

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a husband to honor this second amount if the contract is broken before the marriage has commenced or if the woman, for some reason, abandons the house of her spouse. In Rwanda, in contrast to other areas, the father of the bride is expected to double the first portion of the dowry, the gishingo, from his own resources, and the money that realized is given into the hands of the maiden. "The money of the marriage is for the girl," it was related, "and it is an evil and impious person who withholds it from her. There are even bad fathers who eat up their daughters' dowries." The dowry of a girl of the lowest townspeople in Rwanda is at least 20 or 30 francs [$4.00 or $6.00] and that of daughters of the wealthier families or the aristocrats is much greater.

It must be realized that the amount of a dowry is also a sign of social status, and to this end the figures written into the marriage contract often have more prestige than reality behind them. A number of discussions of this point have been heard in the Middle East, and one of these, similar to those recorded in Rwanda but perhaps more aptly expressed, was the expostulation of an English-speaking teacher, one Shams al-Dauti, in Egypt. "When, as a youth, I returned to my parents' town from the university in Cairo," he said, "I was called upon to negotiate the dowry of a maiden whom my younger brother wished to marry. Her relatives, when I spoke with them, named a figure so extravagant I could hardly credit my ears. I told them it was improper to bargain for a girl, and that, although I

A Hanerwoud Ayle, normally a close relative of the leader of the majority, would be appointed to the conquered village. He would live permanently in the village with a small group of Hanerwoud supporters. When members of the local race show their capabilities and were satisfied would be passed on to the Ayle leader of the original party.

Conflicts rarely arose between the Hanerwoud usurper and his original leader. As soon as the balance of power changed in favor of the former, and he further felt that he would be able to control the conquered village with his own forces, he would declare himself independent and thereby found a new lineage branch.

It may seem surprising that the smaller group in such a village should be successful in forcibly dominating the larger group for any length of time. As far as the conquest itself is concerned, the point was clearly made to me by the leader of one group of subjected serfs: «In those days, people were so busy with their farms and things, they had no time to be ready with guns and horses. Those who had enough money to feed the men that ride around on horses could conquer such poor villagers.» And later, although the local Hanerwoud may have declared themselves independent of their old village, they could still count on support from their fellow villagers in case of revolt. The peasants, on the other hand, had no organization overgrowing a larger group. Furthermore, it is the peasant group who has the vested interest in peace, so that the crop can ripen and the cows survive. In case of conflict, the Hanerwoud risked only the loss of his men, whereas the peasants, no matter what the outcome might be, were practically around the loss of their whole year's crop.

The local group that emerged from these conquests has a very characteristic structure and organization. Except where external administration intervenes effectively, all political power is in the hands of a well organized Hanerwoud minority, led by an hereditary Ayle. This ruling group has vested interests in remaining separate from the remainder of the village, and the close tribal organization limited by decree provides the necessary mechanism.

This political dominance serves primarily to enforce certain privileges in the economic field. The Hanerwoud regard themselves as

• 6.11 the owners of the land, and either in cash or by the traditionally stipulated
6.12 fraction of the peasants' crop: 1/5—1/10 of the cereal crop, 1/3 of the irrigated crop, where such is grown. Usually the Hanoverand section of the village is too large to live entirely on these taxes, and since raiding activities are no longer possible (or have not as yet been, though they are still accused especially of cattle-theft by their neighbors), they find it necessary to supplement its subsistence by farming. The Hanoverand farmers hold land as private, inheritable property. They recognize the rights of some of non-tribal peasants to inherit the cultivation rights to specific fields from their fathers, but where the situation permits, such rights may easily be infringed upon.

6.21 A third group in the locality present in the village, consisting of laborers, generally of alien origin. This group is in a similar economic position to that of laborers in the ordinary Yemen village, with the exception that upward mobility is virtually impossible. Neither of the two conflicting groups, the Hanoverand or the subjected Bindjin, are willing to weaken their position by transferring the rights on land to any outside group, and the laborers can therefore never procure the necessary land to rise to owner farmer status, even when given the economic means.

The economic conflict between the Hanoverand and the Bindjin is more intense now than before external administration pacified the area. Formerly, the relation was more nearly one of symbiosis. The peasants, by being attached to a militarily powerful tribe, were in fact protected from the raids of other war-parties in return for the tax they paid. Furthermore, they benefited from the raids of their Hanoverand lords by serving as intermediaries in realizing the value of the loot. The Hanoverands themselves could not enter the Bazaars of the towns, for fear of being recognized. The peasants, on the other hand, were free to enter the markets and sell the goods — for a consideration. If their war-lords were at all successful, the income from such transactions might well more than balance the rental tax paid on the farmland.

As a result of the persistent tensions between the two groups, and the close Athenian co-existence, very little, if any, inter-

B: Leach E-S (1950) 1960 Will Kurd Will
Kinship

suppose that the same applies here we mentioned without an adequate appreciation of the sociological significance of kinship. The following quotation illustrates the position of the Ajar as understood by Bal.

The Kurd is reasonable enough:-

(p. 40) a tribe is a community or federation of communities which exists for the protection of its members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old social customs and standards of life. When tribes have no recognised chiefs none have sway.

The second is more hypothetical:-

(p. 40/41) The position of the chief varies greatly in different tribes. In the remote ancestor, though granted the most sweeping attributes, he is customarily one of the kinsmen, the leading member of a family which has won its leadership through military prowess. Later when he often belongs to an entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections, and in different tribes we find many sections with the same names. This points to the fact that the sections represent the original clans of the unit, while the present chiefs belong to powerful families who have invaded their domains and crowned their leaders. This is probably the case with the Kurd, where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful family, against which a few old tribal Agha and landowners still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than tribal.

The statements that in the Turkish and Persian areas the Aghas are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has already been commented upon in Chapter 1. The idea that the tribes "represent the original clans of the soil", while the government tribal Aghas are conquering overlords is more fantasy, while as for the Kurd the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" [while] while the land is mostly held by town dwelling landlords who have no kinship affiliations with the Kurd at all. While this change distinctions between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is quite standard:-

(Bal., p. 47) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

[illegible] that there will be any serious modification of the existing type of plough, or any move to the hill country.

Threshing

For threshing the hill people use an instrument of wood, the sprits are mainly mixed wood but wood on the plain areas whilst the shaft is reduced to a fine shaft and the upper fine diameter with a fork to a light steel (see photographs). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late October, any material change in the economic progression of the village - such as a switch over from rice to tobacco - must as I have shown be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very puzzling is that throughout the plains area, - where the chief harvest on many farms - can be made of a relatively advanced "threshing machine". This consists of a large drum shaft (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for winning up the shaft. The apparatus is very simple and are, one would have thought, widely applicable. But the natives have resisted that this device be put found in the hill country except occasion on all, though the advantages seem to me quite plain to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the short production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that as long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in November it was good enough. Whatever the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any radical extension of the tobacco cultivation.

Land Utilization

The actual lay-out of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Rice, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently sited, their position being determined by the lay-out of the irrigation system. The sheet on the other land is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram [illegible] roughly the lay-out of cultivation in Pulmah at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow lies on one side of the stream and all the [illegible] about crop on the other. Nothing corresponding to this neat symmetry could be observed in the other villages I visited. It emphasizes the fact however that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one piece; - in Pulmah obviously each working group does have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of rotating land to different individuals cultivators in successive years but my informants

[See page 75 -- Ruelpo]

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[illegible] this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual buildings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of engineers must have had to separate plots at least the following: one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of short and one patch of fallow. But my informants were inconsistent the positions to be in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of subsistence consuming which my field data evidence is very slight. As I have stated, it appears that on fair or land is concerned the cultivators of the Korea have recently over a cultural existence. Several informants that the right to landlords has a cultural right to determine precisely the subsistence of land tenure among the tenants, so as which for Korea alone has this model not to practice.

Korea

The Korea cultivation rests usually in the personal property of the kgha - this being true at least for Malaya, Egypt and Bengal. It did not however that particular individuals are responsible for this cultivation or that they are recognizable. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Malaya this cultivation is not turned over to laborers. Health delayed actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with the enemy the War of Bengala was that the latter owing to better water supplies was able to grow as much more tobacco. Economic political reasons for this concentrate have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Korean point of view it just is not usual to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Egbo show remarkable conservatism (foresight).

The Mill

An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Bengala, Egypt and Bengo. Malaya has none but there is one at Bengarbon. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very eloquent. As may be seen from the diagrams and photographs the machine is worked on a horizontal turbine and thus uses the "velocity" head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it dispenses of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were "precision made" there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the quality of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about ½ ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the visitor of attention.

The local
ornitole partridge (Nothura, chilla) makes a regularly
covered disk, and is violent or control. Wolves are
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few
fure may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Ecuador. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in fact
very able to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or
poles of blunting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
the few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily
diet as milk, curd (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Ghi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
alforja suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the patchily or
tronals seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

Asuka Gaya Fun

ware in building and repair, the only significant production 185
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 372
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 373
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of 96
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may [98]
include a silverlike coin in gold, and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Kwanoako maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 402
carpenter's tools and equipment, gutknife, hammers, planes, [408]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Stools there, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [324]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are [104]
purchased in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 291
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [292]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their distinctive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

Unlike many Kurdish and Nestorian villagers, as well as the people of Rowandus itself, the Bziqhir all belong to one or another "tribe" (Kurdish, 'ashirat, from Arabic, 'ashira), a matter which also demands clarification. The typical Kurdish tribe contains several elements of a different character. Membership usually depends upon descent, but individual families or much larger groups can deny their tribal allegiance, and either join another group, or form an individual tribe of their own. While some of the larger confederations appear to be of considerable antiquity, the smaller groups come and go with the vicissitudes of war, wealth, and leadership. Nor are the tribes made up exclusively of nomads, for, while the nomad may play a dominant role in furnishing pugnacious leadership and armed men, the wealth and numerical strength of such a group come largely from its villagers. Because many of the chieftains are landowners, persons living in villages owned by them, whether Muslim Kurds or Nestorian Christians, are said to "belong" to the chieftain's tribe. Nestorians often dress in the typical garb of their "tribe," taking part in many of its common affairs, although there is almost no possibility of intermarriage between them and their Muslim fellows. While there seems to be little historical evidence to support or refute such a view, the Kurdish tribe appears to represent an intermediate stage between groups whose membership was actually based on descent and those whose character is purely feudal, a situation which may have

disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not quartered in the serai, but occupies a similar, smaller building of its own a short distance up the road which serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. However, the actual direction of the police has its place in the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director, and his assistant, the mamur (Arabic, "official"), an officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there. These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the police. During the summer of 1951, the mamur's adjutant, also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the townspeople for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy, helping himself to refreshments and other small items at the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of the police in Rowandux itself includes watching the market by day, providing guards for government buildings, transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the streets by night.

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of investment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how small the amount involved, than precious metal or land. To all classes of society these two are tangible objects of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers are highly variable, but gold or gold are always of value.

423 454 Because of this conviction, the legal ownership of land becomes an administrative matter of the greatest import, and the office of the director of tapu (registered land) in Rowanduz the scene of some of the most serious transactions in the serai.

423 The laws of Iraq treating the tenure of land are somewhat complex, as both Quranic and Ottoman classifications are intermingled in the modern code, but only two categories need concern us here, tapu and amiriya. Tapu-land is that which has been registered and to which a title of private ownership is recognized. Amiriya-land is that belonging to the state, not only that in use for government installations, but almost all "unoccupied" land. Under certain conditions, such as occupancy over a period of 15 years, amiriya-land can become privately owned. Whenever there is a transaction in land, usually a sale, the parties concerned must have reference to the director of tapu in the serai. An engineer from his office makes a survey of the land in question, which, in the form of a map, serves as a deed. One copy is given to the owner and another retained in the office.

423 735 429 A third category, which not only includes land, but also houses and other forms of property, is waqf, the religious donation. A man, for a variety of reasons, may leave his property to the Islamic faith and it becomes untaxable and inviolable. Such property is placed for the use, usually at extremely low rates, of poorer folk among

the faithful. There are in Rowanduz some 18 houses and lands which belong in this category. The administration of such property is placed under a Ministry of Awqaf, and there is a Mamur in Erbil from this ministry to supervise the use of such bequests. Locally, the supervision is not charged to the serai, but to the chief mulla (the religious leader of the community) who otherwise has no connection in government affairs.

Just as the legal ownership of land is important to the private citizen, its taxation is a primary concern of the government. Locally the collection is in the hands of the mudire, and the money transmitted through the qaimmaqam to Erbil. In taxation a distinction is made between agricultural lands and houses. Of the agricultural land, tapu-land is taxed a straight 15% of its value in terms of yearly yield. Amiriye-land which has been built upon and cultivated is subject to 30%, while that which has not been built upon, but cultivated, pays 10%. Houses, without reference to the land on which they stand, are taxed 15% of the assessed value of their yearly rent. Shopkeepers and merchants pay a series of taxes, usually in the form of licenses. Neither personal property, including gold, jewelry, or currency, nor income are taxed in the Rowanduz district. As has been mentioned, waqf or "church" property is not taxed. These revenues must be paid in money, never in kind, although property may be seized for taxes in arrears. However, the chieftains in the countryside try

Just a it is difficult to typify the size and buildings of an agricultural village, the cultivated lands of a village are held in different ways, and the mode of land tenure varies from locale to locale. The distinction between tapu "registered land," and emiriya, "state land," might be remembered, for it is often the subject of bitter quarrels between government and chieftains, the latter holding that certain lands classified as emiriya had "belonged" to their village or to their tribe for generations. Aside from this conflict between official and owner, there are villages which "own" their lands completely, others which can lay claim to only a part, and still others which are entirely owned, houses and lands together, by wealthy landlords, many of whom are absentees. The preferential conversion of surplus wealth into real estate has been noted, and the owners of village lands may range from tribal chieftains and persons of great fortune to relatively poor merchants or clerks who have invested their savings in a small plot for the inheritance and support of their sons. Thus the Rowanduz district has a great number of villagers who are tenants and, while in no sense bound to the soil as serfs, have a relationship with their landlords which, in its exchange of obligations and courtesies, can often resemble that between patron and client in the early days of the Roman Republic. Sadiq Agha, who lives in a house in Rowanduz, "owns" the village of Shaytina, leaving its immediate supervision to a sort of bailiff or overseer, one of the prominent villagers, who is termed the mukhtar,

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although he has nothing to do with the office of mukhtar described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters, a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A more exact description of these reciprocal duties will follow.

The villagers and katchir fashion almost nothing which has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will be seen more completely with reference to Rowandux, indigenous crafts are simple and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this material is wholly used in the fabrication of local garments. Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the upper part of the town of Rowandux, the only craftsmen of their religion laboring in the community. Their wooden loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs. The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, although the women preferred the more familiar spindle and

423 361 [727]

Attention might be directed to the land of Rowanduz itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriya), private (tapu), and religious endowment (waqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economics of the Rowanduz district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

121 186 [123] [651]

The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious.

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beggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the *shaykhanas*, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community. 792 735

Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the 565 174 622 619 [648] 565 622 619 423

tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the noble family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 565

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is _familiya_, puzzling in its similarity to the Latin _familia_. The same noun is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and _sayyids_, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (_sajara_, from Arabic _shajara_, "tree"). In the case of the _sayyid_ the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowanduz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include _beg_, _agha_, and _mir_, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times _pasha_ was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic _shaykh_, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, 565 596 [173] 611 565 565 554

to let Ahmad Beg know of their presence and visit his diwanhana, or he will think they look down on his hospitality, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen from the section on administration that the government takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, amiriya, which includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory, and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the producers, thus cutting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, abreast of the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to the government, either the civil code of the judge or the tribal code of the qaimaqam. Vengeance is also of the state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and such titles as agha, beg, or shaykh, while they are widely used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabulary are thought adequate to handle military exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly parties of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of its important functions and perogatives. They are no longer leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

each son having the same claim as his brothers. The 428
latter custom is reflected in the transmission of aristocratic Kurdish titles. All of the sons of a chieftain, irrespective of age or the rank of their mothers, receive the title of the father and enjoy an equal share in the property. Tribal chieftainship, as opposed to feudal [622]
overlordship, is usually settled on the eldest son, despite of the fact that the remaining brothers continue to enjoy the privileges of rank and share in the goods of the estate. Thus, if men have a plurality of sons and daughters in each generation and the original holding is unsupplemented by additional gains, it follows that an individual's inheritance grows progressively smaller with each death. Among the Muslim peasantry, where the amount 423
of arable land is limited, as in certain areas in Egypt 428
or in Syria, a single person's plot can soon diminish to a size insufficient to support a couple and the luckless legatee must seek employment elsewhere, usually as a tenant cultivator on some larger holding. The situation in Kurdistan is not quite as difficult, inasmuch as a person can always cut out a new field from the unclaimed lands of the state domain. In a situation in which the brothers or other relatives have quarrelled, property which by virtue of its size could guarantee an income for [425]
all can be reduced through inheritance into segments which are far from profitable. The practice in such cases, commonly handled by process of law, is to sell the property in question and to apportion each his share in money. It

is difficult, if not impossible, for even the cleverest jurist to circumvent the equality of sons in inheritance, for this has the direct sanction of religion. 428 423

For the most part, however, settlements are amicable and it is unnecessary for the heirs to have recourse to the court. In such cases, the legal division of property is often fictional and need not adhere to the exact provisions of the law. Instead of selling the house, the land, or the shop, the eldest brother or, in the minority of the sons, a paternal uncle or some other relative assumes the role of administrator and things continue much as they did before. To provide an example, a blacksmith in Rowandux owned a small house and maintained a shop in the bazar. On his death, his two sons, who chose to follow their father's calling, continued to work together in the shop, and ultimately the younger, with the aid of his brother, was able to obtain a house of his own. At no time was there a legal accounting, although one may suppose that the two had some knowledge of the value of the property and reached an agreement, perhaps tacitly, of their own. In another, more exact way, the eldest son often purchases gradually the shares of his brothers, keeping the estate intact. In some cases, a man apportions most of his wealth before his death, attempting to satisfy all of his heirs. As noticed above, a younger son is often accorded a separate establishment. It is said that a landowner can transfer his title, held in the tapu, registered land, office in the serai, to one son during [429] [326]

his lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the inexorable character of the civil code reinforced by scripture, how one heir might be completely cut off in favor of another, and no examples could be elicited. If a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful event, he could do this best by leaving his property to the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest, a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the equality of the claims of sons. 423 428 428

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well. Lali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprisonment of her closest male relatives, offers a case in point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the generality of Islamic society, and at Rowandus, is paid in money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the girl. It consists of two parts, the muqaddam and the mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to the parent of the bride who is responsible for its administration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for 421 562 583 421 [586]

and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the democratic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Rowandux district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the nomad, because of his mobility and firepower, has a militar/ advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

gradual increase of their holdings, have reached a position of dominance over their neighbors. In Kurdish feudalism the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants ad levies a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Nestorian Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and wear its traditional garb. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are intermixed in the Rowanduz district. There are men who are tribal leaders of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and still others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesman or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to avenge them. The commoners identify their honor with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural deterrent, the mixture of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is normally decentralized, segmented into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Nestorian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

174 423 566 423 566 [565] [563]

with respect to culture. Feudalism, while it may not be "primitive," is here mixed with a primitive, tribal system and uses its terminology.

In civilized society, in contrast to primitive, membership is not held to be based on descent but on residence and property relations, and this form of society is represented by the state. This does not mean that the state does not use the primitive terminology, for, out of numerous examples, one might remember the insistence of the National Socialist government of Germany prior to the second World War on "blood" and "race." Of greater importance, the state has a different system of economy, because, depending on its constitution, it defines its resources as its own, as the personal property of its citizens, or both. The state in this sense is not a newcomer to Iraq, inasmuch as some of the earliest examples known in history were developed there, but, at least for some centuries, it has been a stranger to Kurdistan. It has been seen how, in the Rowandiz area, it has taken a large part in the administration of life. Youths are recruited to the army, not to the following of a chieftain, and the military forces and the police have the task of regulating public order. Matters of civil and criminal law are decided in its courts, and the important matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce require its authorization. Students may, if they are able, study in its schools and the sick can avail themselves of its medical facilities. Perhaps more importantly, it has insisted on the classification of land, holdings belonging

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and the regular collection of taxes. If the land is unregistered, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the users, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of efficiency, but it has quantitatively superimposed an administration far different from that of the Turks or the chieftains.

If the changes of the last fifty years which have taken place in Kurdish life are reviewed, it cannot be said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from the society, the areas of discord are few in number. Items of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods, for this dependency on foreign products has apparently been known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the district has, of course, conditioned versatility, but it has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life within the family, and religion almost nothing of a structural nature has been altered or replaced. The locus of modification, then, has been in the economy and the society, for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy,

249 As contrasted to grain, where most of the work comes either in
312 winter plowing or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation take constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation system of tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The flow of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

333 Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided for the animals, so thus very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

423 The characteristics of subsistence and available techniques should
471 to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the households. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the addition... ractor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land codes, tribal political organization, or de-facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the farmer is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional usufruct rights, and b/ land on which

he himself is considered a tenant farmer — the land belonging to an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding farmers to have retained what is generally called *tribal* organization (see below), whereas the tenant farmer has no clear political affiliation, but is largely subject to the control of the landowner. This dichotomy between the tribal, freeholding farmer and the tenant, more or less dependent on a capitalist for land and other privileges, is basic to much of the following discussion. The dichotomy is clearly made by Kurds themselves, and is associated with the co-variance of other institutional forms.

The characteristic tendency on the land which does not directly belong to the farmer who is using it, is a progressive delegation of rights. This influences the division of labor and the form of work-groups in the fields, and reinforces class differences.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally works his own fields with own equipment, or may hire some outside labor to assist him at certain times of year. Mutual borrowing, or renting, of livestock may be resorted to. The grazing area belongs to the village as a whole, and herding the animals is generally delegated to one or more full-time shepherds of low status, who may serve the whole village.

The land of the typical tenant village belongs to an absentee landowner, who collects 1/10—1/3 of the cereal crop by right. The old residents of the village have informal inherited right of use of certain fields. These are not inalienable. Any person needing more land may apply to the landowner, and if he can demonstrate that he is able to use more, he will be allotted fallow land that formerly belonged to other households. Where no fallow land is available and the need is great, e. g. due to increase in the size of a given family, any type of land may be transferred. Theoretically, the landowner has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts and disrupts village unity.

Not infrequently, the more well-to-do tenant farmer will in fact do no farming himself, but will hire labor to his fields for a share of the crop, or other payments. Such payments are traditionally

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

ing his form of rule to that of the feudal usurper in Sinna, Persia: «You are not the lord of a tribe, nor are your men your tribesmen. You may clothe them, feed them, and make them rich, but they are not your cousins, they are but your servants» (ibid, p. 86).

When Baban rule was broken in 1851, Ottoman legal practice as well as personnel achieved a footing in the area. This contributed further to the breakdown of traditional principles, since it offered individuals the opportunity to manipulate the two different systems, traditional usage and Ottoman legal code, to their own advantage. This most profoundly effected land tenure. All land, unless otherwise registered, was decreed to belong to the Ottoman Sultan. Though the rule existed that no whole village should be registered as the property of any single person, this and other rules were generally overlooked. Thus leaders of *tirat*, *Begs*, or in fact any other person who could bribe a few witnesses, registered large tracts of land as their personal property. Although actual power was of course necessary to make these formal transactions effective as far as the collecting of tax was concerned, the result was that a category of landowner emerged for which there were no clear traditional precedents, and their claims, when supported by power and supposed Ottoman land code, could not truly be disputed. As a result, the field was left open to individual exploitation on a much larger scale than in Baban times, and the only effective checks were the above mentioned threats to the personal safety of the exploiter.

COMPOSITE COMMUNITIES

In the Hamawand area, some local groups are found today where tribally organized Hamawand exploit a non-tribal tenant population (*Mzakjin*) as a serf group. Such situations have come about by recent military conquest, and show incipient developments of a caste system. Certain aspects of organization have been developed by the Hamawand as an adjustment to this situation.

The Hamawand formal political structure already outlined was also a military hierarchy of command. Each village was expected to muster a group of horsemen, usually 10—15, led by the village *Agha*, as a fighting unit in the Hamawand army. Each of these soldiers,

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

178 554

part-status — his ability to rally persons is improved or impaired, with direct results on his position in the power hierarchy. Either or both of these reactions may result — i. e. primary changes in either or both the de-facto (a) and the «ideal» (b) hierarchy may be produced. In certain cases the change produced by the same factor in these two hierarchies may be in contradiction, and the final adjustment is then dependent on the degree of external interference.

The patterns of these reactions and changes are set by the precedence of loyalties in conflict situations, crudely sketched above. It should then be theoretically possible to correlate the nature and form of social change in Southern Kurdistan with the factors. The assumption is generally, and I think legitimately, made that all non-tribal groups of Kurds are ultimately to be derived from one or more tribal groups. At present, at any rate, the direction of change between the two poles, from *tribal* to non-tribal or *feudal*, is very evident, and some of the factors resulting in such a detribalization process clearly follow from the above discussion. There is further considerable indication that only the two poles themselves, described as *tribal* and *feudal*, are moderately stable, and that change from the one to the other, once initiated, is a moderately rapid process. This is e. g. indicated by the numerical preponderance of villages of the polar types as compared to intermediary types. It also follows logically from the concept of incompatibility of certain part-statuses in a single village: many of the tribal and non-tribal formal categories or part-statuses overlap in their fields of relevance, and this results in competition, and elimination or re-definition, where they are combined in one local community. Once the process of un-ravelling is under way, the complete set of non-tribal categories will thus tend to replace its tribal counterparts.

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Probably the most potent agents of social change, with a very direct relation to the power hierarchy in the village, are changes in the pattern of land tenure. Ottoman land codes and taxation policy, corrupt administration, and the increasing emphasis in Kurdish culture on leisure and real property have all encouraged the concentration of land in few hands, and the establishment of feudal patterns of delegation of usufruct rights on land. The resulting class hierarchy

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Q4 The taifa in turn is frequently divided into subsections called tira (branch), though in many contexts the two terms appear to be interchangeable. The Hallasherifi taifa referred to before are for instance subdivided into three tira each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Halla Sherif. These sons (I did not obtain their names) are supposed to have settled respectively in Nerga, Gelala and Rust, and these villages remain the centres of their respective tira to the present day. Thus the Agha of Rust is overlord of a number of villages by virtue of the fact that he is head of his tira. The Shevdini taifa is similarly subdivided into three tira, the names being given to me as Hedr Agha, Zaka Hasani and Hasani Bahadur Agha - these being presumably the names of the ancestral founders of the lineage. On the other hand some persons at least did not seem to be clearly aware of this subdivision and on being asked the name of their tira would reply "Shevdin". Moreover I was assured by one informant that there is no difference between taifa and tira, but that the one is bigger than the other. This is I think an accurate description. Tira is a type of kinship group fairly frequently encountered by anthropologists. Usually termed lineage, but more aptly described by Firth as ramage, it differs only from the clan group in scale and political cohesion. With the lessening of political ties the distinction between the two types of grouping tends to disappear. The Agha of Rust for instance claimed to me that he was head of his own taifa and as such of equal rank to Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balesh. Sheikh Mohammed of course did not admit this claim but maintained that Mir Sedik, Agha of Rust was his subject.

From this description and the examples quoted it is clear that the terms subsect, taifa and tira fall into the normal anthropological classifications of tribe, clan and lineage (ramage), with the single abnormality that the clans are in this case endogamous, or largely so.

Inheritance of Land Tenure

36/ The settlements for the most part consist of small villages (gund) scattered along the valleys. The term gund really includes both the houses and the cultivation surrounding them and may at times prove confusing. The gund of Rangurdan for instance contains two houses only, that of Dergala has over a hundred. Every gund is the
631 'property' of a landlord (Agha). If the Agha owns only one gund as in
• 923 the case of Hamid Amin Agha of Rangurdan he will live in it himself; if

"See C.Daryll Forde - Fission and Accretion in the Patrilineal Clans of a semi-Bantu community in Southern Nigeria J.R.A.I. Vol. 60; 314.
R.Firth - We, the Tikopia:370,371.
582. Note however that owing to the rule of cross-cousin marriage, Kurdish taifa and tira tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

he owns several as in the case of Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Walash or 414
Rashid Amin Beg of Dergala, he will live in one himself and appoint 413
headmen (kokha) as his agents in the other villages. In theory the
Agha is the absolute owner of all the land in the gund, the villagers
occupy and cultivate the land in the capacity of tenants and in return 423
pay him, in theory at any rate, the seemingly staggering rental of 50% 427
of the yield of the land. Again in theory the Agha has absolute
discretion to evict any tenant he disapproves of, and similarly the
tenant is free to leave whenever he chooses; the only property that the
tenant possesses in his own right are ordinary household belongings,
the roof beams of his house, and his personal livestock. Practice
probably differs markedly from theory. So far as I could judge in the
Balik country at any rate at least 90% of the population of any gund
were not only Balik tribesmen but also members of the Agha's own taifa,
many of them being his near kinsmen. It would seem then that the
Agha's right of eviction remains theoretical except under extreme
provocation. In practice the right of tenancy is heriditable. This [428]
latter point was confirmed to me by Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Walash; the
way he put it was that when a tenant died he, the Agha, could do what-
ever he liked with the land, but that "as a rule" he gave it to the
deceased's son or brother whichever was the most suitable. It may be
noted that such a procedure would tend to prevent the land being split
up into a vast number of small holdings by the process of inheritance,
and would also provide an economic bond between the members of the
smaller extended family groups.

The tribal custom here is not, as might at first sight appear, 423
at variance with Mohammedan law. According to the Koranic rule a 428
man's testamentary rights are limited and most of his "property" (mulk)
is passed on in defined proportions to certain specific relatives.
Land however is for the most part excluded in the term mulk. The
actual legal position as it applies to land tenure in Iraq is somewhat
involved and the interested reader should refer direct to Sir E.
Dowson's "An Enquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions" (Iraq
Government 1932). The following account summarises the position.

The legal situation regarding the inheritance of land tenure is
defined by the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, and certain subsidiary
enactments of the old Turkish Empire. This recognises five classes of

"I have no data to show what rental is really paid. I was [427]
assured on several different occasions and in different contexts at
Rowanduz, Walash and Dergala that the normal arrangement is for the
Agha to receive half the gross yield of the land if the tenant
provides his own cattle, implements, seed, etc., but two thirds of the
gross yield if the Agha provides the seed, implements, etc. According
to May (p. 68) the figure is only 10% of the yield. But as I shall
show presently a 50% rental is probably not as excessive as it sounds.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

land tenure Malk, Miri, Waqf, Matruka and Mewat. These categories however do not apply accurately to present day Iraq conditions, the term miri in particular being in practice used in a different sense to that implied by the Land Code. The effective categories appear to be three in number

1) Malk (property) - undiluted ownership; owners rights and inheritance being dictated by the Koranic sacred law.

2) Tapu - state land, the legal possession of which is granted out on the registered tenure laid down in Book 1 of the Land Code. Inheritance of this land is entailed to the direct descendants of the original holders, though actual ownership continues to be vested in the state.

3) Miri - state land, retained in full legal ownership and possession of the state which may be exploited directly or indirectly at its discretion subject to due recognition of established occupancy rights. In effect miri land simply represents the overwhelming residue of the country not held in malk or tapu tenure.

So far as the area of this study is concerned very little if any agricultural land is held in malk tenure and this category applies, I think, only to town property. Most of area C is held in tapu tenure and some portions of area B also. Area A is exclusively miri land so that in legal theory the tribes are here tenants of the state

Such subtle distinctions are not clearly understood by the Kurdish tribesmen, and as Dowson's study shows the position is in fact confused and provides many opportunities for corruption. In the Balik area there seemed to be a movement on foot to get the tribal land made tapu in the name of the clan leaders. Ali Agha of Rayat for instance was anxious to have the Shevdini territory "registered" in his name and seemed to think that it was merely a question of bribing the right people. Such a development would be strongly resisted by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash since it would infringe his nominal overlordship over the whole Balik territory.

So far as the question of inheritance is concerned the position is legally clear. None of the Kurdish land is malk and accordingly none of it is subject to the Koranic stipulations. The attitude of the Aghas however is not very clear. Sheikh Mohammad Agha for example was very insistent that all the land of the Balik was his personal property, which was somewhat inconsistent since he certainly did not seem to imply that the territory would be divided up among his relatives when he died. It is quite definite in fact that where land is concerned the various claims to "ownership" are not correlated with any principle of Koranic inheritance.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation is roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated; - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 312 621

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dergala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Batas where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the Assyrian tenants were new arrivals in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alpine villages of the Bernese Oberland, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there seem to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the cash incentive were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such uncleared land rest at present exclusively with the Agha. 423 • 311

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant occupiers and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the wheat harvest comes in 464 241

each son having the same claim as his brothers. The latter custom is reflected in the transmission of aristocratic Kurdish titles. All of the sons of a chieftain, irrespective of age or the rank of their mothers, receive the title of the father and enjoy an equal share in the property. Tribal chieftainship, as opposed to feudal overlordship, is usually settled on the eldest son, despite of the fact that the remaining brothers continue to enjoy the privileges of rank and share in the goods of the estate. Thus, if men have a plurality of sons and daughters in each generation and the original holding is unsupplemented by additional gains, it follows that an individual's inheritance grows progressively smaller with each death. Among the Muslim peasantry, where the amount of arable land is limited, as in certain areas in Egypt or in Syria, a single person's plot can soon diminish to a size insufficient to support a couple and the luckless legatee must seek employment elsewhere, usually as a tenant cultivator on some larger holding. The situation in Kurdistan is not quite as difficult, inasmuch as a person can always cut out a new field from the unclaimed lands of the state domain. In a situation in which the brothers or other relatives have quarrelled, property which by virtue of its size could guarantee an income for all can be reduced through inheritance into segments which are far from profitable. The practice in such cases, commonly handled by process of law, is to sell the property in question and to apportion each his share in money. It

428 [622] 423 428 [425]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

433 being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local 249 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have 178 to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is so enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the Baghdad market, - hardly a desirable development.

249 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation 427 may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents. In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays 435 his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added exasperation that the commoner who trades tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

249 On the analogy with the lowland areas the ultimate line of 622 evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal • 425 land is mortgaged to pay the bill; thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

249 From the Government's point of view such a development is not 249 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many 464 respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors effecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is miri land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 357 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (atar), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the atar is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowandus for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowandus, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 [554] [426]

the district is derived rom agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surlus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowandux has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercantile competitor of Rowandux, arose on lands owned by Lali Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowandux, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often recontracted. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowandux, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowandux, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowanduz and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, *xastaxâna*, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabjâ and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[173]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Topzawa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[174], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, reappearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[175]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resulting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Serkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Topzawa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[176].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the house.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirza Rustam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was lent out for three days to the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unsewn costume and wrapped in the cerements, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[177]. The same type is found in Arabia[178] and Egypt[179].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

Just as it is difficult to typify the size and buildings of an agricultural village, the cultivated lands of a village are held in different ways, and the mode of land tenure varies from locale to locale. The distinction between tapu, "registered land," and amiriya, "state land," might be remembered, for it is often the subject of bitter quarrels between government and chieftains, the latter holding that certain lands classified as amiriya had "belonged" to their village or to their tribe for generations. Aside from this conflict between official and owner, there are villages which "own" their lands completely, others which can lay claim to only a part, and still others which are entirely owned, houses and lands together, by wealthy landlords, many of whom are absentees. The preferential conversion of surplus wealth into real estate has been noted, and the owners of village lands may range from tribal chieftains and persons of great fortune to relatively poor merchants or clerks who have invested their savings in a small plot for the inheritance and support of their sons. Thus the Rowanduz district has a great number of villagers who are tenants and, while in no sense bound to the soil as serfs, have a relationship with their landlords which, in its exchange of obligations and courtesies, can often resemble that between patron and client in the early days of the Roman Republic. Sadiq Agha, who lives in a house in Rowanduz, "owns" the village of Shaytina, leaving its immediate supervision to a sort of bailiff or overseer, one of the prominent villagers, who is termed the mukhtar,

although he has nothing to do with the office of mukhtar described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters, a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A more exact description of these reciprocal duties will follow. 423 427 [576]

The villagers and kotchir fashion almost nothing which has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will be seen more completely with reference to Rowanduz, indigenous crafts are simple and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this material is wholly used in the fabrication of local garments. Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the upper part of the town of Rowanduz, the only craftsmen of their religion laboring in the community. Their wooden loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs. The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, although the women preferred the more familiar spindle and 286 [294] 283 286

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows: 443 434 [427] [265] [256]

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven 443 511

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the veil of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The <u>qaimmaqam</u>, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

357 589 123 589 [208] [427] [554] 589 427 592 357 554

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

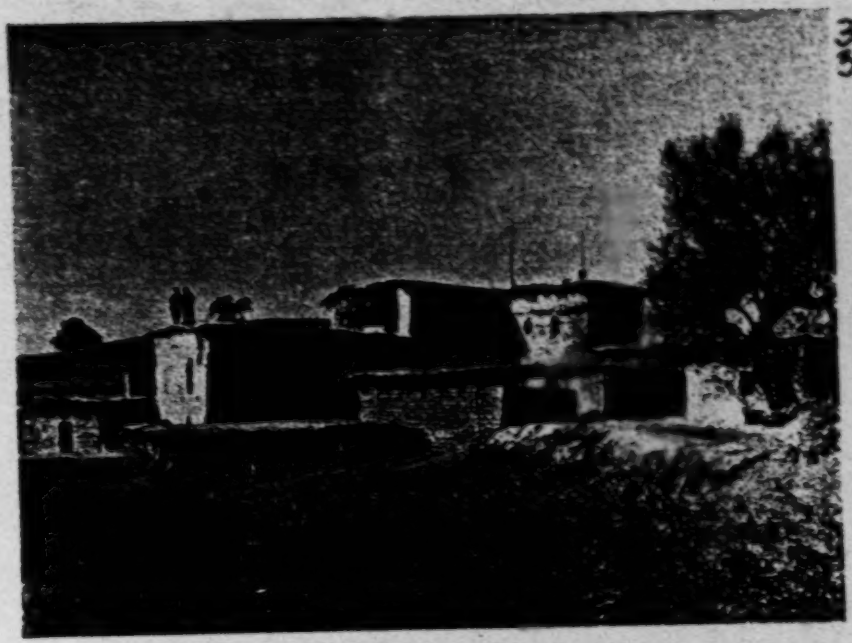

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Topzawa.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and none could sell, move away or move in without his sanction[68]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[69]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[70] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[71] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply these.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connexion with a "comprehensive program" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietory rights"[72]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

he himself is considered a tenant farmer — the land belonging to an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding farmers to have retained what is generally called *tribal* organization (see below), whereas the tenant farmer has no clear political affiliation, but is largely subject to the control of the landowner. This dichotomy between the tribal, freeholding farmer and the tenant, more or less dependent on a capitalist for land and other privileges, is basic to much of the following discussion. The dichotomy is clearly made by Kurds themselves, and is associated with the co-variance of other institutional forms.

The characteristic tendency on the land which does not directly belong to the farmer who is using it, is a progressive delegation of rights. This influences the division of labor and the form of work-gangs in the fields, and reinforces class differences.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally works his own fields with own equipment, or may hire some outside labor to assist him at certain times of year. Mutual borrowing, or renting, of livestock may be resorted to. The grazing area belongs to the village as a whole, and herding the animals is generally delegated to one or more full-time shepherds of low status, who may serve the whole village.

The land of the typical tenant village belongs to an absentee landowner, who collects 1/10—1/5 of the cereal crop by right. The old residents of the village have informal inherited right of use of certain fields. These are not inalienable. Any person needing more land may apply to the landowner, and if he can demonstrate that he is able to use more, he will be allotted fallow land that formerly belonged to other households. Where no fallow land is available and the need is great, e. g. due to increase in the size of a given family, any type of land may be transferred. Theoretically, the landowner has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts and disrupts village unity.

Not infrequently, the more well-to-do tenant farmer will in fact do no farming himself, but will hire labor in his fields for a share of the crop, or other payments. Such payments are traditionally

464 stipulated, e. g. for reaping 1/6 of the wheat crop, 1/3 of barley
465 for plowing, food plus 100 fils/day (= 2 shillings)
or 150 fils/day and no food.

• 427 The large landowner may rent out the rigths to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

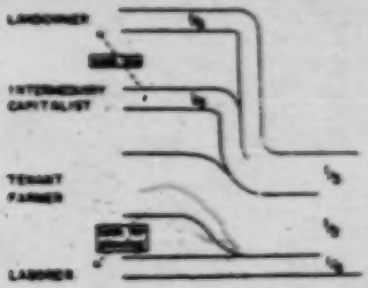

Diagram No. 1. Shares in division of a cereal crop.

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/3 of the crop on un-irrigated land.

464 At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of
241 a tenant village will consequently consist of 5—10 men, in part made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it to the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

312 Attending to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows
249 a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either tend it each in turn, or one man among them may take on the major responsibility.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

he owns several as in the case of Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash or Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala, he will live in one himself and appoint headmen (kukha) as his agents in the other villages. In theory the Agha is the absolute owner of all the land in the gund, the villagers occupy and cultivate the land in the capacity of tenants and in return pay him, in theory at any rate, the seemingly staggering rental of 50% of the yield of the land. Again in theory the Agha has absolute discretion to evict any tenant he disapproves of, and similarly the tenant is free to leave whenever he chooses; the only property that the tenant possesses in his own right are ordinary household belongings, the roof beams of his house, and his personal livestock. Practise probably differs markedly from theory. So far as I could judge in the Balik country at any rate at least 90% of the population of any gund were not only Balik tribesmen but also members of the Agha's own taifa, many of them being his near kinsmen. It would seem then that the Agha's right of eviction remains theoretical except under extreme provocation. In practise the right of tenancy is heriditable. This latter point was confirmed to me by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash; the way he put it was that when a tenant died he, the Agha, could do whatever he liked with the land, but that "as a rule" he gave it to the deceased's son or brother whichever was the most suitable. It may be noted that such a procedure would tend to prevent the land being split up into a vast number of small holdings by the process of inheritance, and would also provide an economic bond between the members of the smaller extended family groups.

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The tribal custom here is not, as might at first sight appear, at variance with Mohammedan law. According to the Koranic rule a man's testimentary rights are limited and most of his "property" (mulk) is passed on in defined proportions to certain specific relatives. Land however is for the most part excluded in the term mulk. The actual legal position as it applies to land tenure in Iraq is somewhat involved and the interested reader should refer direct to Sir E. Dowson's "An Inquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions" (Iraq Government 1932). The following account summarises the position.

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The legal situation regarding the inheritance of land tenure is defined by the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, and certain subsidiary enactments of the old Turkish Empire. This recognises five classes of

"I have no data to show what rental is really paid. I was assured on several different occasions and in different contexts at Hamurdan, Walash and Dergala that the normal arrangement is for the Agha to receive half the gross yield of the land if the tenant provides his own cattle, implements, seed, etc., but two thirds of the gross yield if the Agha provides the seed, implements, etc. According to Hay (p. 68) the figure is only 10% of the yield. But as I shall show presently a 50% rental is probably not as excessive as it sounds.

[427]

being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is so enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the Baghdad market, - hardly a desirable development.

The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents. In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added consequence that the commoner who trades tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. My view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

On the analogy with the lowland areas the ultimate line of evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill* thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

From the Government's point of view such a development is not entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is miri land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

Where possible the driving water is obtained by diverting some main stream. This is done at Kanpurdan, Bayat and Korga and the operation of the mill them has no effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the cultivation on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some friction arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good kicking from the Agha for cutting the dyke during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hastily thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a near relative of the Agha. In Kanpurdan it is the Agha himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the Agha. The terms are in effect that the owner of the wheat hires the mill at a fixed charge for each sack of corn ground. The man who owns the wheat himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The millowner merely obtains a rental for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with up-to-date apparatus in the towns, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the trouble involved in carrying the wheat to Rowanduz and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the Kanpurdan remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In outlying districts at any rate the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

Weaving

The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the cloth loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "heater lo" suspended from a rigid rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 16½ inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. Thus from specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trouserings of commoners, has Warp 19; Weft 22 threads

The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not considered here since its social relevance seems insignificant.

series made up solely of males. To this are added noteworthy collateral ancestors and, in the one or two generations closest to the chieftain in question, all of the collaterals, including the names of wives, sisters, and the latter's husbands. The importance of such a lineage lies in the fact that it is the sole patent of nobility, itself a matter of the highest social importance, and is of considerable value in the arrangement of marriages and the knowledge of one's potential friends and enemies. It is usually associated with a certain amount of folk history, the wars, revolts, feuds, and other deeds with which its personnel were concerned. Commoners are able to reproduce to some extent the lineage of their chieftain, for, as has been noticed, the honor of their leader is also their own, and animated conversations on such topics as aristocratic marriages and lineages offer an everyday source of entertainment. Unlike the mal, the familiya is not associated with a single house, and its members may live in a large number of separate establishments.

It is convenient here to dismiss the question of inheritance with a cursory survey. Inheritance is not a matter over which the Kurdish populace exercises any unique control, because it was defined in the Quran and supplemented over the centuries by the jurists and doctors of Islam. A whole branch of Islamic jurisprudence is concerned with this complex question, and a number of popular expositions are available to the general reader.[1] In

[1] Caudefroy-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 143-151.

Rowanduz a will is a legal instrument which must be formulated in the presence of the judge and registered with a katib al-'adil or government notary, either of the serai or the court. If a person dies intestate, as in the case of most persons of the lower classes, and a quarrel ensues over the disposition of his property, this must also be settled by court action. In general, however, each of the sons of the deceased is entitled to one share and each of the daughters to a half-share, after the widow has received a stipulated eighth of the total property. In the absence of some of these heirs, certain relatives in a fixed order may present claims for varying percentages, a subject too complicated to be examined in detail here. If the heir is an orphan, the property is administered by a department of the government, the Amwal al-Gasarin, until he reaches maturity. A woman usually disposes of her property, her dowry, jewelry, and household goods, as she pleases, although this too can be brought to the bar. Thus the quarrels and complications which can arise in inheritance are settled by action of the judge, and the townspeople themselves, unless they have been engaged in such a suit, know little of the intricacies.

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Two of the most striking features of Islamic inheritance are that a woman, although she is protected by certain specified percentages, does not receive a sum equal to that of a man, and that the estate of the deceased is not transferred intact to any one person, as in primogeniture, but is parcelled out among the several heirs,

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each son having the same claim as his brothers. The latter custom is reflected in the transmission of aristocratic Kurdish titles. All of the sons of a chieftain, irrespective of age or the rank of their mothers, receive the title of the father and enjoy an equal share in the property. Tribal chieftainship, as opposed to feudal overlordship, is usually settled on the eldest son, despite of the fact that the remaining brothers continue to enjoy the privileges of rank and share in the goods of the estate. Thus, if men have a plurality of sons and daughters in each generation and the original holding is unsupplemented by additional gains, it follows that an individual's inheritance grows progressively smaller with each death. Among the Muslim peasantry, where the amount of arable land is limited, as in certain areas in Egypt or in Syria, a single person's plot can soon diminish to a size insufficient to support a couple and the luckless legatee must seek employment elsewhere, usually as a tenant cultivator on some larger holding. The situation in Kurdistan is not quite as difficult, inasmuch as a person can always cut out a new field from the unclaimed lands of the state domain. In a situation in which the brothers or other relatives have quarrelled, property which by virtue of its size could guarantee an income for all can be reduced through inheritance into segments which are far from profitable. The practice in such cases, commonly handled by process of law, is to sell the property in question and to apportion each his share in money. It

428 ● [622] 423 428 [425]

is difficult, if not impossible, for even the cleverest jurist to circumvent the equality of sons in inheritance, for this has the direct sanction of religion. 428● 423

For the most part, however, settlements are amicable and it is unnecessary for the heirs to have recourse to the court. In such cases, the legal division of property is often fictional and need not adhere to the exact provisions of the law. Instead of selling the house, the land, or the shop, the eldest brother or, in the minority of the sons, a paternal uncle or some other relative [429] assumes the role of administrator and things continue much as they did before. To provide an example, a blacksmith [326] in Rowanduz owned a small house and maintained a shop in the bazar. On his death, his two sons, who chose to follow their father's calling, continued to work together in the shop, and ultimately the younger, with the aid of his brother, was able to obtain a house of his own. At no time was there a legal accounting, although one may suppose that the two had some knowledge of the value of the property and reached an agreement, perhaps tacitly, of their own. In another, more exact way, the eldest son often purchases gradually the shares of his brothers, keeping the estate intact. In some cases, a man apportions most of his wealth before his death, attempting to satisfy all of his heirs. As noticed above, a younger son is often accorded a separate establishment. It is said that a landowner can transfer his title, held in the tapu, registered land, office in the serai, to one son during

his lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the inexorable character of the civil code reinforced by scripture, how one heir might be completely cut off in favor of another, and no examples could be elicited. If a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful event, he could do this best by leaving his property to the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest, a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the equality of the claims of sons. 423 428 428

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well. Lali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprisonment of her closest male relatives, offers a case in point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the generality of Islamic society, and at Rowanduz, is paid in money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the girl. It consists of two parts, the muqqadam and the mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to the parent of the bride who is responsible for its administration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for 421 562 583 421 [586]

his father's brother's daughter is held as an inexorable rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are married to his mother and mother's sister respectively, and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up third and fourth couples. If two things are envisaged, patrilocal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence, the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother, after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are described by the same kinship term, pilk. On the other hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated, called mam and khal respectively. The first lives under the parental roof of the individual concerned, and the latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle, as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house as his married sister, and in the system imagined here, one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided, each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share. If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his sister, wed to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

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half-share of the holdings of his father. Such a system 428
is immediately divergent, because, although there is an 582
exchange of marriages between cousins in one's own generation, 604
the strains divide in the next. A man's children must intermarry with those of his brother, and would not, for example, espouse those of his cousins. The larger proportion of the property, the full male shares, follow the same divergent lines.

Such an idealized system, however, does not seem to 582
exist. A man is permitted to marry any of his other cousins, the daughters of his paternal aunt, maternal uncle, or maternal aunt, or, as often happens, can take a wife completely unrelated to him. In Rowanduz, unlike certain other groups reported in the Middle East, there does not appear to be any hierarchy of preference among the cousins after the daughter of the father's brother. It was not possible to compile a list of marriages extensive enough to permit definitive comment on the relative frequency of these five types of marriage. Nevertheless, from examples, there appeared to be a high percentage of matches between unrelated persons. Coupled with this was the inability of most persons in the town to name their relatives beyond their grandparents, uncles and aunts, first cousins, and immediate family. This group, incidentally, corresponds closely with that outlined as making up the mal or "house" 596
in its most extensive sense. In addition, they were able to name the parents, some of the uncles, aunts, brothers, and sisters of their wives. A scattering of the in-laws of

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [823]

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Hakim who is also the corpse-washer, mirdu shor, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich, 763 [428] [788] [765] 764 767 [533]

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

No religious or ritual 571

mechanism exists for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no symbiotic relations of a practical or ritual nature have been developed.

This organizational form is associated with a strong emphasis on the father's 582 brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marked tendency to close family endogamy. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) relative brideprice, and (3) actual statistical occurrence.

(1) Informants agree that paternal cousins have first rights to a girl, and 582 where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the 604 paternal cousin must first release her by renouncing his claim. Cases of violence 605 resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[8] Giving one's daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals, and no one is closer in status and sentiments than a paternal cousin. Small children are pleasantly embarrassed when teased for being "in love" with their paternal cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also 582 recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where Ko- 428 ranic laws of inheritance, giving stipulated fractions of the estate to female descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case.

(2) It is an agreed privilege for paternal cousins, to less extent also other near 605 kin, to receive the girl at a reduced brideprice. The normal brideprice for village 583 girls ranges between £30-100. Paternal cousins generally pay only wedding expenses.

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter, and other cousin, 162 marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relationship between all living spouses in two normal sized Hamawand villages fall into the following categories:

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amoxza)	MoBrDa (khaloxza)	SiDa (purza)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	3	2	4	21

Taking the normal fluctuations in size and sex distribution of sibling groups into account, this probably approximates the maximal frequency that marriage with actual, non-classificatory paternal cousin can reasonably attain.

8 E.g. W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan* (London, 1921), p. 71.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

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In many areas of the Middle East, a pattern of close family endogamy and preferential father's brother's daughter marriage has been assumed to be associated with a desire to maintain family property in the face of Koranic rules of inheritance. The apparently exceptionally high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage among the Kurdish tribes with lineage organization, and possibly among other groups with a similar organization, requires separate explanation. The thesis of this short discussion has been that such a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage plays a prominent role in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle. Marriages of this type thus serve to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system, *not*, as in most African systems, relative to the relations between whole lineages, but here, on the contrary, relative to the first potential lines of fission and segmentation within the minimal lineage itself.

Universitetets Etnografiske Museum
Oslo, Norway

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

laborer-tenant-intermediary-absentee landowner, differs radically from that generally associated with tribal organization, which includes relatively few laborers and/or *Meskjin*, and a majority of freeholding farmers.

The incompatibility of categories from these two class hierarchies is evident, as is the tendency for the hierarchy embodying most power — i. e. the more highly centralized organization headed by the landowner — to replace the other. The absentee landowner who owns only part of the land of a village, will find his powers greatly impaired by the co-existance of freeholding farmers with his tenants in the local community. The sanctions by which he disciplines his tenants are reduced in effect — eviction from land is less serious, eviction from the village dependent on the vote of villagers outside his control. Similarly, he would be limited in his freedom to settle new farmers on the land by a veto on the part of the freeholding farmers, who could refuse the newcomer village membership. The village headman would almost certainly be elected from among the freeholding farmers, and serve as a coordinator of opposition to the landowner, etc. etc. The landowner, occupying the part-status that embodies most power in this situation of conflicting interests will tend to apply his powers to eliminate the incompatible status category — in this case by buying or forcibly taking over the proprietary rights on the remaining land, and giving the formerly freeholding farmers tenant status.

Where the right to eviction, and in fact the final powers of decision in all village matters, are taken away from the formerly freeholding farmer group, it becomes impossible for it to control a class of *Meskjin* serfs, and this status group is similarly eliminated, and presumably assimilated as tenant farmers of lower status, following from their lower wealth.

A second major agent of change, or at times a concomitant of these economic changes, is the factor of modification of the administrative system by external administration. The tribal administrative mechanism, based on «unquestioned» kinship-patterned loyalties, has been discussed above (pp. 69 ff). Where external administration — large absentee landowner or central government alike — enters and

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

he owns several as in the case of Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash or Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala, he will live in one himself and appoint headmen (kokha) as his agents in the other villages. In theory the Agha is the absolute owner of all the land in the gund,* the villagers occupy and cultivate the land in the capacity of tenants and in return pay him, in theory at any rate, the seemingly staggering rental of 50% of the yield of the land. Again in theory the Agha has absolute discretion to evict any tenant he disapproves of, and similarly the tenant is free to leave whenever he chooses; the only property that the tenant possesses in his own right are ordinary household belongings, the roof beams of his house, and his personal livestock. Practise probably differs markedly from theory. So far as I could judge in the Balik country at any rate at least 90% of the population of any gund were not only Balik tribesmen but also members of the Agha's own taifa, many of them being his near kinsmen. It would seem then that the Agha's right of eviction remains theoretical except under extreme provocation. In practise the right of tenancy is heriditable. This latter point was confirmed to me by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash; the way he put it was that when a tenant died he, the Agha, could do whatever he liked with the land, but that "as a rule" he gave it to the deceased's son or brother whichever was the most suitable. It may be noted that such a procedure would tend to prevent the land being split up into a vast number of small holdings by the process of inheritance, and would also provide an economic bond between the members of the smaller extended family groups.

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The tribal custom here is not, as might at first sight appear, at variance with Mohammedan law. According to the Koranic rule a man's testimentary rights are limited and most of his "property" (mulk) is passed on in defined proportions to certain specific relatives. Land however is for the most part excluded in the term mulk. The actual legal position as it applies to land tenure in Iraq is somewhat involved and the interested reader should refer direct to Sir E. Dowson's "An Inquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions" (Iraq Government 1932). The following account summarises the position.

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The legal situation regarding the inheritance of land tenure is defined by the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, and certain subsidiary enactments of the old Turkish Empire. This recognises five classes of

*I have no data to show what rental is really paid. I was assured on several different occasions and in different contexts at Nampurdan, Walash and Dergala that the normal arrangement is for the Agha to receive half the gross yield of the land if the tenant provides his own cattle, implements, seed, etc., but two thirds of the gross yield if the Agha provides the seed, implements, etc. According to Hay (p. 68) the figure is only 10% of the yield. But as I shall show presently a 50% rental is probably not as excessive as it sounds.

[427]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

.423 land tenure Mulk, Miri, Waqf, Matruka and Mewat. These categories
• 428 however do not apply accurately to present day Iraq conditions, the term miri in particular being in practice used in a different sense to that implied by the Land Code. The effective categories appear to be three in number

1) Mulk (property) - undiluted ownership; owners rights and inheritance being dictated by the Koranic sacred law.

2) Tapu - state land, the legal possession of which is granted out on the registered tenure laid down in Book 1 of the Land Code. Inheritance of this land is entailed to the direct descendants of the original holders, though actual ownership continues to be vested in the state.

3) Miri - state land, retained in full legal ownership and possession of the state which may be exploited directly or indirectly at its discretion subject to due recognition of established occupancy rights. In effect miri land simply represents the overwhelming residue of the country not held in mulk or tapu tenure.

So far as the area of this study is concerned very little if any agricultural land is held in mulk tenure and this category applies, I think, only to town property. Most of area C is held in tapu tenure and some portions of area B also. Area A is exclusively miri land so that in legal theory the tribes are here tenants of the state

Such subtle distinctions are not clearly understood by the Kurdish tribesmen, and as Dowson's study shows the position is in fact confused and provides many opportunities for corruption. In the Balik area there seemed to be a movement on foot to get the tribal land made tapu in the name of the clan leaders. Ali Agha of Rayat for instance was anxious to have the Shevdini territory "registered" in his name and seemed to think that it was merely a question of bribing the right people. Such a development would be strongly resisted by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash since it would infringe his nominal overlordship over the whole Balik territory.

So far as the question of inheritance is concerned the position is legally clear. None of the Kurdish land is mulk and accordingly none of it is subject to the Koranic stipulations. The attitude of the Aghas however is not very clear. Sheikh Mohammad Agha for example was very insistant that all the land of the Balik was his personal property, which was somewhat inconsistent since he certainly did not mean to imply that the territory would be divided up among his relatives when he died. It is quite definite in fact that where land is concerned the various claims to "ownership" are not correlated with any principle of Koranic inheritance.

423 Because of this conviction, the legal ownership of land
454 becomes an administrative matter of the gravest import, and the office of the director of tapu (registered land) in Rowandus the scene of some of the most serious transactions in the serai.

423 The laws of Iraq treating the tenure of land are somewhat complex, as both Quranic and Ottoman classifications are intermingled in the modern code, but only two categories need concern us here, tapu and amiriya. Tapu-land is that which has been registered and to which a title of private ownership is recognized. Amiriya-land is that belonging to the state, not only that in use for government installations, but almost all "unoccupied" land. Under certain conditions, such as occupancy over a period of 15 years, amiriya-land can become privately owned. Whenever there is a transaction in land, usually a sale, the parties concerned must have reference to the director of tapu in the serai. An engineer from his office makes a survey of the land in question, which, in the form of a map, serves as a deed. One copy is given to the owner and another retained in the office.

423 A third category, which not only includes land, but
735 also houses and other forms of property, is waqf, the
429 religious donation. A man, for a variety of reasons, may leave his property to the Islamic faith and it becomes untaxable and inviolable. Such property is placed for the use, usually at extremely low rates, of poorer folk among

the faithful. There are in Rowanduz some 18 houses and lands which belong in this category. The administration of such property is placed under a Ministry of Awqaf, and there is a Mamur in Erbil from this ministry to supervise the use of such bequests. Locally, the supervision is not charged to the serai, but to the chief mulla (the religious leader of the community) who otherwise has no connection in government affairs.

Just as the legal ownership of land is important to the private citizen, its taxation is a primary concern of the government. Locally the collection is in the hands of the mudirs, and the money transmitted through the qaimmaqam to Erbil. In taxation a distinction is made between agricultural lands and houses. Of the agricultural land, tapu-land is taxed a straight 15% of its value in terms of yearly yield. Amiriya-land which has been built upon and cultivated is subject to 30%, while that which has not been built upon, but cultivated, pays 10%. Houses, without reference to the land on which they stand, are taxed 15% of the assessed value of their yearly rent. Shopkeepers and merchants pay a series of taxes, usually in the form of licenses. Neither personal property, including gold, jewelry, or currency, nor income are taxed in the Rowanduz district. As has been mentioned, waqf or "church" property is not taxed. These revenues must be paid in money, never in kind, although property may be seized for taxes in arrears. However, the chieftains in the countryside try

Rowanduz a will is a legal instrument which must be formulated in the presence of the judge and registered with a katib al-'adil or government notary, either of the serai or the court. If a person dies intestate, as in the case of most persons of the lower classes, and a quarrel ensues over the disposition of his property, this must also be settled by court action. In general, however, each of the sons of the deceased is entitled to one share and each of the daughters to a half-share, after the widow has received a stipulated eighth of the total property. In the absence of some of these heirs, certain relatives in a fixed order may present claims for varying percentages, a subject too complicated to be examined in detail here. If the heir is an orphan, the property is administered by a department of the government, the Amwal al-Gasarin, until he reaches maturity. A woman usually disposes of her property, her dowry, jewelry, and household goods, as she pleases, although this too can be brought to the bar. Thus the quarrels and complications which can arise in inheritance are settled by action of the judge, and the townspeople themselves, unless they have been engaged in such a suit, know little of the intricacies.

Two of the most striking features of Islamic inheritance are that a woman, although she is protected by certain specified percentages, does not receive a sum equal to that of a man, and that the estate of the deceased is not transferred intact to any one person, as in primogeniture, but is parcelled out among the several heirs,

is difficult, if not impossible, for even the cleverest jurist to circumvent the equality of sons in inheritance, for this has the direct sanction of religion. 428 423

For the most part, however, settlements are amicable and it is unnecessary for the heirs to have recourse to the court. In such cases, the legal division of property is often fictional and need not adhere to the exact provisions of the law. Instead of selling the house, the land, or the shop, the eldest brother or, in the minority of the sons, a paternal uncle or some other relative [429] assumes the role of administrator and things continue much as they did before. To provide an example, a blacksmith in Rowanduz owned a small house and maintained a shop in the bazar. On his death, his two sons, who chose to follow their father's calling, continued to work together in the shop, and ultimately the younger, with the aid of his brother, was able to obtain a house of his own. At no time was there a legal accounting, although one may suppose that the two had some knowledge of the value of the property and reached an agreement, perhaps tacitly, of their own. In another, more exact way, the eldest son often purchases gradually the shares of his brothers, keeping the estate intact. In some cases, a man apportions most of his wealth before his death, attempting to satisfy all of his heirs. As noticed above, a younger son is often accorded a separate establishment. It is said that a landowner can transfer his title, held in the tapu, registered land, office in the serai, to one son during [326]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

539 he saw a Fox enter the mill, go to the trough and take out the flour. The Miller came out of his hiding place, seized the Fox, and began to belabour him with his stick. The Fox yelped, and said to the Miller, "Let me go, and I will woo for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt!"

"I am a Miller," was the reply. "How wilt thou woo for me the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt?"

Said the Fox, "Kill me not, and I will indeed woo for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt. If I fail to do so, then thou mayest kill me."

"Thou must take thine oath upon it," said the Miller.

So the Fox swore to the Miller, and the Miller let him go.

The Fox set off, and by-and-by he arrived in Egypt. When he came into the presence of the Pasha, he saluted him most courteously, and the Pasha said to the Fox, "Tell me thy desire."

The Fox replied, "Sire, have I your permission to speak?"

"Thou hast."

"Then," said the Fox, "My master, Temteqa Pasha, seeks the hand of thy daughter."

The Pasha of Egypt replied, "Take horsemen with you, and go to meet this Temteqa Pasha, who may be some Vizier, but whose name I do not know."

"Sire," said the Fox, "give me a suit of clothes,[1] and I will take it to Temteqa Pasha. But do not send your soldiers out to meet him before two days

[1] Presents of apparel are very common in the East, and are frequently mentioned in folk-tales.

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. 177

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding 291
the necktie during the summer. A number affect the black wool forage cap instituted by King Feisal I. to replace the red tarbush of Ottoman connotation, rather than the usual European headgear, and others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Kurdish officials of higher rank prefer the European felt hat, rarely worn by Arab civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Kurdish resistance" to Arab rule. For un- [668]
dress attire, the official divests himself of his outer garments and puts on pajamas or the dishdasha, the cassock, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Bedouin type, these last not generally used by the townsman. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains 291
to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Kurdish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for indoor use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because al- [431]
most any garment is passed through the family until finally [735]
worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy to the poor, for clothing is a favorite benefice at the time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the chaykhanas or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowanduz fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an anamolous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

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One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive," not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

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Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

mpt God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case 576 [754]
smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the 431 576
ner to present the item in question to the admirer as a
ift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-
ticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion.
he second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference
a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two per-
ons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they
ill stand before the door, bowing each other in, until
ne seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by
ain force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco.
f one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring
ut his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is
n exchange. An identical process is gone through in
ighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as
wo men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigar-
ttes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners,
re less punctilious in these matters than the officials,
nd suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have 571 562
een largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the [114]
nvestigator confesses to some failing in treating that of
omen. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine
ociety on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with
uthority, a deficit of information which could easily be
illed by an observer of the female sex. However, it is
ossible to make a number of valid observations which must

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the sha'i, a round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, holding each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

585 [535] [534] [431] [292] [431] [272]

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammad Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kawlokan below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Jihad or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

788 788 527 [431] 554 788 779 [721]

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages, 000

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite foreswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises. 785 796

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this sight begins Jayiani Ramazan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing. 796 527 [574] [431] [535]

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowandus is Jayiani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the 796

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come.

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. Housewives make a sweet called Helaywat Khidir Elyas which is exchanged between households at this time. The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the Sayran and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

clumsy, high-legged, un-upholstered sofas and chairs, whilst the later pieces were covered in red velvet in the French fashion of the '80s.

Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and for her personal use—purchased with the 400 Din. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expended about 150 Din. on gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

The bridegroom received from his coming in-laws his wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirt, underwear, pyjamas, soap, shaving tackle, bath gown, small bath mat of velvet to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a hand-embroidered silk cloth[118], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Three of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed cotton for kirtles. Seven of the bridegroom's male relations received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of drawers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, whilst the other four shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of drawers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs intended to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were not cut quite as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English greys was purchased for this purpose, being cut out in the home by a seamstress who took them away to be made up.

In addition to the expense on these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, came the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit in her family home a week after the wedding in order to take a bath. The value of these trinkets was said to be 42 Din. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my information: bridegroom and his family 400 Din.; bride's family 192 Din., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day until she left.

Hay mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village milieu in Kurdistan in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[119] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the man pays a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dress for the bride, receiving in return nothing whatever from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lane's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[120]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom and his relatives, plus the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts costing about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a clumsy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red ochre silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connexion with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amouting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[153], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus ran the same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3–4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself in the month of *ramaḍān* to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Balkha, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily in the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

Uncleanliness. During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieus in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

627 692 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 721 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Rayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 622 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[724] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammad asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Naupurdar on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammad ran away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammad as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Hay ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

• [731] "Hay (p. 68) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Hay however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shevdini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab bedouin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else depute one of his sons to do so. 342 574 622

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance. 574 431 •

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammad of Walash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Nauperdan. On average my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (36 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure 574 556 622

esteem demands that her price should be a high one. It would need a very intimate knowledge of all concerned to find out what real transactions take place within the village on the occasion of a marriage. Where the marriage is to someone outside the village the position is more clear, especially in the case of the Aghas, though here again there is a tendency to exaggerate the figures involved. A point of some interest is the frequency with which Aghas or their sons marry the daughters of townspeople. For instance a son of Sheikh Mohammad of Walash was married to a daughter of Mustafa Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz, and one of the wives of Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala was also a townswoman. Such marriages are socially approved of as it is considered that townswomen bring with them an air of culture and sophistication. The reciprocal marriage of Agha's daughter to townsman's son is however most unusual, mainly because the townsmen considers the tribal girl raw and uncivilised. The one sided nature of the transaction thus represents a further periodic cash loss to the tribal group without any compensating return.* It is not to be supposed that the bride price payment is the only economic transaction taking place on the occasion of a marriage. Near relatives on both sides send presents to the bridegroom; these may be in kind or cash and in the case of marriages between important Agha families may amount to substantial sums.

Death. Compared with normal Moslem usage the mourning ceremonies of the Kurds, at any rate for Aghas, are unusually prolonged. While I was staying at Walash the wife of Mustafa Agha, second son of Sheikh Mohammad, died. As Mustafa was the Agha of a neighbouring village I did not see the ceremonies involved. I was told that the proceedings consisted principally of the bereaved sitting at home in his Guest House and providing food and drink for all those friends and relatives who may think fit to come and condole with him. This would go on for a month. Moreover it was reckoned that as Mustafa had only a small Guest House all his less immediate kin would have to be accommodated at Walash. I gathered that the mourners would bring with them gifts which would at least approximately compensate for the cost of entertaining them, but the immediate economic strain occasioned by a death such as this may be considerable. As soon as Sheikh Mohammad heard the news he sent off riders to Rowanduz to fetch four sacks of sugar (36 kilos each), two bags of rice and a big roll

* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to sell their unwanted girl children to townsfolk. The girls were known as Kurdiya. During adolescence she was a slave servant of the purchaser but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the mui tsai system of South China.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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765 574 .431 of cigarette papers. The scale of entertainment naturally varies greatly with the status of the deceased; moreover the death of a male is in every case far more serious than the death of a female. So far as I am aware the ceremonial consideration is similar in the case of commoner families though on a smaller scale.*

The Mulla

793 535 431 The Mulla has his part to play in the ritual both on occasions of marriage and death, and gains some appropriate reward. His interest in the marriage ritual is on the decline. Government regulations now require that marriages must be registered with the police, and the marriage is legal without any religious ceremony. The tendency is therefore to give presents to the police rather than the Mulla.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to nomad tribes; I was told that among the Herki the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day. The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Moslem type.

of distances. In the presence of enterprising merchants, 443
particularly the atar or itinerant traders who will be discussed below, a cultivator in some outlying village need not undertake the arduous journey across broken country to Rowanduz to retail his products and to purchase the materials required by his home.

The agricultural village can enjoy a certain amount 433
of self-sufficiency insofar as its food supply is concerned, although the specialization in tobacco has transformed this to some extent, but there are a number of other requirements which only the merchant can satisfy, many of them "necessary luxuries" without which life is hardly bearable. For reasons which can only be speculated upon, the Kurdish villager is today far from being the master of his environment, and there are undoubtedly present a number of mineral, vegetable, and animal products which could be utilized to good advantage. He is no innovator and his knowledge of [176]
what we call woodcraft, the ingenious exploitation of the environment at a primitive level, is practically nothing. Once a young agha exhibited as a trophy an ibex skin, 281
dried hard and stiff, which, if properly tanned, would have made an excellent rug or covering. An inquiry, and later investigation, revealed that only a few villagers knew the techniques of preparing skins; almost all of the leather which is locally produced and put into use is what is commonly called rawhide. The villager thus re- 432
quires a great complex of things, of which only a few are cigarette papers, cloth, cooking utensils, iron or steel

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432 ●
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, [437] is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system of values is always expressed in terms of money.

The town of Rowandus, occupying the sloping top of 361
a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. At a steeper point of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area [366] of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (jama'a al-kabir), the garage, and two chaykhanas. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town.

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazar will 347

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the first World War, but they have been more in the substitution of the materials used and in the addition of new items rather than anything radical. Most of these are European, such as kerosene stoves and shoes, and have either displaced older manufactures, some of which survive, or have been readily accepted as new devices. The Kurd, is no innovator, but welcomes new things of a material sort, particularly if they appeal to him as ingenious, as the cigarette-lighter, and are integrated without difficulty into his daily life. It cannot be maintained that the increase of European imports has destroyed the self-sufficiency of the household or of the district, although it has certainly furthered the deterioration of native crafts, for this area has utilized trade from other locales for centuries. In general, it might be said that the last fifty years have seen the introduction of many new means to the same ends. An imported kerosene stove and cooking utensils are now used to prepare food, but the diet and the etiquette of dining have changed little. The sewing machine and fabrics from the mills of Great Britain now provide clothing, but the costume, save for European shoes, is much the same. A drastic reorientation has not been necessitated by the introduction of these new appearances, and household life in Rowandus can be said to have evolved, and to still be evolving, into something which daily makes increased use of the devices and products of European civilization with great stability.

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1914) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kelek* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1955) and from which the northern liwas, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 Kw. (and an ul-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

in olden times, and that the economy of the village will not stand the strain.

Much point is lent to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Bayat (head of the Shevtini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mohammed received no Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. Moreover, far from lamenting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevtini land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an subject in their own right instead of merely a unit of the Balik. It seems significant too that the Shevtini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalisation emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Guest House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Aghas concerned. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organisation of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

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any single village community.

The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, baked in thin slabs (nan), and a sour milk product of the yoghourt type (mast); in addition by a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (sama) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and goats. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as marrows, tomatoes, gherkins, brinjal, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would everywhere be the preferred crop if it could be extensively cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the sama if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Sheikh Mohammed of Saloah and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Saloah was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very unintelligently arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'lau to their guests instead of sama.

In former times this bare self sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. Few commodities had to be imported; clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of mash, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the mash crop is traded.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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been pointed out in a previous section the events of the last thirty years have served to create a steadily increasing demand for a range of imports which, if they might previously have been classed as luxuries, are now regarded by the Kurds themselves as essential necessaries. Whatever the immediate nature of the cash or credit transactions by which such goods are purchased, they must ultimately be paid for by the 'exports' of the community as a whole, and the problem arises as to how this can be done in a community which, on the face of it, can only produce a bare self-sufficiency of primary products. The following table shows approximately the categories of goods that go to make up the 'balance of trade' for the tribes of the Balik area.

Imports

First Quality Rice for Aghas (brinj eshri - chiefly from Persia), Sugar, Tea, Coffee, Matches, Metalware, Clothing, Kerosene, Dyes. Of these the most important are rice, sugar, tea and clothing.

Exports

Tobacco, Lentils, Walnuts, Galls nuts, Honey.
Fruits:- Apricots, Apples, Pears, Grapes, Raisins, Almonds.
Wool and Goatskins.
Of these by far the most important is tobacco.

In addition there are certain cash transactions that must be taken into account which are independent of the process of trade. On the debit side certain sales-taxes and legal dues have to be paid in cash to the Government, and there is an excise duty on tobacco. This latter is nominally due only on tobacco actually traded but in practice it appears to be charged on the private supplies of the cultivator also. The Agha again incurs certain cash expenditure in educating his children. He also incurs very substantial expenditure in 'purchasing' his own wives and those of his sons, but since the majority of such marriages take place within the group these exchanges do not necessarily affect the economy of the community as a whole. On the credit side one must allow for the fact that a small number of tribes-people are earning wages either in Rowanduz or down on the plain, and that such people may send home part of their earnings in cash.

In general however it is fairly true to say that all the goods imported by the groups of the Balik area must ultimately be paid for by the proceeds of surplus fruit and tobacco. Large scale fruit production is limited to the villages around Hast, and I will therefore consider only the problem as it affects tobacco production, this crop having a much more general relevance.

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character; it was alleged that he corrupted the villagers with alcohol and gambling and attempted to seduce their daughters, in particular the Malla's daughter, in fact he was altogether a scoundrel. In due course he was found in the high road with two bullets through his body. The police took action. Two harmless looking nomads from another tribe were brought before the courts and on the basis of somewhat elaborate circumstantial evidence convicted of murder. Sentence however was never carried out since the "criminals" curiously disappeared a few days after the trial. Whatever was the truth of this matter, local rumour had no doubts on the subject. The bullet wounds, the arrest and conviction of the nomads were all a frame up by the police, who had the sense not to fish in troubled waters. The murdered man had really died of strangulation - hanged in the Guest House of Sheikh Mohammad, Agha of Walash and chief of the Balik.

This story was told me by Hamid Amin of Rowanduz who was always eager to cast a slur on his cousin Sheikh Mohammad. It appeared however to have some general currency since, when I was discussing the misdemeanours of the local schoolmaster with the Agha of Rayat, he referred to the Walash story. "These small Government servants! What do you expect? They're all scoundrels".

Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant, its effect among the Balik is the same as if it had been true. Even though Sheikh Mohammad's prestige is not so great as formerly, the fact, or even the rumour, that he had to hang his first and only agricultural adviser is a sufficient deterrent for any lesser Aghas who may be contemplating agricultural reform within their own communities. This example brings out well how a problem which on the surface is purely economic may in practice be affected by a mass of seemingly irrelevant considerations in the field of ethics, tribal law, politics and religion.

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To sum up then. We have seen how the necessity for developing an export trade implies the necessity for increasing the tobacco acreage at the expense of cereal acreage, and I have tried to analyse out the forces of resistance which serve to prevent any immediate response to this incentive. Nevertheless the incentive is clearly very great. I was told for instance in Betas that whereas in the old days the crops of the entire village had been worth barely £50 in cash, the tobacco sales in 1937 alone totalled £2,500. I believe therefore that in the hills also some radical alteration in the emphasis of agriculture must take place in the near future.

But it must be recognised that any such development must bring about fundamental changes both in the ideology of the people and of their social organisation. As things are, the hill country farmer sets out first of all to grow sufficient food for himself and his family. Only when he is assured of that does he turn his attention to the cultivation of luxury products such as tobacco. In short he aims at

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433 being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
249 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is so enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the Baghdad market, - hardly a desirable development.

299 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation
427 may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents.
435 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added exasperation that the commoner who trades tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

249 On the analogy with the lowland areas the ultimate line of
622 evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill; thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

299 From the Government's point of view such a development is not
464 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is miri land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land Scarcity, House Construction and Kinship

311 The indications are that land resources are for the most part as fully utilized as present technical equipment permits; the amount of 433 marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement is small. Except on the moorland country above Khalan where conditions are too severe, wheat is cultivated wherever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shelter permits subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried far up onto the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the food supplies grown are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

361 Land scarcity anyway seems the most plausible explanation for the 342 very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages 621 are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible 592 agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes as at Balash and at Rayat the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the cohesion of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village as can be seen from photograph No. 3, the houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is no exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconveniences of such close proximity it could hardly be otherwise. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which complicates any effort on the part of the Agha to reorganise the system of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

361 One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole 342 agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the limitations of water supply radically affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. What follows applies only to the villages of the

1/2 [Opposite p 74. B -- Draught]

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows: 443 434 [427] [265] [256]

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven 443 511

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

timate capacity of 150,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1958 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertized major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Darband-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Babans of Sulaimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, tend to attach tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting then to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1892 Hajji Qadir of Koi (*circa* 1817-1894),

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

the policy of the Administration after the Great War.

Formerly the village communities were, within the limits of a somewhat meagre standard of living, virtually self supporting. Trade and currency circulation were both minimal. "The British Administration's policy of buying the loyalty of the tribal chiefs by means of a cash salary resulted in there being available within the community substantial amounts of currency for which there was no immediate outlet except in the purchase of luxuries. Moreover this wealth was not distributed evenly throughout the community but concentrated into the hands of a few leading Aghas. The result has many analogies with similar phenomena observed in Africa. The preliminary expenditure creates a sudden taste for luxuries within a small segment of the community. These new wants develop both in scope and intensity out of all proportion to the ability of the community to satisfy them, with the inevitable result that the economic balance of the community is upset and the originally wealthy group, by developing expensive tastes, becomes eventually an economic drain upon the community. The process can indeed be expressed in general economic terms applicable even to the conditions of our own society.

Expenditure by the Government can for a time create a new large effective demand, but when this expenditure ceases and the income of the community drops the newly created wants remain unsatisfied. The result is not a reversion to the original situation but an adaptation of it, in which the available income is allocated to new ends in an attempt to give partial satisfaction to the newly created wants.

There can be no doubt that in the Balik country, under the influence of the Government subsidy, the tastes of the more important Aghas and their households developed a high degree of sophistication without any corresponding improvement in the productivity of the community as a whole. With the establishment of effective police authority in the Rowanduz valley the subsidy to the tribal leaders was suspended as being unnecessary. The consequences were inevitable. The foreign clothing and house furnishings which had formerly been mere luxuries had by this time developed into essential necessaries. Today the more sophisticated Aghas such as Sheikh Mohammad of Walash and Hamid Agha of Dergala are feeling the pinch severely. They will tell you that times are hard and that they can no longer afford to maintain the standard they were accustomed to in the days of their youth, but the truth rather would seem to be that they are vainly trying to maintain a much "higher" standard than was ever thought of

* It is difficult to obtain from Kurdish sources reliable information of the sums involved. Sheikh Mohammad's son assured me that at one time his father possessed over £3,000 in gold and specie. At the present time he appears to be in debt to merchants and moneylenders.

in olden times, and that the economy of the village will not stand the strain.

Much point is lent to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Rayat (head of the Shevdini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mohammad received no Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. Moreover, far from lamenting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevdini land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an ashiret in their own right instead of merely a taifa of the Balik. It seems significant too that the Shevdini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalisation emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Guest House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Aghas concerned. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organisation of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

been pointed out in a previous section the events of the last thirty years have served to create a steadily increasing demand for a range of imports which, if they might previously have been classed as luxuries, are now regarded by the Kurds themselves as essential necessaries. Whatever the immediate nature of the cash or credit transactions by which such goods are purchased, they must ultimately be paid for by the 'exports' of the community as a whole, and the problem arises as to how this can be done in a community which, on the face of it, can only produce a bare self-sufficiency of primary products. The following table shows approximately the categories of goods that go to make up the 'balance of trade' for the tribes of the Balik area.

Imports

First Quality Rice for Aghas (brinj sadri - chiefly from Persia), Sugar, Tea, Coffee, Matches, Metalware, Clothing, Kerosene, Dyes.
Of these the most important are rice, sugar, tea and clothing.

Exports

Tobacco, Lentils, Walnuts, Gallnuts, Honey.
Fruits:- Apricots, Apples, Pears, Grapes, Raisins, Almonds.
Wool and Goatskins.
Of these by far the most important is tobacco.

In addition there are certain cash transactions that must be taken into account which are independent of the process of trade. On the debit side certain sales- taxes and legal dues have to be paid in cash to the Government, and there is an excise duty on tobacco. This latter is nominally due only on tobacco actually traded but in practice it appears to be charged on the private supplies of the cultivator also. The Agha again incurs certain cash expenditure in educating his children. He also incurs very substantial expenditure in 'purchasing' his own wives and those of his sons, but since the majority of such marriages take place within the group these exchanges do not necessarily effect the economy of the community as a whole. On the credit side one must allow for the fact that a small number of tribes-people are earning wages either in Rowanduz or down on the plain, and that such people may send home part of their earnings in cash.

In general however it is fairly true to say that all the goods imported by the groups of the Balik area must ultimately be paid for by the proceeds of surplus fruit and tobacco. Large scale fruit production is limited to the villages around Rust, and I will therefore consider only the problem as it affects tobacco production, this crop having a much more general relevance.

an item will canvass a number of shops, inquiring into its price, until she finds what she believes to be the lowest, nothing more than the "comparison shopping" of the European or American housewife, and without bargaining. This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged. In the summer of 1951 the price of a khunjir or dagger was fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth of this price in Baghdad or Damascus) due to the indiscreet outlay of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor ruse could bring it down again. It was immutably established that Americans pay three dinars for their khunjirs, and one was constantly hailed by persons offering the sorriest specimens in the hopes of realizing that price. Prices are, within certain limits, geared to the social status of the purchaser, and the gaimmaqam, for example, might be expected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In a small town of this sort, however, while prices are uncontrolled, public opinion and the facility with which one merchant will undersell another, act as strong limitations, and the difference between "asking price" and "selling price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. If a customer, for example, wishd to buy six tea-glasses from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the latter would send his boy down to street to borrow what was required from another merchat. The same is true of money, and cashing a large banknote may involve any number

The employment of masons and builders is not solely confined to the town of Rowanduz, for specialists of this type are often called out to neighboring villages to supervise the constructions of wealthier people. The "mason" is not only expected to exercise his own craft, but must also fill the posts of architect, contractor, and general foreman. Having obtained the land, those who desire to build hold a consultation with the mason, reaching a verbal contract in which the materials, the amount of time necessary for completion, and the price are stipulated. The mason must then purchase the materials, arrange for their transportation, hire, insofar as it is necessary, the requisite labor, supervise the construction, and do the most difficult tasks, for example, the actual laying of bricks, himself. Builders of this type do not belong to guild or union, but seem to maintain themselves within the strength of their families. A building operation is apt to involve a number of sons, brothers, and nephews, with the mason as a sort of congenial taskmaster and guiding spirit, who alternately pleads and jests with his workers. The operation can suffer from general lassitude, and the owner must at last have words with the builders. Most houses appear to reach completion by means of a series of such arguments. Constructing a larger house in Rowanduz is a relatively expensive undertaking. Two houses and their land, located in the higher-priced lower portion of town, cost the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, about 1500 dinars. The lots accounted for half the price, and the average cost of

each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for thresholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Ismā'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jejeni Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

294 437 [443] [292] 294 291 [435] 294 855 196

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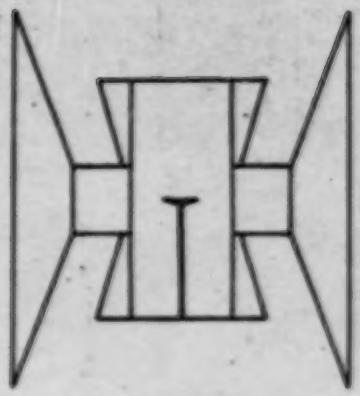

Fig. 72. Diagram. Cut of man's white cotton shirt (E. 2310). ST. cut of woman's kirtle fig. 65).

291 the forearm like a broad, folded white band[291]. Wedge-shaped pieces of material are let into the sides of the shirt. These are 0.19 m. broad at the bottom and end at the top with a square gusset sewn to the armpit. The cuffs, as characteristic of Kurdish men's dress, could be loose, independent elements of pure silk or nylon on sale in the *sūq* of towns like Sulaimani or Halabja, and used in conjunction with a shirt of European pattern in order to retain this typical Kurdish feature even after European elements have made their entry into the dress of men.

Drawers, *dāyyr*[292], (E. 2313) are made of close-woven white cotton material. In cut they are bag-shaped breech-cloth trousers[293] of the same type as those typical of Turkish male dress[294]. However, from the point of view of cut they vary. In the middle of the bag, a rhomboid of material is cut out, turned 45 degrees, and then sewn on again as a gusset (see diagram). By so doing the drawers are given tapering legs whilst the great breadth around the hips and posterior is retained, a shape Edmonds calls "peg top cut"[295]. The width at the top is 2.00 m. and each leg, 0.95 m. long, is 0.40 m. wide. The drawers have a casing at the top with a tape running through it that gathers the fullness around the man's waist. These drawers are peculiar in that, as noticed by Chardin as early as 1711[296], they are quite closed having no fly in the front.

The outer garment, is "a suit", *shāl-u-rūp*[297], consisting of jacket and trousers made of the same material, home-woven woollen[298] cloth, price about 2½ din. = £2/10/0. Such suits can be purchased ready-made in the *sūq* and, as mentioned, appeared in two different types typical of the Sulaimani and Rowanduz areas, respectively.

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Trousers, *lāwāl*, from the Sulaimani district (E. 2310b). The material is woven of goat's wool, dark-brown, light-brown or yellowish-white. The weaving breadth is only 0.160 m., and the trousers therefore consist of 12 lengths of material sewn together. Before being sewn the material is folded together and braided (cf. p. 99), so that each length of material obtains two sharp longitudinal creases which,

30
574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
656 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants	
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expenses of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
263 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
272 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
177 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
435 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities
574 of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 4½/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
262 between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of
511 Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

40

433 being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
299 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary cultivator will be forced to evaluate his lands fundamentally in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is an enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the England market, - hardly a desirable development.

299 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation
427 may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents.
435 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system rents without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added consequence that the commoner who grows tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

349 On the analogy with the Iceland areas the ultimate line of
622 evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill. Thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

349 From the Government's point of view such a development is not
464 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is mirî land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

tools, kerosene, matches, rice, salt, shoes, and sugar. 432
It must finally be stressed that the economy is one of money, however minute the sums involved may be. Agricultural and dairy products are sold for cash, and items such as have been listed above are purchased on the same terms. Barter, while it may still occur in some situations, is not the typical mode of exchange, and the system of values is always expressed in terms of money. [437]

The town of Rowanduz, occupying the sloping top of a great bluff, has roughly three divisions. The lowest is that first encountered when arriving from the valley below and contains a number of government buildings, a scattering of residences, and a large amount of vacant land, unoccupied because of its higher prices. At a steeper point of the slope the houses increase in number and the center of the town is reached, the mercantile area of closely adjoining shops and dwellings. This section merges with the heavily settled upper part of the town, almost wholly residential in character, whose houses gradually thin out around the hills behind the town. The mercantile area or bazar begins with a steeply sloping street lined on both sides with shops which terminates in a wide area, a "square" flanked by the great mosque (Jami'a al-kabir), the garage, and two chaikhanas. From this square another street of shops leads upward, finally reaching a little clearing surrounded by shops from which three lanes branch out into the houses of the upper town. [446]

Some of the more specialized shops of the bazar will 347

o'clock and finally locks up for the day at six or seven. 443 464
Friday, the weekly holiday, does not preclude commerce, and many establishments are operated on a seven-day basis. Business, some merchants hold, is actually better on Friday than during the rest of the week. During the fast of Ramadan many shops are shuttered during the day, but are open much later in the evening. By a mutual agreement of all the chaykhana-owners, the tea-shops and places of eating are closed for the day during Ramadan save one. Business, often brisk, is this "dinner's" chaykhana is kept within doors and the entrance carefully masked with a heavy burlap hanging. On extremely cold days in winter many merchants close their unheated shops and seek the warmth of a chaykhana. A would-be customer must page the merchant he seeks, and the latter returns with him to open up the shop just long enough to conclude the sale.

It has already been noticed that all transactions 437
are in terms of money. It is more or less standard that many European and American travelers in the Middle East are led to believe that any sale must be accompanied by interminable haggling and bargaining. This may be perfectly true of larger towns, particularly purchases in which a foreigner is involved, but in a rural setting such as that of Rawanduz the case is quite otherwise. In the everyday business of the bazar it would be difficult to observe an example of protracted bargaining, for the range of price for any given article is as well known by the purchaser as it is by the merchant. A woman seeking to buy

an item will canvass a number of shops, inquiring into its price, until she finds what she believes to be the lowest, nothing more than the "comparison shopping" of the European or American housewife, and without bargaining. This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged. In the summer of 1951 the price of a khanjir or dagger was fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth of this price in Baghdad or Damascus) due to the indiscreet outlay of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor rumor could bring it down again. It was immutably established that Americans pay three dinars for their khanjirs, and one was constantly hailed by persons offering the scrviest specimens in the hopes of [illegible] that price. Prices are, within certain limits, geared to the social status of the purchaser, and the gelmeregan, for example, might be expected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In a small town of this sort, however, while prices are uncontrolled, public opinion and the facility with which one merchant will undersell another, set up strong limitations, and the difference between "asking price" and "selling price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. If a customer, for example, wished to buy six tea-glasses from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the latter would send his boy down the street to borrow what was required from another merchant. The same is true of money, and cashing a large banknote may involve any number

cloed and moulded about a metal skewer (jujeh) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 246
implement (sikh). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 245
sold by order to private houses, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
shopfront. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kebabchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

bazar of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both towns-people and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realised and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of man's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the end of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jejnni Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

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[443] [292]
294 291
[435]
294 855 796

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kelek* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 Kw. (and an ul-

by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil liva. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different communers, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shwedini of Bayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent haba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Erbil.

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowandus and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and some of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowandus, particularly for chilling drinks such as sherbet or matag (a mixture of curdled milk, meat, and water, qv, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a number-some wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow brambles which are constructed into summer arbors

tea	Turkish coffee	493
toothbrushes	uniform caps	
toys	watches	

On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up [438] a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowandus or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale.

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442 bazirgan, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowandus and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowandus are five in number, As'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Khazir, and Sayyid Majjid, and it is interesting to note from the 788 title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper [554] name, that three of the five have been able to make the

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowandus had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jezira plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowandus households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar of Rowandus. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowandus as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

λ [i.e. the town of Rowandus, - Analyst]

the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowandus has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercantile competitor of Rowandus, arose on lands owned by Lali Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowandus, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often reconstructed. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowandus, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowandus, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowandus and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowanduz freely confessed an regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must trvel to Erbil. 167 563 463 [301]

It must be admitted tat the strength of the town as a center based on villagetrade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity wth importance in district economy has been replaced byservice to the government personnel and the several wlthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changt the bases of the size and importance of Rowanduz. One these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position is taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplent Rowanduz might have experienced certain decline. 177 621 438 443

000 of blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

391 411 As the sun peeped over the rugged mountains the blankets moved again and men rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waistband; they also disappeared silently below.

458 I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

516 A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "*Hosha*" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

000 The night has ended. Sojourners all awake.

[text continued on p. 363(B)]
[p. 363 (A)]

Sulaimaniya, the largest town in Iraqi Kurdistan with an entirely Kurdish population for whom it is the important trading centre. Caravans from over the surrounding hills are always coming and going

[p. 345(A)]

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Ward MA11

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This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 [illegible] and from which the northern liwas, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

Wilson G-8 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Kurd MA11

Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Iraqi Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

4c Wilson G-3 (no date) 1927 MEE Iraq MEE
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now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

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The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

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The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1915, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Shimun, a jovial friar, full of the Assyrian cause.

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the area an excise and customs directorate which must supervise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jinjian, Rayat, and Hajji Umran on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offence) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an

The principal crops of the Rawandiz area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel matlock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, eggplants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

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willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors 98
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Aside from this

work in building and repair, the only significant production of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always brightly painted. Two shops in Rwanda maintained by carpenters display a large number of these, and there is always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The carpenter's tools and equipment, gimlets, hammers, planes, chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden bier, and occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are fashioned in the households of villagers.

335 322 322 422 95 [371] 412 [419] 322 [369] [394]

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The government veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil service and army, but, although his services are available to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and blacksmiths, with their distinctive anvils and charcoal fires, are within the bazaar, and the shoeing of a donkey

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Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and the arrival an event of great joy in his household.

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of footgear is worn in the area, including European boots, shoes, and women's sandals, and several local types of slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kalosky) are produced for women. One shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town cobblers are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and storefronts with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter.

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piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European
in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India
and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can
either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth des-
tined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment 284
consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a
tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Al-
most all European-style clothing, such as that worn by [391]
government employees, is purchased in one of the larger
cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is
almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style,
jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in
linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having 284
purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, re- 437
pairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as
well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

on their investments. There are, of course, trips in which a handsome bounty can be acquired, and others when the *sing* is happy to break even. The origins of this class are somewhat varied, for some may be drawn directly from the villages, others are failures in another calling, and still others only follow the steps of their fathers. Similarly, the personnel changes over the years, because a few are fortunate enough to open permanent shops of their own, the fondest dream of the class, many return to their villages, and many take up another vocation.

Unlike the *sing*, the general merchants maintain permanent establishments in Rowandúz and are possessed of a certain amount of capital, in money, land, or merchandise. Their wares may be obtained from the wholesale merchants or brought in directly from Erbil. Their shops are typically packed from top to bottom with an incredible variety of manufactured goods, most of them imported from [433] Europe. A number of these, listed from a single shop, include:

amulets	needles
buttons	notebooks
buttons	orange syrup
candy	pegaz
chocolate	patent medicines
cigarettes	pencils
cigarette-papers	pins
cocoa	pocket knives
coffee cups	razorblades
fountain pens	razors
gasoline stoves	salt
glasses	shirts
handkerchiefs	shoe-polish
jewelry	soap
lighters	stationery
matches	stockings
matches	sugar

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowandus had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jezire plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need here no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this pass trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowandus households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the empire of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar of Rowandus. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowandus as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently observed as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, even in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an economical night light. Even during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a courtyard,

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used in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are distinctive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to the tools and cups. Dishes in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those set too prized to be counted among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

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[491]

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of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, insofar as their harmful are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Rooms of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flea. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Dysentery and malaria sometimes turn up, and are dealt with the greatest possible dispatch.

the first World War, but they have been more in the substitution of the materials used and in the addition of new items rather than anything radical. Most of these are European, such as kerosene stoves and shoes, and have either displaced older manufactures, some of which survive, or have been readily accepted as new devices. The Kuré is no innovator, but welcomes new things of a material sort, particularly if they appeal to him as ingenious, as the cigarette-lighter, and are integrated without difficulty into his daily life. It cannot be maintained that the increase of European imports has destroyed the self-sufficiency of the household or of the district, although it has certainly furthered the deterioration of native crafts, for this area has utilized trade from other locales for centuries. In general, it might be said that the last fifty years have seen the introduction of many new means to the same ends. An imported kerosene stove and cooking utensils are now used to prepare food, but the diet and the etiquette of dining have changed little. The sewing machine and fabrics from the mills of Great Britain now provide clothing, but the costume, save for European shoes, is much the same. A drastic reorientation has not been necessitated by the introduction of these new appurtenances, and household life in Rowandus can be said to have evolved, and to still be evolving, into something which daily makes increased use of the devices and products of European civilization with great stability.

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth pockets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the names of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called [illegible], consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some pockets. An interesting symbol, a shell whose four apexes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 [531]

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and the regular collection of taxes. If the land is unregistered, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the users, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of efficiency, but it has quantitatively superimposed an administration far different from that of the Turks or the chieftains.

If the changes of the last fifty years which have taken place in English life are reviewed, it cannot be said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from the society, the areas of dissent are few in number. Items of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods, for this dependence on foreign products has apparently been known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the district has, of course, conditioned vulnerability, but it has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life within the family, and religion almost nothing of a structural nature has been altered or replaced. The issue of modification, then, has been in the economy and the society, for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy,

Fig. 21. Wooden kettle-holding or coal-tongue.
Fig. 22. Rattan-seated wood lamps. Plain walls, no furniture. Tuppence.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered by a granite or basalt screen—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, (khaliff), and when we call ourselves—that is to say brothers—rugs, (kiri, (S. 2277)* imported from Iran or from some of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever washed, as by Europeans, for all dust there shows or slippers before walking on the floor spares their covering. Life was lived on the floor; there was worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal was, neglect or did—was for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big tables were moved into the nearby residence of the harvest to the lowest house of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood unceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a fine chopped tea, (ghirbile, 0.227 i. (S. 231)). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for eating beforehand as.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite rare elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most masculy of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an unfurnished room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any other than functions can be.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the women sew in a belt along the transverse seam. This belt is sometimes knitted and is then, like a shoulder at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and style is trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and pinched round the body, the women's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the women's body from knee to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Cotton gloves (Kuwait cotton). Long nightgowns with pulled sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk, to wear at home alone, to serve at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1927. Either purchased ready-made or made at home to the form of complete dressing or blouse and skirt. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long sleeves, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [291]

Distribution of the elements of women's dress. Within the four female environments dress effects were composed of elements of all three groups, the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress from from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally to the case of unmarried and married women.

Village environment. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, cloth or 349
gabardine, green or black, underskirt, jacket, cotton and head veil, the last always white for an un- 325
married woman, and, for married women, also cloth cap, cloth veil, shoulder cloth, cotton cloth and 291
flower cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are cotton, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, crepe silk voile for the Girls' trousers, voile veiled thread, and crushed nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from [439]
Japan.

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that 291
there is no set customs that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the district's home in Tagawra rolled out dough and baked in sunlight-green brocade trousers, satin gardenant of the same colour, and black voile tunic with patches of gold thread. She walked the grain dust to excellently magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and best worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not endeavor to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads [513]
wrapped in a cloth. The only articles of clothing men worry in bed are the turbans, the neck-shoulder cloth and bare cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Coats, cloth and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the appearance of the dress does not make it im- [296]
perative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was unknown. [291]
The most return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite age, and the fact that an attempt was made to show it, which later would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers always were under the tunic, the skirt also. Only the pointed outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in public or married realities.

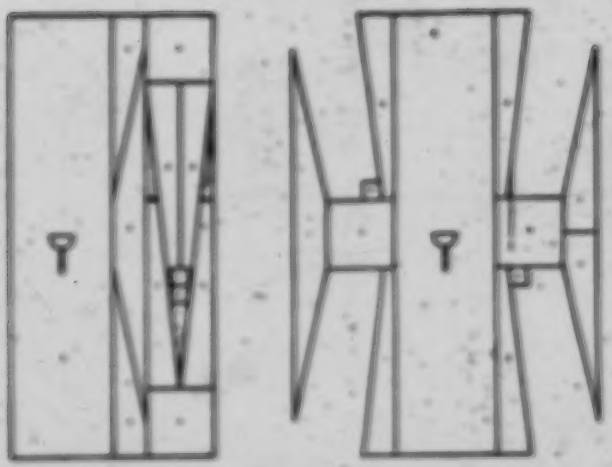

Fig. 45. Diagrammatic plan of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's tunic. Scale 1:36

a. the body, b. the two sleeves, c. the two flared shaped cuffs (one of these were cut from the waist piece), d. the two side gores, e. the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (Cf. fig. 11).

The *production of feminine garments*. The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[1] from abroad for sale in the city of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2352a-c). The finished garments like jackets and caftans are made by home tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[2]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, *gab*, (E. 2272). This is a round stick, 0.220 m. long, divided into English inches by shoulder markers, and consists of two sections, turned together by a screw, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-birds and birds are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women or boys. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and suffer most economically the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased to definite measurements, well-known to the home tailors. When cutting-out the birds the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (2 yards). Following[3] notice of the Law measuring by means of the hand, just as Caesar or we now mark the end joint of the thumb and the length of the foot.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organization at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups* though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Surau and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

*The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jemil Agha of Bahrtim (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jemil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

107 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Suran group whose full tribal name is Surani Bagarzela (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Surar") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mallasherifi, Shevkini and Bakri, of which Mallasherifi is much the largest. The Shevkini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mallasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Valash - Sheikh Mohammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Valash, Ehot and Celala. The Bakri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Baliki at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Valash.

794 162 • 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shiru i Sheikh require special mention. (See Hay pp. 295 and 297 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman). The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Ubaidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhshbandi, which has its basis in Bukhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

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any single village community.

462 The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, bread in this style (nan), and a meal with product of the yoghourt type (mast); in addition by a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of inferior boiled rice (sawk) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and grain.

253 311 [244] And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally sorted on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as maroows, tomatoes, gherkins, betatel, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would everywhere be the preferred crop if it could be extensively cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the nan if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Sheikh Mohammed of Balash and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Balash was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very unintelligently arranged.

A third cereal grows only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'lau to their guests instead of nan.

• 437 433 In former times this bare self sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. Few commodities had to be imported; clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

• In the villages around Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of nash, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the nash crop is traded.

was pointed out in a previous section the events of the last thirty years have served to create a steadily increasing demand for a range of imports which, if they might previously have been classed as luxuries, are now regarded by the Kachin themselves as essential commodities. Whatever the immediate nature of the cash or credit transactions by which such goods are purchased, they must ultimately be paid for by the 'exports' of the community as a whole, and the problem arises as to how this can be done in a community which, as the case of Ch., can only produce a very self-sufficiency of primary products. The following table shows approximately the categories of goods that go to make up the "balance of trade" for the tribes of the Bhamo area.

Imports

Piece goods; Rice for Ashan (Yaung) women - mainly from Burma1, Sugar, Tea, Cattle, Buffaloes, Metalware, Clothing, Tobaccos, Opium.
Of these the most important are rice, sugar, tea and clothing.

Exports

Tobacco, Lacquer, Walnuts, Cattle, Ponys.
Fruits- Apricots, Apples, Pears, Grapes, Bananas, Almonds.
Rice and Vegetables.
Of these by far the most important is tobacco.

In addition there are certain cash transactions that must be taken into account which are independent of the process of trade. On the debit side certain sales- taxes and legal dues have to be paid in cash to the Government, and there is an excise duty on tobacco. This latter is nominally due only on tobacco actually traded but in practice it appears to be charged on the private supplies of the cultivator also. The Ashe again incurs certain cash expenditure in educating his children. He also incurs very substantial expenditure in 'purchasing' his own wives and those of his sons, but since the majority of such marriages take place within the group these exchanges do not necessarily affect the economy of the community as a whole. On the credit side one must allow for the fact that a small number of tribespeople are earning wages either in Bawdwin or down on the plain, and that such people may send home part of their earnings in cash.

In general however it is fairly true to say that all the goods imported by the groups of the Bhamo area must ultimately be paid for by the proceeds of surplus fruit and tobacco. Large scale fruit production is limited to the villages around Hsat, and I will therefore consider only the problem as it affects tobacco production, this crop having a much more general relevance.

Lindstrom G-3 (no date) 1940 M60.11 Hard M60.11
Iraq

177 of the modern East, he displays a lack of enthusiasm which his more 'progressive' neighbours cannot understand, and he is classed as lazy and wooden-headed. On the other hand, if allowed to develop quietly in his own way, he readily adapts himself to the new world springing up around him.

• 939 177 With the coming of the covenants, motor roads, and organized forces to keep the peace in the country, trade has begun to improve in Kurdistan. When it no longer pays to raid, the Kurds take to trade—being traders by nature like the Jews. Foreign 'luxuries', such as the new coloured cloths, tea, and sugar, have quickly become necessities even in the remotest districts, and to obtain the wherewithal to purchase them the Kurd is compelled to cultivate for sale as well as for food.

939 661 Now that caravans can come to the towns without hindrance from those through whose territory they pass, instead

[text continues on p 58A]

of having a large proportion of their merchandise removed forcibly (as was the case in Turkish times) by the garrisons of soldiers, gendarmes, police and corrupt officials, the tribesman returns safely to his village with the indispensable tea and sugar bought in exchange for his loads of tobacco or firewood cut from the hillside.

Great changes have been brought about in economic conditions by the improvement of communications and security, but the development of the country has barely started. If and when money and brains are available one can imagine Kurdistan being turned into a tourists' paradise for mountain climbing, game shooting,

wheat sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'dings' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq. But unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlander never uses, one is delighted with grape-vines green the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs from under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

When Sulaimaniya possesses canneries, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

A. Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan, near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rowanduz and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their thirty animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Iraqi Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the open grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been struggling to populate summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer resorts exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were aware to anyway, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,200 feet, stands 600 feet higher than Cairo Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1915, when the Bersan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli quinquam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The semi-barred garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar [illegible], a great friend [illegible] of the Nestorian church.

ban	Turkish coffee	443
kashkarukan	saltpeter sugar	
bagz	matches	

On the other hand, the general merchant may lay up a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale. [438]

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442
tujjars, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "Ax'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, Ax'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Khakir, and Sayyid Hajjid, and it is interesting to note from the title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper name, that three of the five have been able to make the 788 [554]

of either the agbas or the traders, - it is hard to judge which is the more vulnerable. Thus, Dark, one of Sheikh Bukarai of Ndizuk, accepted an offer he personally saw as akin to the loss of £200 and wanted me to get him a job with the oil company in Kibaki so that he could work off his indebtedness; on the other hand to Sangster I met a rather pompous native foreman trader who complained that he had £150 out on credit, some of it for over three years, and though he had just been round to see all the citizens he had only managed to collect £5/

Tobacco Marketing

In a previous section I emphasized the growing importance of tobacco for the economy of this part of Southern. It is not necessary to consider how this tobacco crop is actually marketed. My knowledge on this subject led to somewhat surprising results and the matter needs further investigation in general. I think the divergences of view are primarily due to the rapidly changing conditions in the tobacco trade. By native owned there different methods of marketing. The first is that now generally practised in the sophisticated areas of Southern around Bukavanki and in the lowland districts of the Bekki line. This method does not at present apply to the Ramadan area but may be expected to do so as the tobacco crop is developed.

Marketing procedure 1. The big tobacco factories of England have their own agents in Southern, who contract with the Agbas for the whole estimated output of the village crop. If required the Agba can obtain a substantial cash advance at the time of making the crop. Food and technical advice is often provided by the merchant's agents who presumably work in connection with the Government Experiments Department. 50% of the crop is the Agba's own by virtue of his land title, the other 50% belongs to individual cultivators. Since however the buyers' agent deals only with the Agba, the latter is in a position to sell a substantial proportion on the cultivators' share as well. On the other hand the individual cultivator need not sell his crop through the Agba if he does not think he is getting a fair price. But his only alternative is to trade with the other, who as a middleman, can only offer a much lower price than the buyers' agent offers the Agba. The tobacco is transported from village to town at the buyers' expense in each case.

The second method was described to me as that practised in the old days before the coming of the English cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Bukavanki man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Ramadan area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agba's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the

B: Leech S-S (1918) 1940 WAII Hand WAII
Rewarded

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• 942

or viniferein, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villages. There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the poor "dirt" or "loam," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the First World War when a Belgian army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and consequences since that time have been few. For the surplus, the fruit of district harvesting have some variation. It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at Rwanduka, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Kabil, others bought up in the town of Rwanduka, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rwanduka exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Nyamu, and others a natural response to the requirements

of distance. In the presence of enterprising merchants, particularly the ainu or Ishimoori traders who will be discussed below, a cultivator in some outlying village need not undertake the arduous journey across broken country to Kawanaka to retail his products and to purchase the materials required by his home.

The agricultural village can enjoy a certain amount of self-sufficiency insofar as the food supply is concerned, although the specialization in tobacco has transformed this to some extent, but there are a number of other requirements which only the merchant can satisfy, many of them "necessary luxuries" without which life is hardly bearable. For reasons which can only be speculated upon, the Burkish villager is lucky for from being the master of his environment, and there are undoubtedly present a number of mineral, vegetable, and animal products which could be utilized to good advantage. He is an innovator and his knowledge of what he will manufacture, the ingenious exploitation of the environment at a primitive level, is practically nothing. Once a young ainu exhibited as a trophy an Ibex skin, dried hard and stiff, which, if properly tanned, would have made an excellent rug or covering. An inquiry, and later investigation, revealed that only a few villagers know the techniques of preparing skins; almost all of the leather which is locally produced and put into use is what is commonly called rawhide. The villager thus requires a great complex of things, of which only a few are cigarette papers, cloth, cooking utensils, iron or steel

require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six or eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is much often spread out on the floor, hung from walls or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby chaikhana. Most merchants have a weekly account with the chaikhana-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Shops are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, calls attention to the omnipresent visitor hostel, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils such as "Fragile" or "Moore Import Company," and are padlocked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

o'clock and finally locks up for the day at six or seven. 483
Friday, the weekly holiday, does not preclude commerce, and many establishments are operated on a seven-day basis. Business, some merchants hold, is actually better on Friday than during the rest of the week. During the first of December many shops are shuttered during the day, but are open much later in the evening. By a mutual agreement of all the shopkeepers-owners, the two-shops and pieces of cutlery are closed for the day during December sets one. Customers, often brisk, in this "closed" shopkeeper is kept within doors and the entrance carefully watched within heavy barley hanging. On extremely cold days in winter many merchants close their unheated shops and await the warmth of a customer. A would-be customer must page the merchant he seeks, and the latter returns with him to open up the shop just long enough to conclude the sale.

It has already been noticed that all transactions 487
are in terms of money. It is more or less standard that many European and American travelers in the Middle East are led to believe that any sale must be accompanied by interminable haggling and bargaining. This may be perfectly true of larger towns, particularly purchases in which a foreigner is involved, but in a rural setting such as that of Aswanton the case is quite otherwise. In the everyday business of the bazar it would be difficult to observe an example of protracted bargaining, for the range of price for any given article is as well known by the purchaser as it is by the merchant. A woman seeking to buy

on item will encounter a number of shops, inquiring into the price, until she finds what she believes to be the lowest, nothing more than the "competitive shopping" of the European or American housewife, and without bargaining. This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged. In the summer of 1933 the price of a Khanjir or dagger was fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth of this price in England or Denmark) due to the indiscreet asking of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor time could bring it down again. It was immediately established that Americans pay three dinars for their Khanjirs, and one was constantly hailed by persons offering the cheapest specimens in the hopes of realizing that price. Prices are, within certain limits, geared to the social status of the purchaser, and the prisoners, for example, might be expected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In a small town of this sort, however, while prices are uncontrolled, public opinion and the facility with which one merchant will undersell another, act as strong limitations, and the difference between "asking price" and "selling price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. If a customer, for example, wished to buy six tea-glasses from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the latter would send his boy down the street to borrow what was required from another merchant. The same is true of money, and cashing a large banknote may involve any number

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a qiran or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer. A number of the older men are illiterate, and the difficulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople some courses along these lines at night, and were very surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums, and many place high expectation in the help of their sons at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient here to provide a list of persons according to their occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still others employed only in the service of those residing in the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

a formal situation, particularly when the person enter- 265
ing is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those 578
already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salaam aleykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa aleykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea 265
is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakhan) on [45]
porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of [272]
coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the [262]
liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there [443]
any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tavli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. [524]
The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of 353
the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian 265
magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or kotchir, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of Jayjani Ramezan (the 'Aïd el-saghir, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and Jayjani Qurbeg (the 'Aïd el-kabir, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fisherman and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the bazar at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with chikaw

443 [223] [235]

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowandun, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

[234]

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for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fellahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alternated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same implement (sikh). A charcoal fire is prepared in a rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze, until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a shaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique involves equipping the children of the house, either of baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill-owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge, flat bottomed tub.

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its 45
arrival an event of great joy in his household.

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in 294
the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live 291
more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of
footgear is worn in the area, including European boots,
shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of
slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of raw-
hide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the
cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none
would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type
made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower
classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old
automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some
elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers
and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One 443
shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought [439]
in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the
upper classes, government personnel and local population,
affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work 296
is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers
from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are,
suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town
bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops
and chaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for [521]
customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter.

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

bazaar of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazaar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both townspeople and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jayjani Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

294 437 [443] [292] 294 291 [435] 294 855 796

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 957 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (atar), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the atar is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowanduz for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowanduz, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 • [554] [426]

443

on their investments. There are, of course, trips in which a handsome bounty can be acquired, and others when the star is happy to break even. The origins of this class are somewhat varied, for some may be drawn directly from the villages, others are failures in another calling, and still others only follow the steps of their fathers. Similarly, the personnel changes over the years, because a few are fortunate enough to open permanent shops of their own, the fondest dream of the class, many return to their villages, and many take up another vocation.

Unlike the star, the general merchants maintain permanent establishments in Rowanduz and are possessed of a certain amount of capital, in money, land, or merchandise. Their wares may be obtained from the wholesale merchants or brought in directly from Erbil. Their shops are typically packed from top to bottom with an incredible variety of manufactured goods, most of them imported from [439] Europe. A number of these, listed from a single shop, include:

amulets
buckles
buttons
candy
chocolate
cigarettes
cigarette-papers
cocoa
coffee cups
fountain pens
gasoline stoves
glasses
handerchiefs
jewelry
lighters
matches
metalware
neckties
needles
notebooks
orange syrup
paper
patent medicines
pencils
pins
pocket knives
rosaries
salt
shirts
shoe-polish
soap
stationery
stockings
sugar

tea	Turkish coffee	443 ●
toothbrushes	uniform caps	
toys	watches	

On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale. [438]

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442
bazargan, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, As'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Shakir, and Sayyid Majjid, and it is interesting to note from the 788
title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper [554]
name, that three of the five have been able to make the

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz.

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows:

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jayjani Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsman, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowandus freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil. [301]

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowandus. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowandus might have experienced certain decline.

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [957]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296] In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a <u>chaykhana</u> does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the <u>bazar</u> 483 556

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision.

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." 159
"How much did they take?" the Cossack officer asked. 792
"Fifty tumans," he answered, and the officers ordered the other Jews to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowanduz, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Amin. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Amin asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a sack and filled it with coloured sand. I went through [755] the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my sand on the face of the sick man, reciting from the Quran. [727] I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named Hajji Hawres in Shaqlawa. There was a Major Hay in the district who spoke Kurdish, and, when he heard from Hajji Hawres what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowanduz. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Rowanduz I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [469] of the Kurds revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowanduz, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an 443 Armenian merchant named Jagmur, and he entrusted me 159 with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages 792 around Rowanduz. When I returned, I found I had 300 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmur, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmur, always profitable, but I found traveling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowanduz to sell groceries. When

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth.

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Hesenî Effendî Zhrîanî. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'ruf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ma'ruf Effendi was given the post again.

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz has never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Axîa any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post.

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a darvish and a khelifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sokémond it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lost for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sokémond bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. Milk is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in coolers is fetched from the city by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the elders only. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket (*li*) finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Lâkh* is made specially by the husband[?] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *lâkh* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the city by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and trodding. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain-cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The dewormed grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within once own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
571 activities brought them into contact with the men's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were bartered from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the
594 women of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban women's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated woman's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ehrenpreis[1] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operations to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a modern, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the uneven iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the home only made purchases in the city and then only of material, sweet, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were couples, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Wiselquist's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[2].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ap-

184 42
233 information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is
483 their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

463 There are few other specialist occupations. Rug making is a
183 specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villager; the villager must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

463 Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide
• 473 the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - miandrush, star and hawrgan. The miandrush are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Balash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rust which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The star may best be described as a travelling peller. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Agha such as Sheikh Mohammad would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an star. Occasionally the star is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandar; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Khalan.

463 The hawrgan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as
473 Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They
463 deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, calico, tea, coffee, sugar, - so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excluded; a debt of £5 incurred today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 3 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite extortionate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in due course to lead to the bankruptcy

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

of either the Aghas or the traders, - it is hard to judge which is the most vulnerable. Thus, Said, son of Sheikh Mohammad of Balash, assured me that he personally was in debt to the tune of £300 and wanted me to get him a job with the oil company in Kirkuk so that he could work off his indebtedness; on the other hand in Dergala I met a rather pathetic little Rowanduz trader who complained that he had £150 out at credit, some of it for over three years, and though he had just been round to dun all his clients he had only managed to collect £3!

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Tobacco Marketing

In a previous section I emphasized the growing importance of tobacco for the economy of this part of Kurdistan. It is now necessary to consider how this tobacco crop is actually marketed. My enquiries on this subject led to somewhat contradictory results and the matter needs further investigation; in general I think the divergence of view was primarily due to the rapidly changing conditions in the tobacco trade. My notes reveal three distinct methods of marketing. The first is that now generally practised in the sophisticated areas of Kurdistan around Sulaimani and in the lowland districts of the Erbil liwa. This method does not at present apply to the Rowanduz area but may be expected to do so as the tobacco crop is increased.

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Marketing procedure 1. The big tobacco factories of Baghdad have their own agents in Kurdistan, who contract with the Aghas for the whole saleable surplus of the village crop. If required the Agha can obtain a substantial cash advance at the time of sowing the crop. Seed and technical advice is often provided by the merchant's agents who presumably work in cooperation with the Government departments concerned. 50% of the crop is the Agha's own by virtue of his land title, the other 50% belongs to individual cultivators. Since however the buyers' agent deals only with the Agha, the latter is in a position to take a substantial commission on the cultivators' share as well. On the other hand the individual cultivator need not sell his crop through the Agha if he does not think he is getting a fair price. But his only alternative is to trade with the shar, who as a middleman, can only offer a much lower price than the buyers' agent offers the Agha. The tobacco is transported from village to town at the buyers' expense in each case.

The second method was described to me as that practised in the old days before the coming of the Baghdad cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Sulaimani man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Rowanduz area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agha's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the

over the years without reference to any plan, surrounding a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business is a Nestorian who lives in Dyana and who, in addition to other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of bottled beer and arrack to the civil servants and officers. He comes to Rowanduz only two or three times each week, and, during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is foresworn by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself offers the transient little more than a room and a bedstead. He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find nourishment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is little more than "a roof overhead and lesser animiculae withia," in this, a modern descendant of the khan or fundug of Medieval days, so often described and so often cursed by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees normally find accommodations with one of the local civil servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley and Kurds, as well as Nestorians, who must spend a night in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great house of Isma'il Beg. It follows that the khan is little used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers from Erbil or beyond, too low in social status to apply to the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of Kurdish hospitality.

485 [444] [274] 485 574 485 554

[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 193-194.

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a dinar or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer. A number of the older men are illiterate, and the difficulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople some courses along these lines at night, and were very surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums, and many place high expectation in the help of their sons at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient here to provide a list of persons according to their occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still others employed only in the service of those residing in the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

gricultural concerns and their concomitant social im- 241
lications in the life of the townspeople.

Of those who furnish the community with food and 265
rink, the tea-shop owner or chayehi might be considered 347
irst. There are ten chaykhanas in the town. That
ocated beside the serai has already been noticed, and the
ther nine are all within the bazar area. The buildings
ary considerably, for example, three occupy second
toreys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are
ingularly uniform. One such building, the "sinner's"
haykhana spoken of above, was of a single storey, rec-
angular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the
treet and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind.
he yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of [352]
igh, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about
t, and the same type of furniture was to be found within
he building. In a corner of the room near the door was [415]
huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants
or coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of
tensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the
oor and had a brass tray on the table before him in which
made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters [451]
or keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A
aiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers
nd brought the money to the owner.

The etiquette of entering a chaykhana varies some- 265
hat according to the personalities of its customers. In 576

184 42
233 information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is
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413 the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - miacafrusch, atar and bazargan. The miacafrusch are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Walash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rust which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

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The second method was described to me as that practiced in the old days before the coming of the Baghdad cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Sulaimani man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Rowanduz area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agha's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a dinar or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer. A number of the older men are illiterate, and the difficulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople some courses along these lines at night, and were very surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums, and many place high expectation in the help of their sons at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient here to provide a list of persons according to their occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still others employed only in the service of those residing in the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not quartered in the serai, but occupies a similar, smaller building of its own a short distance up the road which serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. However, the actual direction of the police has its place in the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director, and his assistant, the mamur (Arabic, "official"), an officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there. These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the police. During the summer of 1951, the mamur's adjutant, also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the townspeople for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy, helping himself to refreshments and other small items at the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of the police in Rowanduz itself includes watching the market by day, providing guards for government buildings, transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the streets by night.

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of investment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how small the amount involved, than precious metal or land. To all classes of society these two are tangible objects of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers are highly variable, but soil or gold are always of value.

423 Because of this conviction, the legal ownership of land
454 becomes an administrative matter of the gravest import, and the office of the director of tapu (registered land) in Rowanduz the scene of some of the most serious transactions in the serai.

423 The laws of Iraq treating the tenure of land are somewhat complex, as both Quranic and Ottoman classifications are intermingled in the modern code, but only two categories need concern us here, tapu and amiriya. Tapu-land is that which has been registered and to which a title of private ownership is recognized. Amiriya-land is that belonging to the state, not only that in use for government installations, but almost all "unoccupied" land. Under certain conditions, such as occupancy over a period of 15 years, amiriya-land can become privately owned. Whenever there is a transaction in land, usually a sale, the parties concerned must have reference to the director of tapu in the serai. An engineer from his office makes a survey of the land in question, which, in the form of a map, serves as a deed. One copy is given to the owner and another retained in the office.

423 A third category, which not only includes land, but
735 also houses and other forms of property, is waqf, the
429 religious donation. A man, for a variety of reasons, may leave his property to the Islamic faith and it becomes untaxable and inviolable. Such property is placed for the use, usually at extremely low rates, of poorer folk among

Just as it is difficult to typify the size and buildings of an agricultural village, the cultivated lands of a village are held in different ways, and the mode of land tenure varies from locale to locale. The distinction between tapu, "registered land," and amiriya, "state land," might be remembered, for it is often the subject of bitter quarrels between government and chieftains, the latter holding that certain lands classified as amiriya had "belonged" to their village or to their tribe for generations. Aside from this conflict between official and owner, there are villages which "own" their lands completely, others which can lay claim to only a part, and still others which are entirely owned, houses and lands together, by wealthy landlords, many of whom are absentees. The preferential conversion of surplus wealth into real estate has been noted, and the owners of village lands may range from tribal chieftains and persons of great fortune to relatively poor merchants or clerks who have invested their savings in a small plot for the inheritance and support of their sons. Thus the Rowandux district has a great number of villagers who are tenants and, while in no sense bound to the soil as serfs, have a relationship with their landlords which, in its exchange of obligations and courtesies, can often resemble that between patron and client in the early days of the Roman Republic. Sadiq Agha, who lives in a house in Rowanduz, "owns" the village of Shaytina, leaving its immediate supervision to a sort of bailiff or overseer, one of the prominent villagers, who is termed the mukhtar,

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[454]

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children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jayjani Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsman, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

nd the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch 301
s the greater number of husbands do not anticipate di- [583]
orce, a profit realized in business may be presented to 301
heir spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for 454
he wife, not solely from the decorative point of view.
nly land and precious metal have real and lasting value
n the popular mind. A laborer in Rowanduz whose monthly
arnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20)
elated how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and sub-
equently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars
$224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The
ewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with [586]
er if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she
leases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells
t to reinstate him or support the family, and may sub-
idize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in
he same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of 301
he gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly [306]
ifferent in style from that produced for the lower classes
n Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that
ome of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type,
uch as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and
angles of precious metal are made up into more or less
omplex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the
ost expensive items is a collar or necklace of con-
entric circles of gold chain joined together by flat
angles of various geometric shapes, and another, the gurs
r disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, publicized to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the mureddan, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'ahhar, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against heedless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

583 554 [536] [301] [593] [454]

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these proscriptions. There is

582 534

r guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 594

The eldest brother occupies a position over his 593
rothers and sisters analagous to that of the father. He
hares to some extent in the parental authority and is
esponsible for the house when the father is absent. Often
he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger
rothers their *roshana*, "daily allowance," a sum which in-
reases in size with their years. The children are taught [454]
o save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest
rother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he
takes their savings and purchases them something they
desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all
of his directions must be carried out by those junior to
him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room,
the younger children are supposed to stand, although
this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children
is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, with- [562]
out, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is
usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and
the care of the younger children. In several families
observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers dis-
obeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished.
There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger
brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it some-
times is in America, that the youngest is the darling of
the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy.
The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' 593
honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels 557
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4: Honour E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

584 The initiative came from the young man himself. After a sister had left to be married, the son of the house, a 26 year old primary school teacher who naturally lived at home, began to conduct low-toned conversations with "my father's wife" (his stepmother), and with his sister my interpreter. These talks did not take place during the day, so to say openly, but in the evenings after many members of the family had gone to their rest. Confidential whispering went on between the two women and him as to whether they knew a suitable young girl in the houses they visited and whether they would not start negotiating with the mother of such a person. His savings, which he had put by penny by penny, were in the postoffice (not in the bank) and now amounted to a suitable bride price. I was told that the sum amounted to 500 Dinars, equivalent to £500. The reason why, in addition to his sister, he applied to his stepmother[49] rather than to his own mother was, I was told, because the younger wife of his father was better looking, a better conversationalist, and less old-fashioned than his own parent. The prospective bride was chosen from among the older pupils at the Guizha School for Girls where my interpreter was a teacher. As both the young man and the girl belonged to one of the better families in Sulaimani, they had never had anything to do with each other. Once, youthful in her shy, the girl had come to deliver a message at her teacher's house, and was told that the young man who had just left was her teacher's brother. This was all the contact the two had had. The girl was described as "very polite". This can be construed as meaning that her appearance was agreeable, her manners pleasing, and that she was well brought up and domestically capable. The families were unrelated to each other.

As I was away on a trip with my interpreter, I unfortunately missed the first two conversations between the women of the young man's family and the girl's mother, but I learned that the young man's stepmother, accompanied by a female acquaintance of established position, attempted alike for the wealth of her progeny and her worldly pretensions, paid an introductory call on the mother of the young girl on Wednesday, 28th August (1957), and a second visit on Friday, 30th August. At the third visit in the girl's home, both my interpreter and I were present. On this occasion four women of the young man's family negotiated with the sole representative of the girl's family, her mother. The talks took place in the home's guest reception room, which lay at the side of the entrance hall and was entered without passing through the family rooms grouped around a wooded courtyard. No refreshments were offered, not even tea water, which showed that the talks at that stage were not binding in any way. Whilst all this went on we were seated on a very high-legged, uncomfortable wide and equally uncomfortable chairs in an otherwise bare room. A cousin of the girl concerned entered the room, but the object of the negotiations put in no appearance[50].

Two matters were discussed at the third meeting: the one was the character of the customary information collected by the girl's family about the young man's reputation, the other, the size and employment of the bride price, which, in my experience, was debated at this stage and not postponed until the drawing up of the marriage contract by the men. Whereas the young man's family had naturally obtained as much information as possible about the girl and her family before seeking contact, it is only after the first meeting that the other side would begin to investigate a possible son-in-law's reputation in the town where, as a man, he spent the major part of his leisure and working hours. In the case I had an opportunity of following, it had apparently been said that the young man

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

temporarily into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the qaimmaqam, and, after greetings and handclasps have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sherbet. The servant is resummoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant reenters with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a mudir feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with dossiers requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the qaimmaqam's staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a problem trys, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

Some of the qaimmaqam's more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the qaimmaqam must supervise and coordinate the activities of the mudirs and qadha officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a mudir is given considerable local power, but because the qaimmaqam is responsible not only for the

require detailed description, but it is possible to present 347
here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as
many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided
room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six
to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty,
although some are much smaller and a few larger than these
dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level
of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or [352]
mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases
for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread
out on the floor, hung from nails or piled against the
walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools
at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the
accommodation of more important customers and visitors.
In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and [574]
tea brought from a nearby chaykhana. Most merchants have
a weekly account with the chaykhana-owner, the latter
keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Many are [857]
assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who
runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker
basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away.
At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters,
mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils
such as "Fragile" or "Basra Import Company," and are pad-
locked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop 443
at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for 461
an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

o'clock and finally looks up for the day at six or seven. 443 461
Friday, the weekly holiday, does not preclude commerce, and many establishments are operated on a seven-day basis. Business, some merchants hold, is actually better on Friday than during the rest of the week. During the fast of Ramadan many shops are shuttered during the day, but are open much later in the evening. By a mutual agreement of all the chaykhana-owners, the tea-shops and places of eating are closed for the day during Ramadan save one. Business, often brisk, in this "sinner's" chaykhana is kept within doors and the entrance carefully masked with a heavy burlap hanging. On extremely cold days in winter many merchants close their unheated shops and seek the warmth of a chaykhana. A would-be customer must page the merchant he seeks, and the latter returns with him to open up the shop just long enough to conclude the sale.

It has already been noticed that all transactions 437
are in terms of money. It is more or less standard that many Europeans and American travelers in the Middle East are led to believe that any sale must be accompanied by interminable haggling and bargaining. This may be perfectly true of larger towns, particularly purchases in which a foreigner is involved, but in a rural setting such as that of Rowanduz the case is quite otherwise. In the everyday business of the bazar it would be difficult to observe an example of protracted bargaining, for the range of price for any given article is as well known by the purchaser as it is by the merchant. A woman seeking to buy

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can be done with a number of sons. 622 565 572 [582]

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered degrading for men of the "upper" class to work with their lands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, mullas or priests, and businessmen, such as the wealthier merchants and the owners of the chaykhanas and the hotel. Such a person is termed effendi or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two examples are provided by Shakir Effendi and Ra'uf Effendi, both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shakir Effendi is the clerk of the judg's court and Ra'uf Effendi is the mukhtar or representative of the townspeople. The chief mulla of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the 565 [461] [554] [693] [212]

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to pay the ma'akher, always a considerable sum, and the father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations of varying length are thus as common as divorce, during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed, one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in those matches in which he had little to do with his choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not countenance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not believe that because a woman has been childless in one marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rowandus, once the problems of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood, and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

461 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 233 132 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm., concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

Self-

565 respecting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main
• 461 role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks
554 from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 500, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, *mam*, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 50, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

621 With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group
614 tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the *tira* itself, usually identified with separate *khels*. But since the *khel* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *khel* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *khel*, to which a more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not, are connected by economic ties.

622 These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of
614 the *Raiz*. The position as *Raiz* is inherited, and the family of the
581 *Raiz* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble class or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the «noble» lineage segments of other tiras. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Raiz* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous as far as the *Raiz* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Raiz* and wealthy lineage segments among the «commoners» within the *tira* itself. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Raiz* within the *tira* itself, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To reify a distinction between «nobleman» and «commoner» within the *tira* would thus be an error, since the separa-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

storeroom, although sometimes looked in a cupboard or 251
chest by a watchful mistress.

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are per- 462
formed by the women, preparation of food, minding the in- 356
fants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent
alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. [857]
Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made [294]
at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert
at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses,
and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery
is also made. There is no regular program for laundry [296]
and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress
feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free
hand in the management of her home and receives an allow-
ance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever
the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it
would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes
little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest
work, because they have been simply established as the
"work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood.
A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in
a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home.
Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and 357
are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, al-
though the latter takes a much greater share of their
direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the 443
door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 556

both of which are worn in Rowanduz with no apparent regard 291
to their several regional styles. The trousers are full, usually gathered at the waist with a cord, and may have wide bell-bottoms, the mode of the district, or be narrowed slightly at the ankle, the general Kurdish type. In no case are these tightly bound about the calf, as in the Turkish shirwal still seen in Syria and Egypt. The jacket, tucked in the trousers, has two forms, of which the first is collarless, although its edges have a wide embroidered border, and is single-breasted, one side folded slightly over the other without fasteners. The second is in the style of a doubled-breasted military tunic of the last century, with a collar about an inch high of stitched thicknesses of material, flaring lapels, parallel rows of buttons on the front, and two pleated pockets with pointed flaps. These outer garments need not be of the same colour. For a time Rashid Agha of Jindian, one of many examples, wore a jacket of white and trousers of dark blue. The materials are either European or local fabrics, and the tailoring is professional, although the embroidery is done [294] [462] in the homes by the women, some of it in intricately-executed bands along the seams and the hems. A typical suit consists of both trousers and jacket in the same colour, made of squares of locally woven wool cloth, light tan or blue, stitched and embroidered with thread of the same hue.

The type of footgear for men has been indicated above,

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the 562
second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater [462]
social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of man, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by 558
being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two 628
worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal 577
are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost 842
incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no 558
matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this
wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grand- [603]
father prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkha that his wages were 25 fils = 6d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are clipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Scythes are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, *dâz*, (E. 2243) about 27 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *qaynâr*,[38] (E. 2242) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[39]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *gwiz*, (E. 2244) about 6.80 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[40], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 8 Harvest implements, sickle (E. 2243), claws (E. 2242), and handmade rope (E. 2244).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Feilberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifûr, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandû* or *amâr*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jût*, has a plough-share, *gâzin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kawjâr*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Werth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Werth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dastrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *rešmâl*[1], the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, deal with in detail by Feilberg[2] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the leaf hut, *kâpân*[3], only erected for a single summer's residence, and the permanent house, *xânû* or *mâl*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa at the beginning of June when the summer, *âdwin*, really begins. They are erected on the sheikh's harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones sunk around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin osiers reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[4], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house. [361] [462]

It is said that in the trading centre of Tawâla, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. Hay mentions that "in Shaqlawa booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[5], but does not further describe them. 366 361 345

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, *kêw*, the walls of the houses are built 342 324

[Text continues on P. 23--Analyst]

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333
342

Fig. 17. Homebuilding. Clay and water are kneaded with the feet. Pebbles for foundations are transported by donkey. Tapacho.

342 made of pebbles laid in a trench, a wall is put up composed of clay bricks, 1½ bricks thick. This is
333 done with the help of an outstretched horizontal cord, but no spirit level or such like is used to ensure that the wall is plumb, and the ground is not levelled. A mixture of clay and water is used as mortar. Whereas the men knead the clay and transport to the building site the water, stones and heavy poplar trunks for the roofs, the women assist in the transportation of the dried clay bricks and the stacking of them. The window apertures can be rectangular and, like the door opening, bounded above by horizontal wooden sticks. Arched window openings, on the other hand, are formed by loosely and unsystematically stacking bricks in a vertical rectangular opening in the wall. These bricks are covered on top by a sack or such like on which bricks are placed in a semicircle. When the clay mortar holding the bricks together dries, the irregularly-stacked clay bricks and the sack are removed, whereby a window aperture, bounded above by a semicircle, results. Arched window openings can
341 be uncovered or covered by a lattice of flat wooden shavings, which allows in the light, but no stranger's gaze. This lattice is flush with the outside of the wall. The arched windows can also be fitted with wooden shutters which, when locked, are flush with the inside of the wall. Window frames

wages from the work on the Dukan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin openers, and gramophones.

A quite small house in the village of Sulleiman has been chosen as an example of the house round the side of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short, horizontal beams, nor was it disturbed, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chaff, a Sulleiman peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cell—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the saucepan, circular iron sheet, saj or abna, on which the bread sheets, eish, were baked were placed on the fire. The modern pot-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with primitive facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water source—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down to the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

opposite more important than the person are of the entrance or the nearest couple sees a complete room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, ash, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[11]. The dough, *hawir*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ard*, sifted through a round sieve, *ser*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xêr-dân*,[12] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2361) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gewrk*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one shown depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[38].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandir* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[39]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sifidi*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tāwa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then rained in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[40]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[41], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *kalāf* or *kūd* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Rekān, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, *ār*, is never used raw[42]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flat-bottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *māst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *māst* or *qurūt*. A clay vase, *dhra*, (E. 2269, height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 35. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Topzawa.

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[43]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[44].

Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[45], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *kere*, is churned[46]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *mašk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[47] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

269 on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[66], but forks
267 and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mastáv* or the less-distinguished *dûg*. These are drunk from glasses if
[207] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm: there are also water skins, *kund*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilised extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[68]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [739] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[69]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat ember pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
379 atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool under a quilt ... formed the "kirsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[72] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret *(kursi)*, on le recouvre d'une couverture[73] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

4: Hansen. E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

All bedclothes and mattresses are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, the outermost being covered by a woollen rug, *haruk* or *jājim*, (E. 2253, 2.80 m. × 1.48 m. brown-striped), or a carpet of Indian cotton with stripes in bright colours (E. 2255, 2.08 m. × 1.15 m.). Some mattresse may be covered with flowered cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor by the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons, or, after the midday meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, covered by a large piece of curtain-like gauze, which replaces quilts and such like at the height of summer.

Working postures. In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kurdistan, where the floor is the place one sits and sleeps, the pattern of movements is quite different from that existing in Western culture.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent to a right angle at the knee, is only met with when working with the pit treadle-loom, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower legs, and when using the treadal sewing machine.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the ironing of clothes taking place on a table in the same way as we use an ironing board.

Apart from this all work is performed by the woman in a squatting posture or in a tailor's position with the lower legs strongly bent. The washing of clothes is performed squatting, whether at the water basin or at a circular, flat-bottomed, metal vessel on the ground by the tap. The same position is adopted when cleaning poultry and cutting meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whether in the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at the vertical loom, when setting up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at the basin or the tap. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of nose and mouth after meals, and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath in the bathroom.

How natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of the sheikh family in Topzawa. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French stone houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here washing up took place in this posture with the china in a wickerwork basket and the washing-up tub on the floor, although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel sink. All meals in this home, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on the floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had to be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the making of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's home at Sulaimani boasted of a wash-basin, complete with tap, built into the wall knee-high from the ground, the women washed themselves in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the wash-basin instead of washing their hands, face and feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down to the ground under their own weight. The overstretched tendinous ligaments in the hip joint[24] allowed the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibility

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the coalhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dry sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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234
231
291
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Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

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[312
482]

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

[296
356]
[476]

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4–5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sâq* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[73] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sâq* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within one's own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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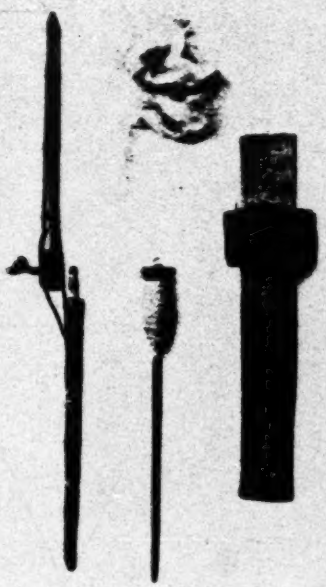

Fig. 40. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in dressmaking (Cf. p. 82). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

286 462 369 [323]

Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawella the women even span during their long walk to and from the orchads.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *tâll*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindlewhorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but 283 used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstreched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

286 Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the courser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

286 and every other lowered, an opening being thus formed for the introduction of the woof. Behind the suspended shafts the warp continues over the raddle-beam, a round stick about 0.75 m. placed horizontally upon two forks anchored in two clay cones, then passes under the warp beam resting on the ground, whereafter it continues in a rope some 7 m. in length which, as mentioned above, passes over a fixture in the ceiling and descends by the side of the operator where the rope is fastened to a hook and can be loosened at will thus releasing more warp as this gradually becomes necessary.

The woof is introduced with the help of a boat-shaped shuttle of wood, *makŏ*, (E. 2248), 0.165 m. long, containing an iron spool, *lŭla*, round which the yarn is wound[36]. The material woven on this vertical pit treadle loom can be 0.30 m. wide and be used, for example, for sacks, *kerâre*, (E. 2251), or it can be woven only 0.16 m. wide, quite thin, and be used for men's clothing. In the latter case the yarn is stretched beforehand in an open space in the village (Sargalu) on 17 forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Men and women work together at this, and weaving could

Fig. 44. Before weaving, the yarn is stretched out in an open place on forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Sargalu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

286 283 291 516

Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balkha.

286 [962]

be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

323

The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type are sold in the *sūq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

323 415 [463]

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[37]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

[531] 660

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[131], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[132]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[133]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semicircle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[134]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[135] and from the Bakhtiari[136], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in this group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth stuck up under his waistband. The drum[137] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[138] had a funnel-shaped head, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topzawa one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventeen tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1956.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 592 not "free", being subjected to an elastically-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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565 562 462 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milking in the mountains, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the man, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 369 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 369 591 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

574 593 562 During *qurbân bairâm* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Gautier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... coalition silencieuse, souriante et implacable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maître du harem, armé du pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus revoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ..."[37]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

not be underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Guest House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. *In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting; it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Guest House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

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Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish viewpoint is the upkeep of the Guest House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Guest House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the mast (a milk product similar to yaghourt), it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Guest House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community.

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A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though employing better quality materials than the commoner, stick mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their severely puritan tastes rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Rayat was seen wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowandus, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for "frills and furbelows" - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by the policy of the Administration after the Great War

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[178]

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute sawa (see later).

583 price of cooking-pots, blanket and a carpet with which to set up the new household. The total cost of a poor man's wedding is between five and ten pounds sterling.

Among the richer families a girl may be bought instead of exchanged. The price may be anything, depending on the beauty of the girl and the willingness of the family to part with her (that is, on their ability to argue well). The wedding feast of a rich *agha* (chieftain) may involve feeding a thousand guests for a period of ten days.

462 In the nomadic tribe, however, the
583 situation is rather different. The women of the tribe do all the work while the men sit about talking and sleeping. By night they rarely sleep, as they sit around with their rifles ready to guard the box of money and valuables kept in the tent. Therefore the beauty of a young girl taken in marriage is a secondary consideration in determining her price. The nomad is rich in live-stock, if not in cash, and the cost of a girl may vary between

462. about forty and one hundred pounds.
583 Her value will depend on her utility—her physical strength for manual labour, and her ability to make carpets, rugs, clothes and other things.

562 Contrary to the practice in most Mohammedan countries the Kurdish woman goes about openly and unveiled. She carries herself with a quiet dignity rivalling that of her menfolk. Although women are still regarded as chattels, the women in a Kurdish family have an appreciable influence over their spouses. The symbol of triumphant womanhood in Kurdistan was the famous Adela Khanum, who on the death of her husband took over the reins of chieftainship of the Jaf tribe when it was at the height of its wealth and power. She ruled it with a wisdom and firmness rivalling that of Queen Elizabeth.

177 When education in a foreign tongue, 'European' clothes, and rattling typewriters are forced upon the Kurd by the threat of rattling machine-guns in the way

113, 101, 221, 619, 463 Kurd MAll

[For information on the Kurd see k Coon, Ml Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 215-217.]

f persons is a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
nat nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a [476]
rchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
a a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter [454]
ractice being quite common. For everyday purposes the
rchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
lorg or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
ulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
veral years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [874]
me courses along these lines at night, and were very
urprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning [522]
heir arithmetic is still considered a great joke. Usually
e illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
repare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
nd many place high expectations in the help of their sons
school.

Before describing in greater detail the rules of 463
e merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
re to provide a list of persons according to their
ccupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
ese are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
here employed only in the service of those residing in
e town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
mplete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

employed by the government, and those without work at all. 463

Bakers	8
Barbers	3
Blacksmiths	2
Boothblacks	2
Brickmaker	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (bazaz)	20
Cobblers	6
Drivers	2
Farriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	10
Hotel-owner (khaneji)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (siar) ... variable:	30-50
Laborers ... variable:	30-50
Laundresses	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Muleteers	5
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Roasters of meat (kalabshig)	3
Seamstresses	6
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tea-shop owners	10
Tinsmiths	3
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	5

It is an interesting characteristic of Rowandus that no person living in the town is directly employed in agriculture or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay claim to agricultural lands or pasturage, although a dozen or so persons living therein own such property. There are, to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators, seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday

241 [231] [247]

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jejani Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which are genial and those which are not. A successful kababchi or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the merchant's son would rarely become a kababchi. There is also some exchange of persons between town and villages, those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those, successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but migration from the town itself outside the district is very limited. This does not apply to the area as a whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent population of Rowanduz, however, with its core of older families from the days before the first World War, seems extremely stable. 463 ● 464 467 554 463 166 [482] [548]

It remains to notice those people who constitute the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but 556 565

the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowandux has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercantile competitor of Rowandux, arose on lands owned by Lali Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowandux, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often reconstructed. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowandux, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowandux, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowandux and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

439 [241]

[166] [426]

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although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowanduz freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil.

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowanduz. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowanduz might have experienced certain decline.

now fallen into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed men and diwankhanas open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example of the manner in which the ghalabis and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose its distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

and weavers. Of slightly lower rank than these are the barbers and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-roasters. As has been seen, the meat-roaster or kababchi is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the atar or itinerant traders and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from effendi to the lowliest manial, is the question of relative wealth. A mason with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in conduct to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the grand cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality, judged

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 159 792 [767]

Sayyid Hesani, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hesani was not directly concerned in the feud between Nuri Bawil Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hesani for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hesani was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, muhtar, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop, 159 [628] [669] [205] [579] [651] 159 463

postman, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy, illustrates the personality of many of the darwishes, as well as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rowanduz area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the darwish movement which offered the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the bazar, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 55 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

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Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balkha.

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be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). [862]
After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type 323
are sold in the *sāy* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking 323
water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local 415
clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of [463]
specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[57]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions [531]
on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that 080

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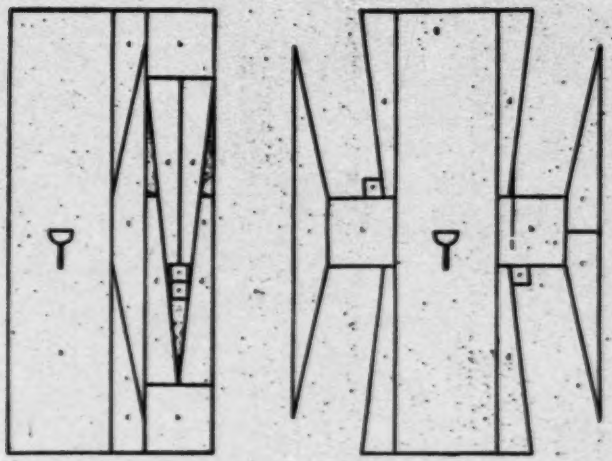

Fig. 66. Demonstration of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's kirtle. Scale 1:30.
a: the body; b: the two sleeves; c: the two flared-shaped cuffs (one of them sewn together from two pieces); d: the four side gores; e: the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (CT. fig. 51).

294 [439] [1177] [463] [804] *The production of feminine garments.* The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[25] from abroad for sale in the *sûq* of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2352a-c). The padded garments like jackets and caftans are made by bazar tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[26]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, *gêz*, (E. 2272). This is a round stick, 0.535 m. long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together by a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-kirtle and kirtle are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and utilize most ingeniously the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measurements, well-known to the bazar tailors. When cutting-out the kirtle the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (1 yard). Feilberg[27] writes of the Lurs measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes at one time used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the foot.

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565 children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated
595 that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[169] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[170]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first
[586] wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 Two half-grown 13-14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of
595 an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic
369 reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children —a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[171] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage),
[586] and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the
565 old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The
[463] milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bycycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the
[611] Coran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes
[582] when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Coran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

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Sulaimani, and is called: *kâlâk*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver begging bowl. It is this begging bowl that Kurds call *kâlâk*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[29]. From the chain hung two silver bells[30], two triangular amulet cases of silver[31], two small silver watering cans[32], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[33].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *hâwâra*, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[34] has been inserted to avert evil[35]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *mîlwâdâz*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[36] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of moss agate[37] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are temple ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294–2295) known as *gul* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.036 m., reported to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by bazar craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (hue), their shape (snail shells), their sound (bells), or their material (carnelian, moss agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[38] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[39] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklet worn by women[40]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075×0.08×0.013 and 0.06×0.06×0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[41] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[42] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *lûle*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[43]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (cf. p. 100). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aristocratic village mîlîes. Two itinerant sayyids, recognizable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Topzawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that

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1792 554 463 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[44]. None of the grown-up men of the house was home at the time. The sayyids were not received in the guest room of the house in accordance with their station as strangers of a certain rank, that on exceptional occasions could be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard, and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather reluctantly, a deal had been agreed upon—amulets in return for flour and sugar emptied into the beggars' bags that the sayyids carried over their shoulders. These persons appeared to rank with the sheikh's servants. No refreshment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

1792 789 463 The amulets were made whilst we watched. The one sayyid placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the sofa by the side of the ink bottle. He then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn red lines, forming rectangular panels. These were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to distinguish this from the distance away I had to stand. On another piece of paper he took out was drawn a sword. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes. These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded into a triangular packet, the bottom corner being bent diagonally, and the paper was then folded together.

306 789 The needles were picked up from the sofa, broken in the middle, and stuck into the triangular paper packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular packet but without any iron content. When the amulets were handed over to the women they were laid in a little box in which already lay other amulets not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to view the amulets whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

Lane talks of the Arabs in Egypt with "written charms ... consisting of certain passages of the Kur'an and names of God"[45]. So far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was forced to keep, the amulets, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That iron is included in amulets, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[46]. It did not appear that these amulets were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known from Afghanistan (E. 2193), and, referring to a Kurdish book of prophecies, Nikitine[47] reports that "... le même livre donne des spécimens pour les talismans inoffensifs dont tout le monde connaît ...".

1789 *Holy hand.* Fellberg[48] refers to the Lars having a rod with a small carved wooden hand at the top, that was carried in the waistband of an old man who allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the row about, and then the other. A large wooden hand, wrapped round with a fluttering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round in the village of Taqawa by one of the other four sayyids who were "working" the place at the same time. This man also tried later to visit the sheikh's house, but got no further than the steps up to the loggia of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to churn. As he entered

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way"[28]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[29]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village women from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any men would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodmansee[30] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant women in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not connect. They are apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or on a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated women in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The more typified in those who danced for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Guizha School for Girls, established in 1956.

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562 In none of the three female environments we considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
571 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were carried from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ekirch[9] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "For an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night .... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
352 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the social place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a large supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the home of a neighbour. Here there was a modern, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the narrow iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
594 educated women in the home only made purchases in the city and then only of material, carpet, of
443 sweet and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Wurzbacher's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem women in the past did not do her own shopping .... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[10].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
423 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ra-

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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holsterer, who had to make some mattresses and pillows on the occasion of the wedding, arrived one morning at my interpreter's home. He hung up in the courtyard his carding bow[2] with which he would thoroughly beat the cotton, converting the thick grey lumps into white, airy batting. Later in the afternoon this home-treated cotton was put into the cases made by the women and the upholsterer then completed the sewing. This work, which took a whole day, was done in the women's section of the home. The upholsterer left twice during the day to have his meals in the town.

Very occasionally a home tailor, an old man, was admitted to the house to measure me for a quilted caftan. Certain goods, such as rugs, etc., were brought by traders to be viewed. However, these men never entered the women's precincts, never getting further than the front door, and when going out to see them the women tied a head cloth tightly round head and mask. The same thing happened when a man with three donkeys came up the three steps of the house into the tiled hall to unload the supply of wheat for the coming winter. This was brought in large, woven panniers sewn together, and was unloaded behind the veils in the hall. I never saw the two wives in my interpreter's home go to a cinema. During *qurbān bairām*, on the day devoted to family visits, they accompanied their common husband or went visiting alone.

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No part of their daily activities brought them outside the home or into contact with the men's world. Their contacts with the women's world in the town were on the other hand unlimited. This fourth feminine environment thus maintained complete seclusion, that is to say there existed what, our Western world misleadingly calls a position of bondage.

COMMON DOMESTIC LIFE

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The distribution of authority and men's position in the home. The family's economy among the village aristocracy was naturally attended to by the men, it was also he who decided whether or not a 18 year old son could go on a family visit from Topzawa to Kirkūk or Baghdād. Equally, it obviously rested with the Shaikh of Topzawa to say whether or not he would accept me, my interpreter and her young brother as paying guests.

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Like all rural women, the women of the village aristocracy were completely illiterate, whereas their husbands and sons had been able to acquire at all events some book learning. Despite lack of schooling a woman could be extremely intelligent. This was evinced by the way she arranged her complicated daily tasks and ran the house, children, and husband. Besides, she knew her job, was highly qualified domestically, trained as housewife and mother from an early age. Within the home she was certainly man's equal. The family rooms were her domain where the husband was accepted and shown his natural place. In the cases where the wife's intelligence was greater than the husband's, it is a moot point whether the man could be said to possess an equal status in the home. Hay suggests as much when writing about conditions in Southern Kurdistan: "Most chiefs are to a greater or less extent under the thumbs of their womenfolk."[3]

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In regard to freedom, that Western concept into which attempts are made to adapt features of an utterly different social pattern like the Islamic, it can be said the women of the village aristocracy were

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old enemy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the [illegible] officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Ministers of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

...apart from those two exceptional villages, all the groups in the Hills and Jungle which are at least 100 years backward, the ... element is provided by a few Iraq and Assyrian Christians who ... a mile away on some special trade such as weaving or carpentry ... and are thus tolerated as useful members of the community.

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Method of Analysis.

... In other Iraq what has already been said, the initial ... organisation of the various groups throughout the area under review ... all to a greater or less degree been affected by contact with ... and interference by the external administrative authority. If we ... so far as to assume that at one time there was a form of social ... organisation which could be regarded as the typical norm for all the ... hill tribes of this region, it is certain that such a norm can ... now be found functioning in the complete state. Each society as ... it exists today is a society undergoing extremely rapid and at times ... violent social change. As we shall see there are powerful and ... perhaps irresistible forces at work tending not so much to the ... modification as to the total destruction and disintegration of ... existing forms of tribal organisation. In such circumstances, in ... order to make the investigation intelligible at all, some degree of ... simplification seems essential. In the main therefore I shall seek to ... [illegible] ... show up existing circumstances as [illegible] ... I am aware that such a method makes the resulting description to some ... extent subjective and that on many points I have not the statistical ... data to check the validity of my hypothetical norm. In the circum- ... stances however it appears to be the most reasonable procedure to adopt.

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The External Administration

The previous form of the external administration has no very ... direct bearing on the British social system as described in this ... monograph. But at various points in the argument especially in the ... section dealing with economic problems reference will have to be made ... to elements in the administrative organisation, and it seems ... desirable therefore to give first a brief description of the ... functions and relationships of the various members of this external ... organisation.

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The administrative system of Iraq has been developed out of ... that of the old Ottoman Empire. The terminology remains in many ... respects unaltered. The whole of the British area here under

by Sorchaldand Banks from the Nehimmit area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Banks of the Bohtl Zibe. Relationship the changers labour in that which is least organised. Here again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same sort of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the actions for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different cultivators, and trading contacts within the group are normally commonplace. Goats

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that cooking and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then washed up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Pilkah and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the herdsman was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families-sometimes to twelve contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own sheep this fact being easily ascertained at milking time every morning and evening when the ewes/kids go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Sheikhs of Bapir have large herds, and an animal already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent kahe, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This describes the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have an weaver of their own. The men still mostly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Erbil.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

of

information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

There are few other specialist occupations. Bag making is a specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasized that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villagers; the villagers must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Dealers

Quite distinct from these are the various dealers who provide the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Turkish names - esnaftchi, ekar and banegan. [illegible] of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Walash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rast which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The ekar may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Aghe such as Sheikh Mohammed would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an ekar. Occasionally the ekar is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandary among the villagers I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Shaklawa.

The banegan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, cotton, tea, coffee, sugar, so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering clients terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excluded; a debt of £5 incurred today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 5 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite extortionate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in the course to lead to the bankruptcy

of either the Agha or the tenders, - it is hard to judge which is the most vulnerable. Thus, Said, son of Sheikh Mohammad of Nalash, asserted on that he personally was in debt to the tune of £500 and wanted me to get him a job with the oil company in Kirkuk so that he could work off his indebtedness; on the other hand in Dargala I met a rather pathetic little Kawaddun tenant who complained that he had £150 out on credit, some of it for over three years, and though he had just been round to see all his clients he had only managed to collect £5!

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Tobacco Marketing

In a previous section I emphasized the growing importance of tobacco for the economy of this part of Kurdistan. It is now necessary to consider how this tobacco crop is actually marketed. My enquiries on this subject led to somewhat contradictory results and the matter needs further investigation; in general I think the divergences of view was primarily due to the rapidly changing conditions in the tobacco trade. My notes reveal three distinct methods of marketing. The first is that now generally practised in the sophisticated areas of Kurdistan around Sulaimani and in the lowland districts of the Erbil liwa. This method does not at present apply to the Rowanduz area but may be expected to do so as the tobacco crop is increased.

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Marketing procedure 1. The big tobacco factories of Baghdad have their own agents in Kurdistan, who contract with the Aghas for the whole saleable surplus of the village crop. If required the Agha can obtain a substantial cash advance at the time of sowing the crop. Seed and technical advice is often provided by the merchant's agents who presumably work in cooperation with the Government departments concerned. 50% of the crop is the Agha's own by virtue of his land title, the other 50% belongs to individual cultivators. Since however the buyers' agent deals only with the Agha, the latter is in a position to take a substantial commission on the cultivators' share as well. On the other hand the individual cultivator need not sell his crop through the Agha if he does not think he is getting a fair price. But his only alternative is to trade with the shop, who as a middleman, can only offer a much lower price than the buyers' agent offers the Agha. The tobacco is transported from village to town at the buyers' expense in each case.

The second method was described to me as that practised in the old days before the coming of the Baghdad cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Sulaimani man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Rowanduz area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agha's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

[illegible] area, and approximately close to area B of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area C. 341 342

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarized as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main floor forms livestalls and lacks not only the roof of the house immediately below but this generous margin. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual in such cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, these are very rarely any shutters. The floor is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin branches about the thickness of pencils. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a clayey mud from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly right floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight lengths of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common earth. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the difficulty of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Beglike where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be created from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of modernish imitations of stone and plaster metal sheets. 352 416 342 331 462 342

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

per inch; while a good quality coloured cloth such as worn by Aghas has
forty six Reft 28 threads per inch.

As mentioned already the village weaver, where there is one, now has to face serious competition not only from the cloth dealers of the town but also from certain large scale weaving concerns in Rowanduz and Erbil. The latter still use the ordinary Kurdish looms but seem to be able to produce a better quality product than the village craftsmen. The difference may be due to the fact that the town craftsmen use a mechanically spun thread, whereas the village weaver in the main works with a hand spun article. But there is no definite tradition that the town made material is superior. The clothes worn by the Mir while I was in Jerqula had been made from local cloth, his son Jalal, on the other hand, had purchased the stuff for his new blue trousers in Rowanduz. My impression is however that with the ever increasing facilities for contact with imports from the town the functions of the village weaver will soon become superfluous and the community will become completely dependent upon outside sources in yet one further respect.

Ismail Beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three heavily-armed bodyguards. 574

A comparatively large group of men in the town are casually employed as laborers or porters. It has already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Anwar Salah, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more. 464 482 482 554 [183] 464 857 482

because of the nature of this work, unemployment is frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty persons for the town as a whole. 464

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, are employed in the town as servants, but it would be difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two classifications, but they do not appear to have any precise social differentiation, and are only hazily distinguished in the popular mind. First, there are permanent servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own. Most of these work in one way or another for the government, a number in the government buildings, for example, the qaimaqam's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen help, and still others as household servants of government and military personnel. The qaimaqam's household has three attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening, perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male visitors in the diwankhana or the garden. To such persons as these a little of the sorrowful treatment of the professional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been 357 464 [465] 357 554

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them to use of the toilet facilities of the master are the topmost pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said a official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, an often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anyting, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The servic of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category of not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and edging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or xalk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowandus is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jejuni Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowandux, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does 463
there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who 464 ●
cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it 467
is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen
more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far
from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, 554
and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which 463
are menial and those which are not. A successful kalekshi
or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the
merchant's son would rarely become a kalekshi. There is 166
also some exchange of persons between town and villages,
those seeking their fortunes in Rowandus and those,
successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but
migration from the town itself outside the district is
very limited. This does not apply to the area as a
whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern
Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to
the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as [482]
well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. [519]
manent population of Rowandus, however, with its core of
older families from the days before the first World War,
seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute 556
the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some 565
are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so
choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts
of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but

he himself is considered a tenant farmer — the land belonging to an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding farmers to have retained what is generally called *tribal* organization (see below), whereas the tenant farmer has no clear political affiliation, but is largely subject to the control of the landowner. This dichotomy between the tribal, freeholding farmer and the tenant, more or less dependent on a capitalist for land and other privileges, is basic to much of the following discussion. The dichotomy is clearly made by Kurds themselves, and is associated with the co-variance of other institutional forms.

The characteristic tendency on the land which does not directly belong to the farmer who is using it, is a progressive delegation of rights. This influences the division of labor and the form of work-gangs in the fields, and reinforces class differences.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally works his own fields with own equipment, or may hire some outside labor to assist him at certain times of year. Mutual borrowing, or renting, of livestock may be resorted to. The grazing area belongs to the village as a whole, and herding the animals is generally delegated to one or more full-time shepherds of low status, who may serve the whole village.

The land of the typical tenant village belongs to an absentee landowner, who collects 1/10—1/3 of the cereal crop by right. The old residents of the village have informal inherited right of use of certain fields. These are not inalienable. Any person needing more land may apply to the landowner, and if he can demonstrate that he is able to use more, he will be allotted fallow land that formerly belonged to absent co-villagers. When no fallow land is available and the need is great, e. g. due to increase in the size of a given family, any type of land may be transferred. Theoretically, the landowner has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts and disrupts village unity.

Not infrequently, the more well-to-do tenant farmer will in fact do no farming himself, but will hire labor in his fields for a share of the crop, or other payments. Such payments are traditionally

464 465 stipulated, e. g. for reaping 1/6 of the wheat crop, 1/3 of barley
for plowing, food plus 100 fils/day (= 2 shillings)
or 150 fils/day and no food.

427 The large landowner may rent out the rigths to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

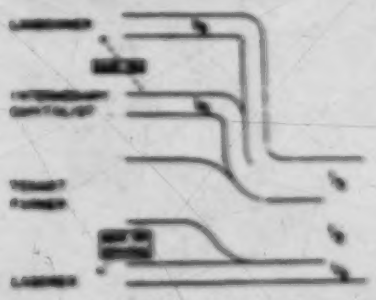

Diagram No. 1. Shows in division of a cereal crop

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/3 of the crop on un-irrigated land.

456, 241 At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a tenant village will consequently consist of 3—10 men, as per- made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it up the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

312 249 Attending to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either used it each in turn, or one man among them may take on the major responsibility.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the tenant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from laborer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hour. The value of this crusher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 males working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of 1 male with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems [illegible] spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The laborer [illegible] has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the laborer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such investments for the intermediary or the landowner. Consider-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation."

In roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 312 621

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dargala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Beles where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the Assyrian tenants were new arrivals in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alpine villages of the Bernese Oberland, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there seem to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were [illegible] repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such uncultivated land rest at present exclusively with the Agha. 928 311

Labour. The labour available to the labour of the tenant cultivators and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the wheat harvest comes in 464 311

• 464 241 late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The much smaller rice harvest comes about the end of September. Hill land wheat and so also, threshing could be finished by mid-September leaving labour free for the main work of the tobacco harvest. On the other hand the tobacco plant requires a good deal of fiddly attention during the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest. It is possible therefore that any radical increase in the tobacco cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as between different households. Whereas at present each household has approximately the same programme of work, the situation would be greatly complicated if one man's land was devoted to tobacco and his neighbour's only to wheat. The difficulty could be avoided if all the tobacco cultivation were "owned" by the Agha; - the commoner being under obligation to work for his Agha but not for a fellow commoner. Such a development would never be countenanced by the Government however since the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesmen by his chief.*

247 696 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed to normal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is prepared to supply seed and expert advice; so far as I know the process of drying does not require any special mechanical apparatus. The re-organisation of the irrigation system would of course be an initial "capital" expenditure for the community concerned.

Technique. On the other hand the more statement that Government is prepared to offer expert advice rather overemphasizes the social aspects of the technical problem. I have already indicated that the native Kurdish tobacco sold in the traditional manner results in a gaining enterprise that is quite welcome for the purposes of a subsistence farmer. In order to produce a saleable product, the farmer has to be taught entirely new methods. The cultivator is here up against several types of difficulty. Firstly there is a simple conservative resistance, the dislike of new methods, not simply because they are new but because the practitioner in the old methods thinks he knows best. But there are other difficulties of a much more intrinsic kind. Here is an example.

247 609 643 The Government are prepared to supply approved village with a trained expert to supervise the growing and harvesting of tobacco. Such a man was supplied to the village of Balak. He was a Kurd, but a foreigner from the plains and by academic standards a man of low moral

* In Jerai, where an [illegible] the place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is owned by the Church, and difficulties over individual labour requirements thus avoided. But then a Christian Malay is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is an enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that even well favoured villagers may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the English market, - hardly a desirable development.

The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of roads. In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his lands and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. However in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added consequence that the commoner who tenders tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'waste' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be extremely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

In the analogy with the Lowland scene the ultimate line of evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality, he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill. Thereafter the ex-Agha is merely a landless serf in personal bond with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may be all complete and purposeless be reported as complete.

From the Government's point of view such a development is not [illegible] A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. But there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Khabab oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is mir land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

by Arbitrational Banks from the Baidawell area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Banks of the Bohtl line. Interestingly the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the services for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different households, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then washed up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balwah and Dargalu the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the herdsman was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each one knows his own sheep. This fact being amply demonstrated at shearing time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For [illegible] part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent Kele, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dargalu but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Sherkah cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Bohtl.

and valley according to the seasons. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashira) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlishma, and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawa and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leech, 1940, pp. 69-70.

because of the nature of this work, unemployment is 464
frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and
porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty
persons for the town as a whole.

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, 357
are employed in the town as servants, but it would be 464
difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this
group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to
day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two
classifications, but they do not appear to have any pre-
cise social differentiation, and are only hazily dis-
tinguished in the popular mind. First, there are permanent [465]
servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and
who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the
houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own.
Most of these work in one way or another for the government,
a number in the government buildings, for example, the
mitmesrif's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the
primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen
help, and still others as household servants of government
and military personnel. The mitmesrif's household has three
attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a
merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening,
perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male
visitors in the diwankhana or the garden. To such persons 387
as these a little of the successful treatment of the pro- 564
fessional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most related examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as [401] kaq, "uncle," or xalo, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Tumas or "Aunt" Rhody prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people [404] come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their [393]

of cards. The game itself is surveying, as well as the particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the mafil or in the home of the policeman, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of sisbaw, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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[1] The salary of a typical mutir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars ($56.00) per month and full dinars ($672.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Faisal-Allah, mentioned above. The mutir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a policeman. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or *herish*, the *mulla*, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("we must go a hundred *dinars*," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a *kishkesh* or censer, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitoredectomy is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Hindu" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the call separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the formation of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

in the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Bulgan that his wages were 20 lbs – 44 per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are shipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Rapidus are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, ahi, (E. 2343) about 25 cms. in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting shots, garmik,[a] (E. 2342) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[b]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, gurik, (E. 2344) about 6.50 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-plaster threshing floors[c], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 3. German implements, sickle (E. 2343), scythe (E. 2345), and handmade rope (E. 2344).

he himself is considered a tenant farmer — the land belonging to 825
an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of 911
the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding farmers to have retained what is generally called *tribal* organization (see below), whereas the tenant farmer has no clear political affiliations, but is largely subject to the control of the landowner. This dichotomy between the tribal, freeholding farmer and the tenant, more or less dependent on a capitalist for land and other privileges, is basic to much of the following discussion. The dichotomy is clearly made by Kurds themselves, and is associated with the co-existence of other institutional forms.

The characteristic tendency on the land which does not directly belong to the farmer who is using it, is a progressive delegation of rights. This influences the division of labor and the form of work-groups in the fields, and reinforces class differences.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally works his own fields 86.5
with own equipment, or may hire some outside labor to assist him at certain times of year. Mutual borrowing, or renting, of livestock may be reported to. The grazing area belongs to the village as a whole, and [23 77]
herding the animals is generally delegated to one or more full-time shepherds of low status, who may serve the whole village.

The land of the typical tenant village belongs to an absentee 827
landowner, who collects 1/10—1/5 of the cereal crop by right. The old residents of the village have inherited inheritable rights of use of certain fields. These are not inalienable. Any person needing more land may apply to the landowner, and if he can demonstrate that he is able to use more, he will be shown fallow land that formerly belonged to other households. Where no fallow land is available and the need is great, e. g. due to increase in the size of a given family, any type of land may be considered. Theoretically, the landowner has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts and disrupts village unity.

Non-inheritably, the many well-to-do tenant farmer will in fact 96.5
do no farming himself, but will hire labor in his fields for a share 95.3 ●
of the crop, or other payments. Such payments are traditionally

equivalent, e. g. for reaping 1/4 of the wheat crop, 1/7 of barley for plowing, food plus 100 fils/day (= 2 shillings) or 110 fils/day and no food.

The large landowner may rent out the rights to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

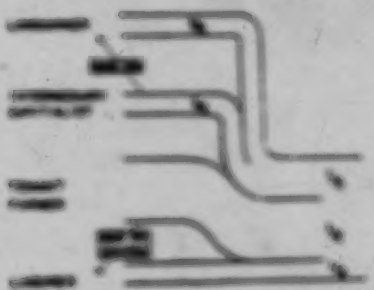

Diagram No. 1. Shares in division of a cereal crop

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/7 of the crop on un-irrigated land.

At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a tenant village will consequently consist of 1—10 men, in part made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it up the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

According to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either need it each in turn, or one man among them may hold an all major importance,

children, six girls and a boy), and various household possessions, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for *Parjoni Rwanda*, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Allah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty *dinars*, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rwandra, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the soldiers, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shaikh Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Allah who moved in years past from Beiqawaiye. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen more particularly in the case of the ulemma, but it is far from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which are social and those which are not. A successful kelekhûl or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the merchant's son would rarely become a kelekhûl. There is also some exchange of persons between town and villages, those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those, successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but migration from the town itself outside the district is very limited. This does not apply to the area as a whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to the cities. The Kurdish hammâl or porter in Baghdad, as well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent population of Rowanduz, however, with the core of older families from the days before the first World War, seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some are merchants, need not engage in labour unless they so choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts of capital or smaller holdings, such as Turk-Ellah, but

Fig. 13. The scheme-field in perspective with some Tripterna.

Tripterna is not harmful. Polyester fibres could be used for [illegible], but is passed by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes resting in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the city in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized cellulose is woman's work. (Tripterna samples: S. 1940).

Woman's work, this man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an Igbo or sub-Igbo. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Enugu-ezike on the Nsukka plateau. In relationship the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Ardill's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Enugu-ezike. It was said that she owned "many villages and homesteads". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Leach[1], a manager "caretaker", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as the tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tripterna, Bakweri, Mungaka and Bafaw the dwellers were not related to the landowners and conditions were feudal. The

[illegible]

Fig. 11. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

7: Earth S-5 (1951) 1953 MAIL Hard MAIL

849 As compared to grain, where most of the work comes either in
312 winter plowing or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require
irrigation take constant attention in the growing season. The irri-
gation system of tiny dikes and channels in a cabesse field is or less
a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and rein-
forced. The flow of water must be started and stopped periodically,
and one rarely sees a cabesse field in summer without some farmer
with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering
system.

335 Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the
flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported
by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming,
and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never
provided for the animals, so there very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

423 The characteristics of subsistence and available techniques should
• 470 to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of coop-
erating groups and work-groups, and thereby the form
of the household. As is evident, however, the above type of activ-
ities have drawn few imperatives and require no cooperative division
of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the additional factor of land
ownership interests, and influences group composition according
to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however,
takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been
mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in
progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced
in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land codes,
tribal political organizations, or de-facto power. For the moment, we
may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situa-
tion, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor
and social classes.

As far as the farmer is concerned, the basic contrast is between
a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government,
but to which he has traditional usufruct rights, and b/ land on which

he himself is considered a owner farmer — the land belonging to 923
an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of 971
the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding
farmers to have retained what is generally called tribal organization
(see below), whereas the owner farmer has no clear political affil-
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has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a
power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts
and disrupts village unity.

Non-inheritantly, the owner will re-do the owner farmer will in turn 95-7
do no farming himself, but will hire labor to his fields for a share 95-8
of the crop, or other payment. Such payments are traditionally

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 NAII Rural NAII
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Farming

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[illegible]

an item will canvass a number of shops, inquiring into 437
its price, until she finds what she believes to be the
lowest, nothing more than the "comparison shopping" of the
European or American housewife, and without bargaining.
This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged.
In the summer of 1951 the price of a khanjir or dagger was 435
fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more
elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth
of this price in Baghdad or Damascus) due to the indiscreet
outcry of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor
ruse could bring it down again. It was immutably established
that Americans pay three dinars for their khanjirs, and
one was constantly balked by persons offering the merchant
specimens in the hopes of realizing that price. Prices are,
within certain limits, geared to the social status of the
purchaser, and the prisoners, for example, might be ex-
pected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In
a small town of this sort, however, while prices are un-
controlled, public opinion and the facility with which one
merchant will undersell another, set up strong limitations,
and the difference between "asking price" and "selling
price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. 443
If a customer, for example, wished to buy six tea-glasses 476
from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the
latter would send his boy down the street to borrow what
was required from another merchant. The same is true of
money, and sending a large banknote may involve any number

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a [476]
merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter [454]
practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the
merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
liraq or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
A number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
culties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [574]
some courses along these lines at night, and were very
surprised at their popularity. The graybeards learning [522]
their arithmetic is still considered a great joke. Usually
the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
and many place high expectations in the help of their sons
at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of 463
the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
here to provide a list of persons according to their
occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
others employed only in the service of those residing in
the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for thresholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

advise or scold their employers.

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

[171] ...wages from the work at the Oxbow dams, water ramblers, sandglasses, salt varnish, lighters, wash boulders, tire-openers, and grasshoppers.

[342] [349] A space small house in the village of Sakiba has been chosen as an example of the home round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it demolished, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the only room of the house was used as a behind store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the entrance side, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

[184] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Sakiba peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cellar—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Cross is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[1]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit to the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the canvas, circular iron sheet, saj or abra, on which the bread sheets, ash, was baked were placed on the fire. The modern bee-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water source—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The better in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheepdog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

[342] [184] [342] [352] [358] [312] [347] [513]

Fig. 14. Baking implements: table (E. 2311), rolling pin (E. 2307), baking pillow (E. 2345), and iron spoon (E. 2341). Small wooden spoon for serving (E. 2346) and wooden ladle for shaping (E. 2344).

252 oven, *mesiir*[14], or on an iron sheet, *tabsi*[15] or *saj*. In both cases the women, who squats on the floor, uses a low baking table, *pirar*[16], cut out in one piece from a large block of wood producing a thick, rectangular sheet with rounded corners and a slightly convex surface, supported by four short legs or blocks narrowing towards the floor (E. 2661, sheet 0.360 × 0.230, height 0.07 m. – E. 2345, sheet 0.50 – 0.42, height 0.10 m.).

[illegible] When baking in the earth oven several women, as a rule three, work together[17]. The lumps of dough are rolled out with a rolling pin, a thin wooden stick about 70 cm. in length, only (E. 2302)[18], decreased at both ends by 6–7 incised lines all round. The two women use this implement to roll the dough into quite thin pancakes. During this process the sheet of dough is often lifted from the baking table by means of the stick, more flour being strewn on the surface before the dough is put back to be rolled out still thinner. The skill of the women was evinced in proportion to the thinness to which they could roll out the dough.

The dough is then lifted up, hanging over the stick, and placed on the "baking pillow", *mesde* (?), which is shaped like a thick, rectangular pillow and made of cloth. On the one side is an opening

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Fig. 19. [illegible]

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with sons and married boys on the back. Cattle dung collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the house. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in succession. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task in Bekhte was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various houses in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the house and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Bekhte the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sokkhauli it was baked in [illegible] on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman after arrival at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earthen oven that was hot for the day. The 6-7 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but some of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality than the Sokkhauli bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this valley. After a leftward daily from outside, there is no [illegible] to be got in relation to livelihood from the city by one of the lads, carried home on his head, stood under the pump, and placed in the platter. The normal consumption of fighter—about 10 grams—was [illegible] cooking stove. (2) curds—is brought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. The 6 maids by the oldest wife. The consumption fell too are disintegrating: the grinder stone has replaced the iron hooks and [illegible] mixture, the beaten the finger hand.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. [illegible] is made specially by the husband[illegible] over a low charcoal basin. There is no [illegible] of water as good meaningful water is [illegible] on, with several taps.

When needed, [illegible] could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were brought in the city by the husband and delivered by an errand boy. Cooking was often done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, welcome to the village ladies, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and trodding. It is put into sacks, finished together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded to the hall, washed by the women of the home, and carried up to the roof to dry, on wrapped cloths for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being sent from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain-dealer woman summoned for the purpose. The dissected grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the home. Drinking of chylos and tending take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the [illegible] of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within one room or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

127

There is no electricity in Samawah, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or *chaikhanas* open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill *Asiā Shurjā*, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of its relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jindian, whose father's

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, may remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and gardens are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will have a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men meeting themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not normally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Seyyid Ahmed and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

1: Garnett B-4, 9 (ca. 1888) 1891
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The ordinary houses are more real hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kirghizia is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the classic pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kirghiz seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *pasuri*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of *pilaf* made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

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Iraq'i Iraq in a taxi, accompanied by two or three 579
lavish-armed bodyguards.

A comparatively large group of men in the town 414
are usually employed as laborers or porters. It has 485
already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a woman who found herself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Ammar Saleh, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadmakers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the luxury carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among 482
the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of 559
Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated [91]
man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In 454
addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' 557
youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the 782
luxury quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more.

quiring that resemble a formal apprenticeship, nor does there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, in turn, tend to remain within families, as has been seen more particularly in the case of the weavers, but it is far from an exclusive rule. There is some discernible tendency, but no universally outlined distinction between villages which are ancient and those which are not. A successful [illegible] or small-trader might well become a shaikhat, but the shaikhat's son would rarely become a [illegible]. There is also some exchange of persons between town and villages, those seeking their fortunes in Suwaidan and there, successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but migration from the town itself outside the district is very limited. This does not apply to the area as a whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to the cities. The Kurdish [illegible] or porter in Baghdad, as well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent population of Suwaidan, however, with its core of older families from the days before the First World War, seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fateh-Allah, but

[illegible] 231

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible] on a dish of bread and gravied. Spoons were sometimes used to eat [illegible] but forks and knives were not used[1]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is referred to as the two-distinguished ship. Three are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a bulb from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meals. Water from a jug is poured over them from a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

[illegible] of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds: one jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (fig. 2206), loose-manufactured and slightly barrel, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, lined, made out of whole, carried damp on quadrilles either carried across the woman's [illegible] and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be obtained on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being tied over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place behind, sitting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

[illegible] Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the workhouse, both the charcoal useless earth even and the ashes/cinder resulting are treated by low clay walls are fed with whole branches forced from the recessions. In the villages there was also a comparatively [illegible] of [illegible] cooking pots[2]. The fuel consumptions of both the earth even and the cooking pots is very slight, and the ashes are carefully removed and placed in the concrete. Of other forms of fuel there are [illegible] of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the dry houses[3]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and gardens by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, like cooking pots, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Such as Sulaimani and [illegible] the villagers there are petrol stoves to be found in Hajjan Kamaluddin, but in all these places their chief fuel is [illegible] are mainly used for cooking purposes.

[illegible] During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temperatures of up to 104 F (40 C.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Sorbun, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a [illegible] in the wall under a [illegible]. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[4] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre, the smoke passes out (on does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[5] refers to "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a wood cinder a quilt ... formed the "sorsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Millingen[6] writes that: "En hiver, pour donner, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret (Tawrah), on le recouvre d'une couverture" et sous le matelas se couche dessus ...".

Fig. 9. Village women go out to the mountains in rural Jiangsu area in Jan. Taiyuan.

Fuel is collected on the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung collected on the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the home. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is drawn, often far from the home. Whatever grain is ground in the home of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, crowded parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in succession. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. Whilst the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. As some work at Bekhira we the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively as the various homes in turn. To save up. Apart from the washing of food and food making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Bekhira the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

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government permanent. It would be easy for an outsider to 638
consolidate this situation, and this could not be for from
true, for the Kiowa do the same themselves. The chieftain 633.
is the successor of a peacock's tassle, a formidable
warrior, commanding in vengeance, generous in hospitality,
and gallant in conduct. An aristocratic youth is educated
to play this part. It would be difficult to find many
peoples among whom the hero, as defined, has so extensive
a duty role and so general and attractive an audience. A
number of persons in the Kwahadie area, queried on this
point, were unable to name more than one or two chieftains
of the aristocratic group, perhaps ten or three hundred
men in all, who had not been imprisoned or exiled by the
government at least once.

Safeguard, as in the case of revenge, is a matter 494
of aristocratic honor. Formerly, anyone who wished to pass 579
through a chieftain's territory was expected to put him-
self under the latter's protection, because, failing this,
he became more or less fair game for bandits or, indeed,
the chieftain himself. In past decades brigandage, like
cattle-stealing, was something of a sport, and holding up a
traveler was considered as amusing, as well as lucrative,
occupation for the aristocracy. The luckless merchant could
only apply to the chieftain for his goods which, in con-
sideration of a fee, were "recovered" and returned to him.
The easiest technique, of course, was to obtain right to
passage at first, at the expense of a few gifts, and a
number of the chieftain's men would be delegated as guards.

for the Kurds themselves, safeguard had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a vendetta, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own. 484 579 629

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Kurds. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the badalkhwin or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, so they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter 69% 628 622 [583] 628 584 622 [484]

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the nadi or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowandus district. 538 517 [529] [484] [347] [548]

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [448] [668]

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran:

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowandus, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a headache." Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rowandus as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

[1]Browne, 1893, p. 174.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouses of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[1], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the 6th and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane: Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (say £800)[2].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrim mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *abyāḍ*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

788 in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and
791 desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3-4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and horizon.

788 431 The duty to pay alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

785 The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By rejecting oneself in the month of ramadan to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the rest adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

788 [484] 781 562 For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of its journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing one referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Bukhara, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily in the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the dull drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

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841 *Underwear.* During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieus in Sulaimani (from whom I gathered information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

539 [571] 293 562

Sure 24, verses 30-31 of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognized as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allah* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allah* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[12].

293 [592] 562 199

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Mohammed[13], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Suras of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a nun's habit. Unknown and unrecognizable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whose she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[14] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still were, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil ... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand ... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ...".

[178]

562 293 565 484

Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 78). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu. "Many times in the *sûq* at Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

4: Hanaw E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

he residents of Tepsawa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sleeves of the costume to cover the face even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[1].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Sebastiyeh or the smaller trading centre, Halabja, could leave the home, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its exclusion in the form of the *abā'a-yāšī*. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13-14. One of the adolescent daughters in the house of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realised until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very shrunk European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the *sūq* to buy the necessary *abā'* and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu uphold the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Taffir of Tepsawa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She had brought in *abā'* and veil in order to walk from Tepsawa to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this covering ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain track carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Tepsawa closely veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Chawtabend pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this around her as, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sargale nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her invariable companion, back to to the Sheikh's house at Tepsawa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakawa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear *abā'* and veil after the first day in the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four milieus.

Veil types	Village milieu		Nomadic village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular mask + shoulder veil tails		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ordos bridal veil		?		+				?
European white bridal veil						+		
Face veil blank	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

responsibility for religious education taken over by the leader of the local *Sheikh* family. On the other hand, an intelligent mullah, though often formalistic and introvert in his orientation, may play a considerable part in improving the intellectual and sanitary standard of the village (the subject of clean and unclean having importance in a religious context), but does not seem to attempt to extend his influence any wider. His high intellectual standard and foreign values tend to alienate him from the «petty squabbles» of the village; and an ambitious attitude has no real place in the piously fatalistic Islamic world view. To the extent he does not convert his status and prestige into a de-facto power position, the mullah might be said not to be fully integrated into the social structure of the village. He is similarly in no sense an indispensable resident in the village community — very frequently, he is called in only for funerals, naming ceremonies etc., or these functions may even be performed by a local derwish or *Sheikh*. The pattern of training blind boys, necessarily marginal to village society, as mullahs, may in part be related to an appreciation of this marginal position which the mullah occupies.

Hadji. The *Hadji*, on the other hand, is an ordinary member of the village community. His position is related to the scale of piety, and derives simply from having completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. The title, however, is one of considerable respect — in part because it also implicitly indicates high rating on the scale of wealth.

The whole institution of the pilgrimage is the result of the command by the Prophet Mohammed, that any man who has the necessary means to make the pilgrimage *and* support his family at home, or whose family is able to support itself without him, should once in his lifetime journey to the holy city of Mecca. Thus the title of *Hadji* indicates (a) a pious eagerness to follow the command of Mohammed, and (b) moderately prosperous circumstances. One rarely finds more than 3—4 *Hadjis* in any one village; these will tend to be at least *among* the leading members of their community.

Formerly, the initiative was individual and the journey hazardous, often achieved by relatively greater physical exertion and less expense, and the title of *Hadji* was thus less of a symbol of wealth than at present.

than at present. The route from the Suleimani area went by caravan to Basra in the Persian Gulf, by ship to Jiddah (or even by caravan across the Arabian peninsula) and on foot from Jiddah to Mecca — involving often more than a full year of travel. Today, the time expended is in the neighborhood of two months, travel being by bus to Baghdad and across to Beirut, ship through the Suez to Jiddah, and bus up to the walls of Mecca. Total expenses average some £ 200. The pattern is generally one of group travel — in 1948, a group of approximately 60 persons from the Suleimani area journeyed together.

The moral-religious status connected with the title of *Hadji* is of negligible importance. There is some feeling that in situations of petty conflict, a *Hadji* should attempt to mediate, and that higher moral standards are to be expected from him. More important is its connections with wealth as a type of conspicuous consumption, and in this it parallels the widely distributed type of honorific title dependent on having gone through a »pot-latch» series of feasts[1]). However, in the competitive and informal Kurdish village organization, the honorific title of *Hadji* is not by itself of any appreciable consequence in the de-facto power hierarchy, and must be supported by a continued position of relative wealth.

KINSHIP

In addition to the formal hierarchies governing the political, the economic, and the religious fields, there remains the field of kinship. It might be pointed out that the household organization, and attendant kinship obligations, described above pp. 29 ff, represents a hierarchical organization of basicly the same type, but relating to a unit smaller than the village, in contrast with the other, more extensive organizations. Needless to say, the patriarch of a large household gains prestige and is vested with de-facto power by

[1]) An example from a culturally and geographically parallel area is offered by the Kafirs of Afghanistan, where the whole social structure of the village community is based on a hierarchy of such honorific titles, attained by giving stipulated numbers of feasts (*cf. G. S. Robertson, 1896, pp. 434 ff.*).

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened clay, is a large beehive-shaped affair with its round, open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East, bread or nan is treated with almost religious reverence, and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Discovering this, some of the British troops stationed in Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about their messroom floor. In Rowandur, it is customary when a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which was observed in the streets several times.

The hotel, khan or caravansara, is reached through a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant. It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up

[1]Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, 'aysh, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

over the years without reference to any plan, surrounding 485
a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms
opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. [444]
The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business
is a Nestorian who lives in Dyana and who, in addition to
other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of [274]
bottled beer and arrack to the civil servants and officers.
He comes to Rowanduz only two or three times each week, and,
during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is
foresworn by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself
offers the transient little more than a room and a bedstead.
He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find
nourishment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is
little more than "a roof overhead and lesser animiculae
within," in this, a modern descendant of the khan or funduq
of Medieval days, so often described and so often cursed
by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees 485
normally find accommodations with one of the local civil 574
servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley
and Kurds, as well as Nestorians, who must spend a night
in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great
house of Isma'il Beg. It follows that the khan is little 485
used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers 554
from Erbil or beyond, too low in social status to apply to
the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of
Kurdish hospitality.

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[1]Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 193-194.

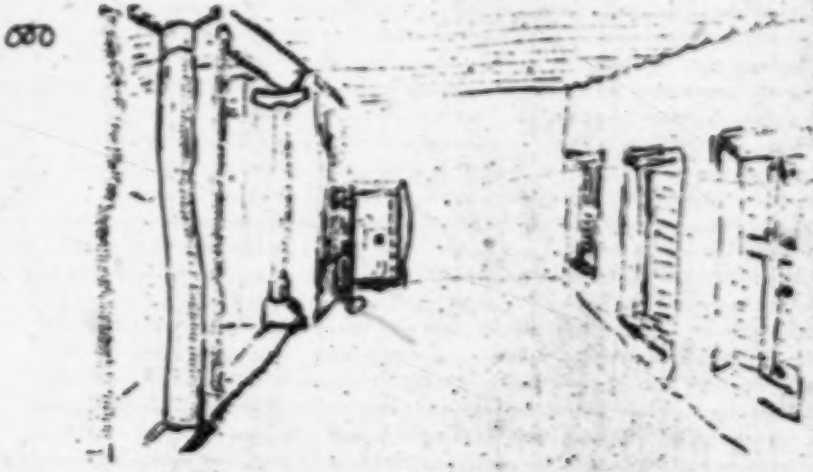
which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, [529] it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [521] one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [784] smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513] sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly [485] held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowandus. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346 562 of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521] as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 554 346 771

[1]Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

659 The idea of the Land Settlement Commission was apparently to get control of the ground and the fees hitherto paid for it, but by so doing the old relation between the owner of the village and his tenants would be dissolved, as in return for the dues he would obtain he would have to settle all the village's disputes with the administration and government of the country, give assistance in criminal, juridical and military matters, and maintain a guest house[7], a very important factor in the life of the village and its face to the world. The guest house was the place where every traveller, within definite limits, could obtain shelter and food. It was maintained in the house of the owner of the village as a part of it, and was at the same time the village club which the male inhabitants freely visited and felt part owners of. The guest house is not a business, but the village's joint solution of the obligations of hospitality[8]. It serves to enhance the reputation of the squire and of the village as a whole. If the peasants are relieved of this burden of payment to the village owner, a structural element of the village is at the same time abolished. Concerning this problem see Edmond's account[9].

C24 Within the village the peasants elected a parish officer, *mezūn*[10], who registered births, attended to the military muster rolls and to local disputes.



The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dûg*. It is a beverage inferior to *mâstâw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is nidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning-sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooking of *mâstâw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[58]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawlâ*[59], (fig. 224), about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dûg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of iron 0.19 m. high (fig. 227)[60], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sûq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a 'qahwa-i tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *çay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[61], and in the resting association with a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *khâlû*, (fig. 225b) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped samôwar of pewter or brass[62] standing on low legs and filled with water. A large pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samowar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samowar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an ascending sequence to those present. At the side of the samowar waisted tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[63] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sûq* in packages of 12 and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samowar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces in a cloth by a special sugar hammer[64]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[65]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handrin Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war.

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowandux and Handrin rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowandux, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowandux is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowandux river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan

route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at its rear. Rowandus proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basic population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Rowandus was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Rowandus as an administrative and mercantile center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

or religious. In Ottoman times, while it[A] was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowandus had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jezira plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowandus households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar of Rowandus. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowandus as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

[A] [i.e., the town of Rowandus.—Analyst]

8: Leach E.S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

554 addressed by it. Ali Agha of Bayat's full title is Hajji Ali Agha and he is sometimes addressed simply as Hajji. The nephew of Hamid Amin of Banyarim had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Hajji.

The title Sayyid implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The descent is probably in most cases mythical; anyway the Sayyids whom I met had every appearance of being pure bred Kurds. In the Balik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two Shaikhs of Khalan and Nim - Alaeddin and his uncle Chaidullah.

554 609 The Turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables who have no tribal linkage and thus cannot be called Aghas:- thus Mustapha Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known everywhere as Khayis Effendi.

Hakim (arabic 'doctor') is applied only to foreigners. I acquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a 'Lord' or a 'Major'.

The field of investigation

102 The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the contour features of the country at all adequately and altitudes are merely indicated in figures. The area is covered by sections I 38 and J 38 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowanduz area appears on section L. 3 on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102 131 Map 1 which shows the whole of the Erbil liwa of Iraqi-Kurdistan is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic and ethnographic significance.

• [487] A. Rowanduz. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some ten years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Practically the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bandit infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous Rowanduz Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowanduz itself is some 3,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 12,000 feet. Cool and well watered it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparitively little land is suitable for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of agriculture.

* For photographs see Map pp. 200, 222.

of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowanduz with subsidiary police posts at Rayat and Galala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winter; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various valleys; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Rayat valley.

B. Foothill Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.M.Hamilton - Road through Kurdistan.

1/A [Rowanduz -- Rayat]

and it is important not to confuse the ideal of the intel- 121
lectual nationalists, a free Kurdish commonwealth, with that 669
which the chieftains and their people are now striving to preserve, a society quite unlike the state.

The Kurds, occupying a mountainous terrain, were but 648
superficially governed by the Iranian and Ottoman governments. Inasmuch as the roads were poor or the country [491]
impossible for artillery, the Kurds, a well-armed people, were usually the military equals of their governors. The control of the Iranians and Turks was thus largely confined to the maintenance of police posts and army installations and the attempt, often in vain, to maintain public order and collect a few taxes. Helmut von Moltke, writing in 1838, notes:

> It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman empire comprises vast regions in which the Porte exercises no real authority. It is certain that the Padishah (the Turkish Sultan) has to reconquer widespread regions within the territory of his own state. To this category belong the highlands (of Kurdistan) between the Tigris and the Persian frontier.[1]

In recent decades, however, the Kurds, notably in Iraq and 117
Turkey, have been subjected to the full impact of the modern 619
state and some remarkable changes, comparable to similar developments elsewhere in the Middle East, are beginning to take place, challenging the whole structure of their society. This last, as will be seen, is one which is at once tribal and feudal, formerly directed by a landed aristocracy. A

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[1]Quoted in Safrastian, 1948, p. 30.

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Save at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowanduz is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowanduz was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Kor Pasha, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1]Recounted in Hamilton, 1937.

the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handrin Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war.

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowanduz and Handria rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowanduz, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowanduz is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowanduz river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan

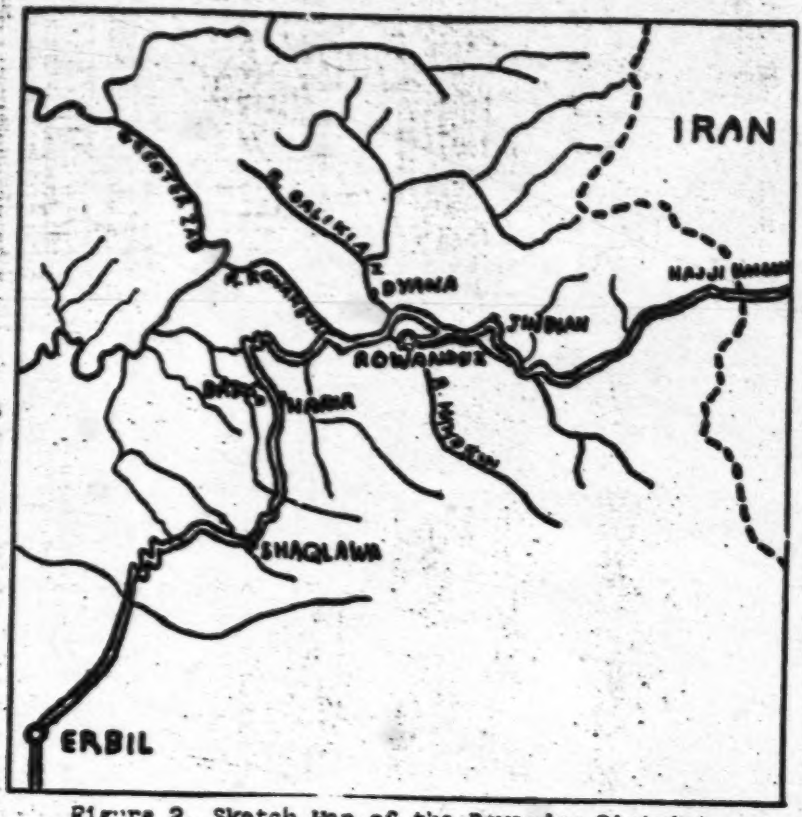

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Figure 2. Sketch Map of the Rowanduz District

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kotchir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kotchir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kotchir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimmaqam, such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country.

221 233 [625] [491] [693] [648]

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolla" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qadha is charged to the qaimmaqam.

181 579 [628] [177] [491] [625] [704] 625 647 624

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

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or religious. In Ottoman times, while it was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowanduz had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jazira plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowanduz households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the bazar of Rowanduz. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowanduz as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

[i.e., the town of Rowanduz.—Analyst]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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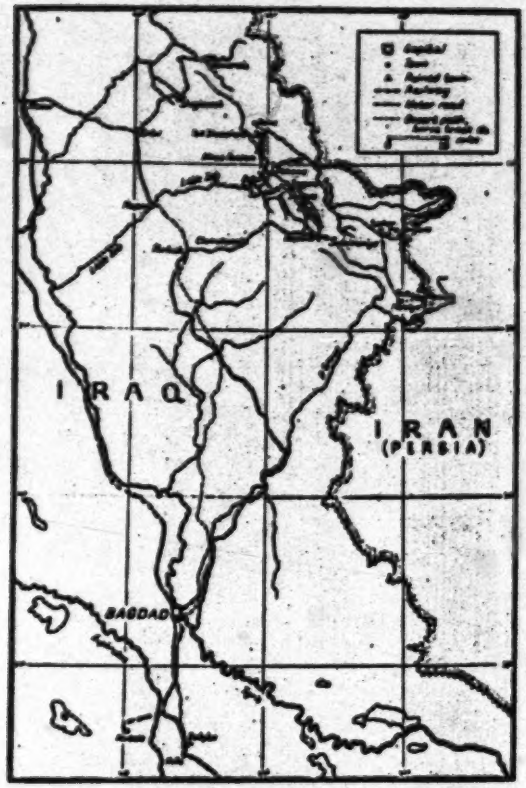

Lokal map of the area visited. The area is covered by R. A. F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

539 that one can well do without gold and rich stuffs, but that without soldiers one cannot maintain one's power.

562 The Kūrdish women, of the nomad tribes more especially, take a lively interest in the social and political affairs of the tribe, are acquainted with all that concerns it—its feuds, plans, and conspiracies, in which they are indeed often moving spirits. As enterprising and indefatigable as the men of their race, they are ever on the alert, and ready to leap to the [492] saddle, where, though not elegant riders, they are quite at home, and able to keep up with their husbands in their adventurous wanderings.

This participation in the political life of the tribe is a peculiarity of nomad life, and of a primitive state of society. Mr. Millingen relates two instances which came under his personal notice of the intervention of women in public affairs. After a skirmish with the [721 Shikiah tribe, the beaten Kūrds retired to their en- 727] campment, with the loss of twenty-four of their warriors, and sent with all haste a deputation to the Pasha of Van imploring his mediation. A kind of commission being despatched on their behalf from this town, it was met at a distance of several miles from the Shikiah camp by a crowd of women, the pretty ones at the head wearing black veils, and shrieking as loudly and woefully as it was in their [728] power to do. Their lively grief, backed by a bribe of the Kūrdish delicacy called *djadjk*,[1] was successful in bringing about a solution favourable to the tribe, which, through the mediation of the women, was allowed to escape further punishment.

[1] The onion-flavoured cheese above-mentioned (p. 120).

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, chikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

are utilized for riding. One finds here a revealing comparison with the Arab South. In such a country as Egypt it is commonplace to see a man perched on a donkey while his wife shuffles along behind on foot. In the Rowanduz district, the man walks and the woman rides, a contrast which was several times pointed out by Kurds themselves as evidence of their loftier respect for their women. Almost every village possesses a large number of watchdogs, the typical animal large and fawn-coloured, not unlike an Eskimo husky. In many cases their ears have been cut off, and there are two stories to account for this practice. One holds that it enables the dog to hear prowlers more acutely, and the other claims that the severed ears should be fed to the puppies to make them more ferocious. The town of Rowanduz is more or less taken over by its dog population at night, packs of them running without the houses and environs, often raising a disturbing uproar with their quarrels. They sometimes appear dangerous, but have great respect for a thrown stone. A Kurd approaching a farmhouse will generally equip himself with a handful of pebbles. Dogs are usually ignored after they reach maturity, fending for themselves, but puppies are fondled and made much of by both children and adults. Cats are conspicuous in their absence. It might be mentioned here that, aside from chikaw kept for fighting and dogs, the only other animals kept for amusement are ground-squirrels, carried by some in a pocket and danced on the end of a cord in the chaykhana for the diversion of other customers.

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[825]

does not command a high price, but provides plenty of 305
leisure and social intercourse. The barber, as in
Europe or America, is a notorious channel of gossip, and, [521]
albeit poor, thinks of himself as a person of some im- [554]
portance in the community.

Much miscellaneous transport is required for short 492
distances by a town such as Rowanduz, for example, of build-
ing materials or firewood, and a number of men find em-
ployment as muleteers, furnishing their own beasts and
working by contract. "Muleteer" is a misnomer, inasmuch
as both mules and donkeys are in use, the latter animal
even thought preferable by reason of its cheapness and
docility. Little harness is used, and the secret of load-
ing the beasts consists in dividing the load and balancing
it across the back on the animal's flanks, tied up in
bundles, as with wood, or stitched in twin burlap sacks.
Brightly-coloured saddle-bags of heavy woven wool, not
unlike rugs in texture, may be purchased, and many
animals are caparisoned with tassels and other decorations.
The muleteer keeps his animal near or within his house at
night, and their departure from the bazar on a variety of
commissions is a feature of early morning.

For longer distances and heavier loads, particularly 494
the great quantity of materiel which comes from Erbil, the [493]
town has the use of two lorries. One belongs to a local
entrepreneur, Hasan Nopal, who is also its driver, and who
was in 1951 under contract to the government on road [499]

people and supervising the entertainment. A party of men is assembled at the home of the bridegroom, and the bridegroom himself is seated on a horse. This group, leading the animal, makes its way through the town, accompanied by shouting, music, and the noise of rifles fired in the air. Arriving at the house of the maiden, the bridegroom dismounts and is led inside with his followers to be offered food and drink. A second group, made up of the bride and her female relatives and friends, is formed, and the bride also mounts an extravagantly caparisoned horse. A more striking procession now begins, headed by the bridegroom and his men. Following these are the bride, her relatives and friends, and the rear is brought up by donkeys and porters carrying the new household goods, clothing, and other treasures in brightly painted chests. The Kurds take great delight in discharging firearms on such occasions, and permission for this must be obtained from the government. When the bride of a chieftain was taken by automobile to Batas from Rowandux, several thousand rounds were fired in the air along the route. The bridegroom arrives at his parental home before the bride, and takes up a station on the roof or balcony, furnished with a tray filled with grain, coins, and candy. When the bride is led up on her horse, he showers the contents of this tray over her and her women. As she dismounts, a sheep is slaughtered before the door of the house and her shoe is dipped in its blood before she can enter.

585 [492] [411] [656]

The consummation of the marriage is usually deferred

Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

doors at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baykhal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Jayjani Qurban, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding. 527 [53] [302]

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Elyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulla has nothing to say about Khidir Elyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Elyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Elyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Elyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowandus: [183] 773 776

> Khidir Elyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowanduz by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Elyas, I have [492]

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 17. Housebuilding. Clay and water are kneaded with the feet. Pebbles for foundations are transported by donkey. Topzawa.

342 made of pebbles laid in a trench, a wall is put up composed of clay bricks, 1½ bricks thick. This is
333 done with the help of an outstretched horizontal cord, but no spirit level or such like is used to assure that the wall is plumb, and the ground is not levelled. A mixture of clay and water is used as mortar. Whereas the men knead the clay and transport to the building site the water, stones and heavy poplar
[467] trunks for the roofs, the women assist in the transportation of the dried clay bricks and the stacking of them. The window apertures can be rectangular and, like the door opening, bounded above by horizontal wooden sticks. Arched window openings, on the other hand, are formed by loosely and unsystematically stacking bricks in a vertical rectangular opening in the wall. These bricks are covered on top by a sack or such like on which bricks are placed in a semicircle. When the clay mortar holding the bricks together dries, the irregularly-stacked clay bricks and the sack are removed, whereby a window aperture, bounded above by a semicircle, results. Arched window openings can
342 be uncovered or covered by a lattice of flat wooden shavings, which allows in the light, but no stranger's gaze. This lattice is flush with the outside of the wall. The arched windows can also be fitted with wooden shutters which, when locked, are flush with the inside of the wall. Window frames

4: Hansen E-5 (1997) 1961 MA11 Kord MA11

be residents of Topzawa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sleeves of the costume to cover the face even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[11].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Sulaimani or the smaller trading centre, Halabja, could leave the home, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its seclusion in the form of the *abd-o-pēčē*. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13–14. One of the adolescent daughters in the home of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realised until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very slovenly European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the *sūq* to buy the necessary *abd* and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu uphold the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Taifūr of Topzawa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She clad herself in *abd* and veil in order to walk from Topzawa to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this covering over carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain track carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Topzawa closely veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Charmahand pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this around her as, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sargale nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her invariable companion, back to to the Sheikh's house at Topzawa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakawa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear *abd* and veil after the first day in the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four milieus.

Veil type	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular scarf + shoulder veil falls		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ochre bridal veil		?		+				?
European white bridal veil						+		
Face veil Mask	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

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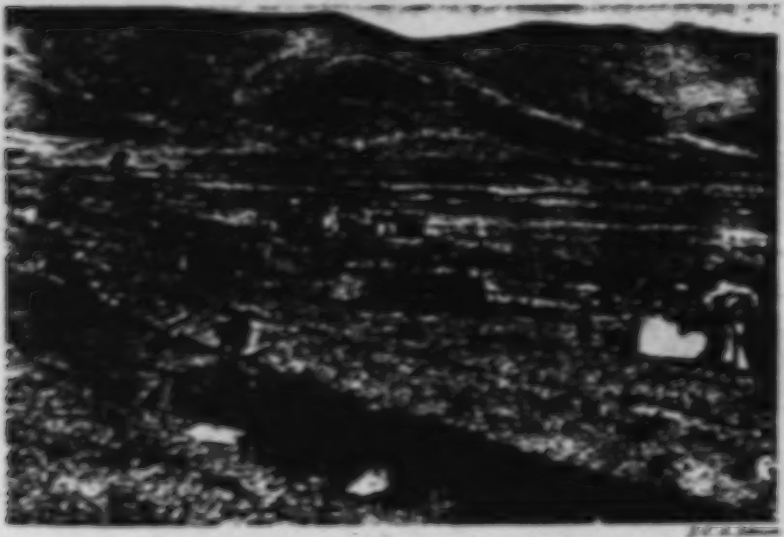

and his Marsh Arab constable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police are furnished their uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who can bear the expense may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is pinned, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in Baghdad and other larger towns, is never seen in Rowandus. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality, long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Arabic terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender batons to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Rowandus police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries.

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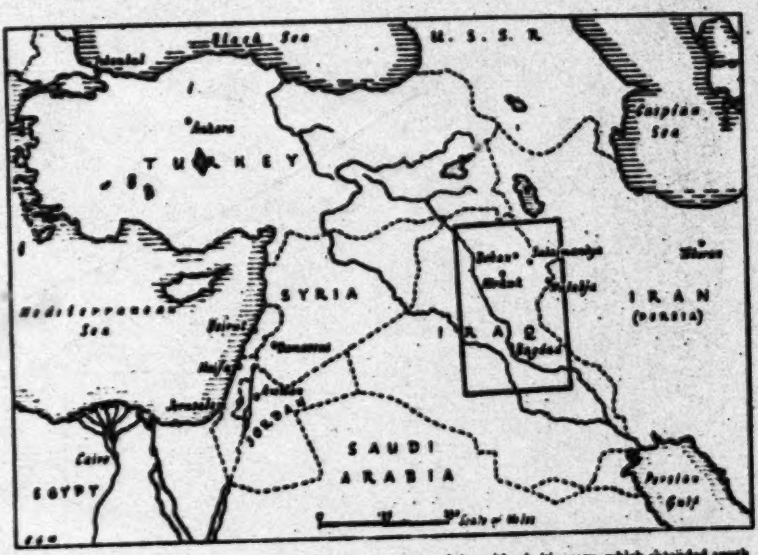

Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

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were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Balkha and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used; hired cars, primitive local buses, mules and horses. If no private homes were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every forthnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshara, I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May–5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connexion with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Topzawa-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Serkan, making a lengthy trip to Rowanduz via Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an elder brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

elicits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a chaykhana. The bus from Rowanduz to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them. 265 534 [562] [494]

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a chaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a chaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from transients in the town who could find no other place to eat. 265 [262]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is 253 [251]

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Lokal map of the area visited. The area is covered by R. A. F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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roadside chaykhana between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a chaykhana. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowanduz and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

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The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kelek* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1955) and from which the *northern liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

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pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows: 443 434 [427] [265] [256]

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven 443 511

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jayjani Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants	
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

263 Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
272 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
177 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
435 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
574 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

not be underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Guest House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. *In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting; it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Guest House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish viewpoint is the upkeep of the Guest House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Guest House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the mast (a milk product similar to yaghourt), it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Guest House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though employing better quality materials than the commoner, stick mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their severely puritan tastes rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Rayat was seen wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowandus, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for "frills and furbelows" - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by the policy of the Administration after the Great War

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute sawa (see later).

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

the policy of the Administration after the Great War.

Formerly the village communities were, within the limits of a somewhat meagre standard of living, virtually self supporting. Trade and currency circulation were both minimal. *The British Administration's policy of buying the loyalty of the tribal chiefs by means of a cash salary resulted in there being available within the community substantial amounts of currency for which there was no immediate outlet except in the purchase of luxuries. Moreover this wealth was not distributed evenly throughout the community but concentrated into the hands of a few leading Aghas. The result has many analogies with similar phenomena observed in Africa. The preliminary expenditure creates a sudden taste for luxuries within a small segment of the community. These new wants develop both in scope and intensity out of all proportion to the ability of the community to satisfy them, with the inevitable result that the economic balance of the community is upset and the originally wealthy group, by developing expensive tastes, becomes eventually an economic drain upon the community. The process can indeed be expressed in general economic terms applicable even to the conditions of our own society.

Expenditure by the Government can for a time create a new large effective demand, but when this expenditure ceases and the income of the community drops the newly created wants remain unsatisfied. The result is not a reversion to the original situation but an adaptation of it, in which the available income is allocated to new ends in an attempt to give partial satisfaction to the newly created wants.

There can be no doubt that in the Balik country, under the influence of the Government subsidy, the tastes of the more important Aghas and their households developed a high degree of sophistication without any corresponding improvement in the productivity of the community as a whole. With the establishment of effective police authority in the Rowanduz valley the subsidy to the tribal leaders was suspended as being unnecessary. The consequences were inevitable. The foreign clothing and house furnishings which had formerly been mere luxuries had by this time developed into essential necessaries. Today the more sophisticated Aghas such as Sheikh Mohammad of Walash and Hamid Amin of Dergala are feeling the pinch severely. They will tell you that times are hard and that they can no longer afford to maintain the standard they were accustomed to in the days of their youth, but the truth rather would seem to be that they are vainly trying to maintain a much "higher" standard than was ever thought of

* It is difficult to obtain from Kurdish sources reliable information of the sums involved. Sheikh Mohammad's son assured me that at one time his father possessed over £3,000 in gold and specie. At the present time he appears to be in debt to merchants and moneylenders.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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in olden times, and that the economy of the village will not stand the strain. 511 178 434 [622]

Much point is lent to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Rayat (head of the Shevdini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mohammad received no Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. Moreover, far from lamenting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevdini land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an ashiret in their own right instead of merely a taifa of the Balik. It seems significant too that the Shevdini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalisation emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Guest House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Aghas concerned. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organisation of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community. 621 311 433

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as in Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent mosque, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

4: Hannen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide—the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside it—the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

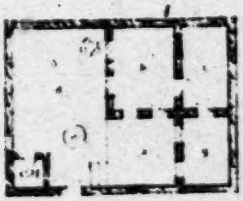

Fig. 31. (Cf. figg. 24 and 38). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple, Suhulmani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *heywān*; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e: (*hammām*) +; f: latrine; g: guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hawīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, water, *āw*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xūe-dān*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gunek*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dog sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with milk for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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462
234
231
291
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Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

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[372
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Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

[296
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Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mastaw* is fetched from the *sây* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâkâh* is made specially by the husband[73] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâkâh* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sây* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignements is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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778
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Fig. 96.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. 2254). Topzawa.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sure of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Juynboll[6], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3–8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven position to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

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[788]

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512
779

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 6 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9–10 p.m.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.[1]

At Sulemanieh, the Kürdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *haremlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his 'Anabasis', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kurdish boys drink wine in unmeasured abundance, bk. iv. chap. 5.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kürdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the classmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kürds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *pasut*, with thin cakes baked in the *tendour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, 271
vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowandux, asserting 312
it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the 345
channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found 341
clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing 342
several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the 352
meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets 513
and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

cradle (a more or less perennial necessity for this class), and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to pay more detailed attention to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and landowners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked on three sides by the building with the fourth left open, and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of the house and high brick walls on all sides. These courtyards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it, watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the outside windows of the first storey consist only of small, unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

[i.e. houses of the poorer townspeople. —Ed.]

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [854] 833 864

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first 353 574

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To the right of the porch, on the street leading up through the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques

[1] Khanaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the *hammām*, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *hayāṭ* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an [251] iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that rotated on a pivot stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which [252] was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[39] were [252] built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[40] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taifūr's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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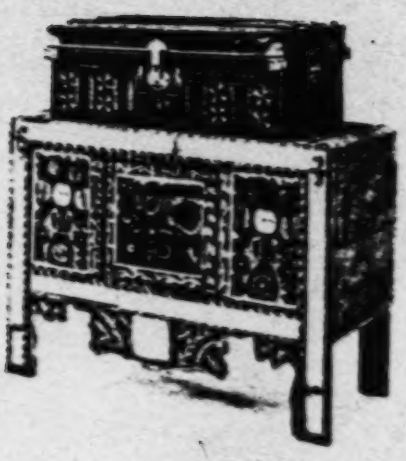

Fig. 27. The chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burāq*. Tegnēwa.

352 decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the
415 house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kʷlīk*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *ṣnūq* (E. 2278). Made in the *sūq* of Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass
[532] front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this
● [513] cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[24].

513 The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of
352 the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There,
342 for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilisation of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalised in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[32], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[33], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular sticking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness where outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the day house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the frame round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, *saj* or *tâwa*, on which the bread sheets, *nân*, was baked were placed on the fire. The sunken fire-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was done outside, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent banquet, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house.

4: Hannen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

369 512 representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended [369] for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-[352] bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was [513] arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood [591] and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide- the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside [593] it— the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a [592] home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

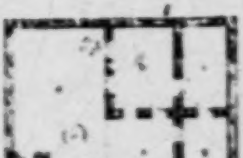

Fig. 31. (Cf. figs. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sulaimaniyah. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, day-time; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e: (inaccessible) = f: latrine; g: guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

515 [388] 296 [224]

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths. [824]

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred. 296 [516]

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezi*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sûq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the dust-storm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating. 356 412

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either. 356 513

4: Human. E.S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

All bedclothes and mattresses are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, the outermost being covered by a woollen rug, *hurak* or *jājim*, (E. 2253, 2.80 m. × 1.48 m. brown-striped), or a carpet of Indian cotton with stripes in bright colours (E. 2255, 2.08 m. × 1.15 m.). Some mattresses may be covered with flowered cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor by the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons; or, after the midday meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, covered by a large piece of curtain-like gauze, which replaces quilts and such like at the height of summer.

Working postures. In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kurdistan, where the floor is the place one sits and sleeps, the pattern of movements is quite different from that existing in Western culture.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent to a right angle at the knee, is only met with when working with the pit treadle-loom, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower legs, and when using the treadal sewing machine.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the ironing of clothes taking place on a table in the same way as we use an ironing board.

Apart from this all work is performed by the woman in a squatting posture or in a tailor's position with the lower legs strongly bent. The washing of clothes is performed squatting, whether at the water basin or at a circular, flat-bottomed, metal vessel on the ground by the tap. The same position is adopted when cleaning poultry and cutting meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whether in the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at the vertical loom, when setting up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at the basin or the tap. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of nose and mouth after meals, and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath in the bathroom.

How natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of the sheikh family in Topzawa. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French stone houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here washing up took place in this posture with the china in a wickerwork basket and the washing-up tub on the floor, although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel sink. All meals in this home, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on the floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had to be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the making of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's home at Sulaimani boasted of a wash-basin, complete with tap, built into the wall knee-high from the ground, the women washed themselves in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the wash-basin instead of washing their hands, face and feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down to the ground under their own weight. The overstretched tendinous ligaments in the hip joint[29] allowed the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibility

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with puffed sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dress or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with sequins: Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [171]

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, th Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the ist always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman then dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffo; voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven wh metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 565 291 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn tcwit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woma of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gol thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with a their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed arethe turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected wit the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of te dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regrd to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to fid a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, on the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern urope. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded out pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 291 [513] [296] [171]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Whereas Arab elements thus only appear sporadically in Kurdish male dress, certain European elements have been adopted. The first item of genuine Kurdish male dress to be exchanged was footwear. This was replaced by European leather shoes. In replacement of the Kurdish jacket a European jacket with collar, lapels and pocket was seen worn with the Kurdish trousers of the Sulaimani area type. But despite its form, intended to be worn outside the trousers, it was tucked down into them inside the casing and tied round with the long waist sash. Sometimes the original native jacket could be seen influenced by the European jacket to the extent that a breast pocket had been added.

In many cases a European suit had replaced the Kurdish *rāsū-o-rāyū* in Sulaimani. With this a European shirt, tie and socks were worn. On the other hand, even under a European suit the baggy Kurdish drawers were retained. This is due to the custom of removing one's outer garments at home. In fact an informal visit to a café could be paid in one's underclothes[64]. Naturally the wide and ample Kurdish drawers were more suitable for this purpose than their European counterpart.

Another European element adopted by more advanced young Kurds is pyjamas (cf. p. 37). As in this cultural pattern one sleeps in the same clothing as that worn by day, pyjamas became a garment that could be worn all round the clock. My interpreter's 26 year old brother rose from his pallet in pyjamas, took his seat in the hired car that was to convey us over the desert to Baghdad, and eight hours later entered an Arab hotel in the main street of that town in the same crossed attire.

In Kurdish male dress pyjamas certainly appeared to be something of an urban phenomenon. In the villages I only saw pyjamas worn by the sheikh's young son at Topzawa. The uncle, the 35 year old Mama Khale, told me that this Western habit was only about 15 years old, and that personally he was no admirer of it as it was so unsuited to the tailor's position whether on the floor or on one of the large, cheesy sofas. The son, Sardar, who favoured pyjamas, on one single occasion also wore a European suit. Apart from that occasion this dress was not worn in the villages.

Men wore no headdress with European clothes. Nor did I see any man wearing European dress taking part in the daily prayers ordained by Islam[65]. However, when men dressed in Kurdish fashion were to pray, they twined the turban cloth around the skull cap if it had been removed, and slipped off their shoes. I did not see them loosen the cuffs of their shirts as women loosen their sleeves prior to the prostrations of prayer[66]. The somewhat too-pointed, black-white or brown-white European shoes, calculated to appeal to the Oriental sense of luxury, constituted—on account of the laces that had to be loosened and tied—a breach of certain traditional habits in the cultural pattern.

Whereas women's clogs, slippers, or low cut European shoes were easy to step out of before walking on the rugs or felt mats in the home, and always lay around in a singularly uncrowned way outside the carpeted area—incidentally being used by all the women of the house in turn, regardless of ownership—men's European shoes were personal property necessitating bending down and loosening laces every time they were to be taken off, and tying when put on. These European shoes thus conflicted with the admirable custom that footwear should never come into contact with rugs and mats. In the same way this kind of footwear made it difficult easily to adopt the tailor's posture on the floor or to draw the legs up under one when sitting in chair or sofa. These shoes therefore constitute a step towards a readjustment of the pattern of movement and sitting habits[67].

Authentic Kurdish male dress[68], in type akin to the Turkish[69], followed the example set by the

[84] [513] stressing that the child was outside adult society. Children were obedient, unobtrusive, polite and industrious. They were never put to bed in the evening (apart from infants), but fell asleep where and when it suited them. If they had been taken by the women on a visit, they fell asleep in the course of the evening, and when the mother left the child was put on her shoulders, hip or arm and carried home. The children of the house fell to the floor when tired, and were covered with whatever happened to be nearest at hand, often a prayer rug of goat's wool. Later, when the adults arranged their own quarters for the night, the children were carried to the mattress on which they were to spend the night. Everybody rose very early, the children when they awoke. Undressing at night was just as unknown to the children as to the adults, and the same applied in regard to the evening or morning wash. [515] During the day the children were caught, given clean clothes, if necessary, and washed. When there was plenty of warm water in the house their hair was washed.

[864] As the children always stayed among the adults they obtained all the sexual instruction they could understand, and became aware of all phases of life. In regard to conditions with Egyptian Arabs about 100 years ago, Lane[78] says that however much children were caressed and fondled, they feel the deepest and most admirable respect for their parents. He adds that disobedience shown to parents is regarded by Muslims as one of the major sins. To round off the picture of the child's life among Kurds, which in the main agrees with Lane's account of conditions in Egypt, a few examples must be cited of children I met who suffered from difficulties of adjustment. This may serve to throw into relief what I have attempted to describe above as the reason why a child with the Kurds had in general a quiet adolescence devoid of psychic strain. Within the village aristocracy, Sheikh Taifur's youngest, 6 year old, son was cruel to the small birds he carried round in his pockets; he teased the kids and tried to maltreat his donkey. When able to do so he also stole butter from the household store. His father treated him surprisingly gently and affectionately which momentarily restored his balance. But this child, the youngest male offspring, the mother tried to keep at the baby stage, whilst he in vain attempted to compete with his 13 and 18 year old brothers. He appeared to be quite an exception, created by various unfortunate contributory circumstances. That the children of the village tenant farmers attacked one, tried to run off with camera accessories, and showed in the beginning no spontaneous friendliness, must be attributed to the residual xenophobia also evinced by their elders when the European engineers arrived some years earlier to plan the building of the Dukan dam. It was said that from the village of Topzawa, where I came to live and from which workers were later obtained for the construction work, the Europeans had built food upon. The most hostile attitude retained by the children I met with in the mountains near an isolated farm, where some little girls cast stones at me and some boys on the way home with sacks of grass on their backs, threatened me and struck at me with their sickles before I was permitted to pass along the narrow mountain path. In the urban milieu I met a case where a subordinate Kurdish official's wife on an excursion with his superior's wife, married to the Arab commandf in Sulaimani, fearful that her boys had not behaved correctly to the children of the commandf, began hysterically to hit her children who were quite innocent of the alleged offence. It was said that this same woman, who appeared to be very embalmed, got her children locked in at home for social reasons.

[98] My interpreter and I had her 12 year old half-brother living with her at Topzawa, and later

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as dayi, "uncle," or yizg, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Hagy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowandus is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into 312 415 271
one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Erbil. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The 312
water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the hammam, 515 [178]
so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, has largely disappeared in modern Kurdistan.[1] Bathing in Rowanduz is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the khan or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a basket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in 514

[1] Masakert, 1951, p. 175.

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many tenets of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. Some of the officials would consider appearing before other males naked[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

[1] [should read: gowned. —Analyst]

were exceedingly modest. Modesty, on the other hand, was of a type different from what we are accustomed to in our pattern of behaviour. 834

They felt shame at displaying the naked body. All changing of clothes during the day among women took place in a squatting position without the body at any time being unscreened. An alternative European manner dress in which the daughter of the Shaikh of Tuqueera had wanted to be photographed caused her to break off the sitting and to dash into the dark confinement in the courtyard, where she sat frightened up in the corner with her naked arms clung protectively around her bare legs, when two grossly women from the village, finishing water, happened to pass the gate to the courtyard. In the other cottage, where my interpreter and I took a warm bath together in the bathroom, she always kept her hand covering her lap when the sitting position on the small wooden stools while being dressed was not sufficiently concealing.

On the other hand shyness did not apply when relieving nature. This took place collectively and in the presence of other women fetching water from the tanks, where water was available for the sole purpose, whether in the garden tanks of the shaikh's houses at Tuqueera and Sarkan, or the more private wells like shaft in the courtyard of the Shaikh's house at Sergalu, or at one of the big public washing basins for women in the villages. This was done discreetly sheltered by the emptiness of women's modesties, but was not a private but a joint undertaking, in which solitude and peace was neither sought nor expected. 834 84

The wedding festivities were often fixed to a special weekday for Muslims and Friday for the celebration of weddings—that is to say the day on which the bride is handed over to the bridegroom's—whereas, according to Hanji[19], the Turk-occupied Russian Muslims favour Sundays and Thursdays. 835 174

To judge by the four weddings I had an opportunity of witnessing, wholly or in part, in Southern Kurdistan, the Kurds appear to follow the Turks in this matter. In the villages the two weddings took place on Sundays (16 June and 14 July, 1957), the third on a Wednesday (22 May, 1957), while the one wedding I was present at at Sulaimani was celebrated on a Thursday (8 August, 1957). Later my interpreter informed me by letter of her brother's wedding, which took place on a Monday (26 August, 1958). The rule can be discerned from such sparse material, namely the negative one that the Arab predilection for Friday—the most important day of the week for Islam—as the day for the handing over of the bride does not apply in the case of the Kurds. The weddings I witnessed in Tuqueera and its neighbouring village, Bakrawa, took place in a humble village fashion. The upper class village fashion wedding was not celebrated during my stay in Southern Kurdistan. [1957]

At two of the three village weddings I was able to observe the men's rule in the festivities, at the third the women's. In all three cases, however, I was in the bridegroom's house to which the bride was brought. In none of the cases did I have an opportunity to see what went on in the bride's home. 585

The booking of the brides, left, who all came from outside, was a matter for the men[20]. As it is [illegible] a number of hired cars filled with men left the village for the bride's residence. Among the men, most of them in the village, was the bridegroom's father, but not the bridegroom, who

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Rowal. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

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[1]Hesabert, 1951, p. 175.

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Iraq, and that which is European. It need not be thought 291
that the Kurdish element is something wholly unique, for [178]
there is an abundance of evidence, for example, almost any
Persian miniature painting, to indicate that colourful dyes,
if not the styles themselves, had a greater province in
centuries gone by than are in evidence today, a change
bound up in the impoverishment of the area and coupled
with the impact of European civilization.

Turning first to the Kurdish townsmen of Rowandus,
dressed in native clothing, the basic undergarment is a
pair of baggy, white cotton drawers, bound at the waist
by a draw-string, which fall a few inches below the knees.
A cotton undershirt may or may not be worn, and the next
mandatory item is a white cotton shirt without a collar,
closed at the neck by a series of round cloth buttons.
The salient characteristic of this shirt is its sleeve which
extends almost a foot beyond the wrist and is split to the
elbow. When a jacket is worn, this long end is turned
back and tied around the forearm, just below the elbow.
For washing, or for fighting, the two ends are tied to- [515]
gether behind the neck, drawing up the sleeves of both [579]
shirt and jacket above the elbows. A sleeveless vest,
of European style and fastened with a number of buttons,
is often worn over the shirt. Its fabric is either
identical with the jacket or of striped cotton, but it
is not exposed to view in outdoor attire.

The outer garments consist of trousers and jacket,

white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
garments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth European jacket. The dress of the children of officials and officers is much like that of their Kurdish playfellows, at the same time more European in character, particularly for the boys who sometimes wear cloaks and jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the winter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
younger children are confined to the houses in extremely cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist. There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys, the adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in the eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under considerable pressure to influence the father for money to deck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 186
follows a government career in the secondary schools and 291
colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such notions to the condemning adjective <u>heleki</u>, "rustic," although he may retain a certain admiration for the dashing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is nijis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

515 ● [264]

[782]

515 783 833

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302

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected 517
to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils 824
before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, 574
however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of 302
its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puri- 562
tans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some 515
reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must 302
be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles [515]
and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a [826]
woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two [574]
women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, and, save when undue in the bath, this type of coiffure is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some houses, kohl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna, a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is not found in this area, nor is the technique used to prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstruation clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by most men to be done by women of the town, but it is possible to observe daily female residents of the lower classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces. These are either transient servants or migrants from the villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

302 [515]

164 751

841 [833]

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and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are hard by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Xenophon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Rowandus was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, [539]
it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [521]
one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [789]
smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [511]
sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly [485]
held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346
of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near 562
the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521]
as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. 559
Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 346
771

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[1] Massebert, 1951, pp. 14-17.

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rowandus enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor youths from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of purification, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be ascribed a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, subgrades, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

[3C4]

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean up or receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes, and the human body, and, as mentioned, the basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for their flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so to a more remote of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

343 [3I2]

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the side-by-side, three-roofed layouts. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the eastern back wall of this oblong room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

342

[3I3]

[text continues top of P 34 -- Analyst]

349 515 a common floor and a drain, plus a low bankiel from a big petrol drum. This was the hammām, the women bath. It was not used during the time (ca-July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water in the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bathattendant himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up under the glass cupboard and stored. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as set rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. Thirdly one was connected with the open bayside by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening like wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was in from one day to another, and here also was the nut in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by two, led up to a landing from which a lockable door (but, related on a great stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the x made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the farm house round the court contained the hatchroom, which lay in front of the compartment that in was served as a stable for goats. In the hatchroom, which [351] was separated from the court only by un-cloaked wooden sheets, was a modern jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, have windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposites dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [352] old stove, very seldom used. Along the cookie wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[1] were built up on the floor. On the low clay rim bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire still-bought twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which 1 churn each, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepa, ranged on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the operations for the next phase elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meal was prepare or rice loaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were cut at the working bench, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand another work was then distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] *If it sometimes astonishes*[2] that an east complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental house, but it cannot be said that this appli to the village sellers of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taffiz's big house there were three iron bedsteds, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several iron be dress, where also tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

G. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in dowries in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the bond's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a bedroom. The articles of value and behind in them were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms. There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the cushioned mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be quaint and dirty, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had reinvented, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The general or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a lighthouse centre of the family circle where this had "gathered round", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workhouse by the light of a fire, or to read at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, who knew who was who unmistakably in shadowy light/twilight/semi-darkness. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the city house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, balcony windows mounted with velvet curtains (only found on the

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Tripoura there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was domesticated, also as at Tripoura, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the entablement, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the kitchen and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of showy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasions moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no usual furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a student's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the great room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the two rooms, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by hooks containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[4]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the entablature and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimaniyeh the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Tripoura, was, as the side turned towards an adjacent transept, closed off by mats[5], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much privacy for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A considerable contrast was created between the extensive night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the other environments I did not experience meals being taken on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only [illegible] entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping patterns as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

on a sheet of bread and grassed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat fresh cream (*kaymak*), but forks and knives were not used[1]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is ordinary or the low-distinguished *ayg*. Thirds are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

Cooking of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds: clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2295), home-manufactured and slightly leaky, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, lined, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big sheet, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the object on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the sheet, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a water sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the workhouse, both the clay-lined earthen earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches broken from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of clay cooking pit[2]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are odds of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[3]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, like coal, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Diyarbakır and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

Washing. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, I was overseer with irregular intervals of up to 30°C (+22° C.), so I had an opportunity of watching the washing of persons in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Sorkun, a village of some altitude, a few men lit in a low cave in the wall under a terrace. This was all I experienced in the way of bathing. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[4] states that: "In winter the cattle basin is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (on this occasion) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Ewart[5] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "I could endure a quick ... bread like "Lava" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Wilkinson[6] writes that: "En hiver, pour durcir, on place un brasier de feyan ou tabouret (*kursi*), on le recouvre d'une couverture" at least to enable us another moment ...".

Washing up and laundry. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses while tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a tinn pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the houses I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, mastylands and roofs were swept with a broom, *gesi* (E. 2278), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and were together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the city. The dust swept up, the *gesi* and refuse can, for example, be put in a paper can and emptied. During work the women move on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the dustmore which shows, but there is no carpet beating.

Bedmaking. Male beds do not exist as a common factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has chosen to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four parallel ones. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sleeve-like, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

[SC] [SS] running that the child was outside adult society. Children were obedient, unobtrusive, polite and industrious. They were never put to bed in the evening (apart from infants), but fell asleep where and when it suited them. If they had been taken by the women on a visit, they fell asleep in the course of the evening, and when the mother left the child was put on her shoulders, hip or arm and carried home. The children of the house fell in the door where tired, and were covered with whatever happened to be nearest at hand, often a prayer rug of goat's wool. Later, when the adults arranged their own quarters for the night, the children were carried to the mattress on which they were to spend the night. Everybody rose very early, the children when they awoke. Undressing at night was just as unknown to the children as to the adults, and the same applied in regard to the evening or morning wash. During the day the children were caught, given clean clothes, if necessary, and washed. When there was plenty of warm water in the house their hair was washed.

[SC] [K4] As the children always stayed among the adults they obtained all the sexual instruction they could understand, and became aware of all phases of life. In regard to conditions with Egyptian Arabs about 100 years ago, Lane[9] says that however much children were caressed and fondled, they had the deepest and most admirable respect for their parents. He adds that disobedience shown to parents is regarded by Moslims as one of the major sins. To round off the picture of the child's life among Kurds, which in the main agrees with Lane's account of conditions in Egypt, a few examples must be cited of children I met who suffered from difficulties of adjustment. This may serve to throw into relief what I have attempted to describe above as the reason why a child with the Kurds had in general a quiet adolescence devoid of psychic strain. Within the village aristocracy, Sheikh Taffa's youngest, 6 year old, son was cruel to the small birds he carried round in his pockets; he tossed the kids and tried to maltreat his donkey. When able to do so he also stole butter from the household store. His father treated him surprisingly gently and affectionately which momentarily restored his balance. But this child, the youngest male offspring, the mother tried to keep at the baby stage, whilst he in vain attempted to compete with his 13 and 18 year old brothers. He appeared to be quite an exception, created by various unfortunate contributory circumstances. That the children of the village tenant farmers attacked one, tried to run off with camera accessories, and showed in the beginning no spontaneous friendliness, must be attributed to the residual xenophobia also evinced by their elders when the European engineers arrived some years earlier to plan the building of the Dokan dam. It was said that from the village of Topzawa, where I came to live and from which workers were later obtained for the construction work, the Europeans had been fired upon. The same hostile attitude retained by the children I met with in the mountains near an isolated farm, where some little girls and women ran me and some boys on the way home with sacks of grass on their backs, threatened me and struck at me with their sickles before I was permitted to pass along the narrow mountain path. In the urban milieu I met a case where a subordinate Kurdish official's wife on an excursion with his superior's wife, married to the Arab assistant[1] in Sulaimani, feared that her boys had not behaved correctly to the children of the assistant, began hysterically to hit her children who were quite innocent of the alleged offence. It was said that this same woman, who appeared to be very unbalanced, got her children locked in at home for social reasons.

[SS] My interpreter and I had her 13 year old half-brother living with her at Topzawa, and later

does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he felt the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[19], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

Wedding preparations. Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, then a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was crushed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English grey the skirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body; whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girl, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[17]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[17] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "khite shimar", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[18]. At another place Lane[17] refers to a depilatory, "rusmā", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

This removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[20]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[17].

In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connexion with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

place without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her gift is a completely passive one. The ceremonies most consist of an unequal amount of pieces of cloth. Neither knife nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the house to the mosque, and then the burial ground, overlaid by a prayer carpet over the ceremonies. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother) only, accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the condemned urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as in the past in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a few days. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from herbs during this time.

Fig. 61. Burial place with big tree outside the village, Tripolitania.

grave monitors, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old, the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village women said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was no opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a downsliding motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the women lay on a rule first used the water hands, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a barrier with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, provided as a substitute for the prayer rug and of which the same size.

The women in the advanced urban milieu of Sokotoland did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sokotoland one was very strict and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and their respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Tsipawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden taps at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day served as dining, living and visiting the room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I was practised in the aristocratic village home at Tsipawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had eager and their pierced into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before dismissing an eviction their wanderings from village to village. The women in the district's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restrictions in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which sometimes the latter's blind gifter, even though the men of the house, the district and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sokotoland is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the zeal of many of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a badly-clothed girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Quran than they would if they

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing.

Menstruation and intercourse in this connection were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long waiting period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[1] (see p. 139), must not touch the Quran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[2] (see p. 126). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[3]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37). In consequence the Sunnis is kept informed as regards sexual relations[4].

Sufism among the Kurds. "They are Sunni", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Kurdish qā'im maqām of Koysa with a mixture of contempt and horror about the Sheikh families in Tuyserkan and Sangaldj. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sangaldj. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Sheikhān, lying in the valley between Ciaroukhand and the mountain of Pīre Magrūn. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later met evident no divulge its character and the vow connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that as far as he was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could not supply any further information about these matters.

It was, however, he stated that it is not a matter of followers of Shāh Ismā'īl, the Pundit of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq, known in western Iran as Ahl-i Ḥaqq, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kakai and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[5] Naqshbandīyah, Naqshbandiyah[6], founded in Bukhara in the 14th century by Mir Sayyid Bahā'ud-Dīn or Baha-uddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 15th century by Sheikh Muslihud-Dīn[7] of the Sufi tribe. By him Ḥāji Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Cornell[8], a group of Naqshbandī followers formed under Ḥāji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of exorcism. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the back of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they meditated together in the mosque.

According to Edmonds[9] it was a certain Sheikh Ahmad Surūr of Sheikhān, near Sangaldj, a relative of the Ḥāji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have remembered or founded the "way" called "Dhikrī". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Crown of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of piety. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, communities where lovely of wives were passed from hand to hand by these persons—in a

of blankets on the roof-tops began to move, then figures rose silently like ghosts from their midst. Above the masses of coloured clothing they wore, I could see the comely faces of women. They began to walk among their piles of blankets and shake sleeping children into wakefulness. These also rose up, wound several yards of coloured cloth around their waists and heads, stretched themselves, yawned, and silently descended rickety ladders to the courtyards below.

As the sun peeped over the rugged mountains the blankets moved again and men rose from among them, with large black moustaches and bright quick eyes, adding curved daggers to their many yards of waistband; they also disappeared silently below.

I gazed over the roof-tops to the sloping plain beyond, where lines of black dots were discernible coming from the pass over the hills. They were caravans bringing wood, tobacco and other produce through the night from distant villages to reach the market by dawn.

A few minutes later, when the roof-dwellers had washed their faces in the cold water of their courtyard tanks, the silence of the night ended as shrill screams of women reproaching their offspring broke the still air. Soon afterwards the guttural "*Hutu!*" of the caravanchis was added to the din as they drove their laden donkeys through the narrow lanes between the houses; then loud voices as people shouted down to them asking the latest news and the price of their wares.

The night has ended. Jerusalem is awake.

[text continued on p. 363(a)]

[p. 362 (c.)]

sexes are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. Thus there are male guests formally invited, the women are withdrawn from sight and the food is served in a grand array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quickly, standing around a table in the *divekhana* or a room neighboring the kitchen. It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater leisure with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the haunches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too ravenously, to serve oneself an outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, and they make greater use of brighter hues and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often intermingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

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keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ...."[9]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[10]. In regard to marriage and the polygyny customary by the Greek and known in other Muslim areas, Eagleton[11] declares that: "The Kurd lives north to south in monogamous" adding[12] "Any intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ....".

It is here that the individual Kurdish women of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[13]. Khanum Ghanim Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[14] of the Ardalan Yezir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Bapirdir family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made governor in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1918 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had occupied Islam in 1918 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussein, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village ethnomusicology. Married women at the garden house, Sarbun.
Fig. 3. Village ethnomusicology. Married women working cigarettes, Sarbun. (See p. 10).

Fig. 1. Peasant women tasting bread on circular iron sheet. Sulaimani. (See p. 43).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji (Kurdish?), and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1930 during the British mandate period. She grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Abdulahe, some distance from Halabja, was in 1997 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, inflamed with the deepest resentment to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and noble (Sing) of Kurdistan.

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Safia Khas, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that area in 1919. The relation of this was discontinued shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Persian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[1], which later was concluded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fatima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[2]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Shared by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman[3], with the government authorities.

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and other surroundings. Monogamic prevails. "Love marriages" are seen.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 1. Peasant woman smoking chibuk in a smoking gathering. Tegawah.

Fig. 4: Urban nuclear, Kurdish-speaking married woman and unmarried girl using tap in the municipal fountain.

The Kurdish women whose cultural patterns are to be considered below cannot, in any case, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such selectively limited investigative material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and city-related environments, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be sensibly divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the chiefs' houses in Tirgaverre, Shaikhs, Bergalu and Serkan. I visited peasant houses in Tirgaverre, Kilgarre, Mirze Kamran and Bellike. The police official's house I shall refer to as the fancy house of Mirze Kamran was in between the two.

The provincial city environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the town Lewa capital, Sulaimani, two days in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tuwella and Koreradze. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent storm on June 5th (1987). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the outermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The accommodations consist of accessible rooms built of sun-dried and burnt-clay stones, on the bottom of stone rubble courses. No attempt has therefore been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimania. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to building areas. Woman is milking draught ox in building area, Sulaimania.

The house now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimania. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimania. Although he lived in these modern things the business was [illegible] up the use of the larger booths in the city with a serpentine-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 33 and 31, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 20, 15, 8, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters: [illegible] eldest, 23, the others 23, 17, 14, 12 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Shaikh property at Tuganma, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of row-terraced houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimania, and looked out on an unpaved alley between [illegible] windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with [illegible] brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the home projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that also

apparently more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple but a complete room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven occupations: Baking of bread, manufacture of milk, making of tea, smoking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing, cooking and tending of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., retire or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, salt, of the thinness of paper, about 30 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, as soft later than 5 almost chewable weak leather[1]. The dough, kurrk, is prepared from wheat flour, dirt, sifted through a coarse sieve, water, dirt, and salt, and it is kept in a sack or bag, ubi-dilli,[2] of knotted or woven material (S. 2377). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish (tawa) on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (S. 2360) about 20 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, gumrk, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways, the one shown depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 43. Baking. Dough shaped on plastic cloth before baking (photo Trapnell).
Fig. 44. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table (Trapnell).

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The only domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses while tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a iron pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the baths. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat, incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a great deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. These two metal were naturally the white and dark. Several cotton stuffs, in fact the cheaper ones that constitutes an economic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish women. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco leaves inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting washing position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the houses I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floors, countyards and roofs were swept with a broom, gerd. (S. 2276), made of two pallet leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and were together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the city. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a paper can and emptied. Cleaning work the women mostly on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the dressmaker vitrifie shows, but there is no serious beating

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Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a common factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with breadth-covered forks, resting, for example, on four gerod sticks. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the cover-sac, envelope-shaped, cotton sheet, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a roll around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, often

92 Working postures

356 543 All households and workrooms are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, the undermost being covered by a woollen rug, hand- or [illegible], cf. 333, 3.80 m. × 1.40 m. brown-red/gold, or a carpet of Arabian extract with stripes in bright colours cf. 335, 3.00 m. × 2.27 m.). Some mattresses may be covered with Ecuador cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor by the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons, or, after the midday meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, covered by a large piece of cotton-like gauze, which reduces quite well each like at the height of summer.

516 Working postures. In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kordofan, where the floor is the place one eats and sleeps, the postures of necessitators is quite different from that existing in Western cultures.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent in a right angle at the knee, is only met with when working with the pit mortar-boards, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower legs, and when using the simplest sewing implement.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the kneading of dishes taking place on a table in the same way as we are use are kneading bread.

462 516 Apart from this all work is performed by the women in a squatting posture or in a tailor's position with the lower legs enough bent. The washing of dishes is performed squatting, whether at the water basin or at a circular, flat-horizontal, metal vessel on the ground by the legs. The same position is adopted when cleaning poultry and carrying meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whether on the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at the vertical loom, when using up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at the basin or the jug. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of mouth after meals, and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath in the bathroom.

516 More natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of Sheikh family in Tripoura. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French army houses on the Sidon Deir Sin. Over washing up took place in this position with the dishes in a rectangular basket and the washing up rack on the floor although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel sink. All meals in this house, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on the floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had to be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the making of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's house at Sidon had a European fireplace, complete with rug, both him the wall [illegible] high from the ground, the women squatted themselves in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the mantelshelf instead of washing their hands, face and feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down on the ground under their own weight. The [illegible] softness ligaments in the hip joint[illegible] allowed the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibility

of the back which gives an extraordinary outline of action. In the squatting position the body is suspended from the knee joints. In this position also women have a big outline of action, and the flexibility of the knee joint is retained to a ripe age. I once saw a 70 year old woman whose body, was as supple as that of a young girl.

Working positions on the floor with outstretched legs are only used exceptionally, when the feet are to be used to rotate and roll of a rope to be plaited or a rope for the reinforced

I saw the squatting working posture transferred to an ordinary chair when my interpreter sat on her haunches on the seat of the chair with her middle work, resting on her downs up knees.

The taller posture is often used by men when resting in the large, stoney valley, the bare narrow streets of which furnish clear evidence of the many walled flat that have been placed on them. When sitting on the floor furniture is often used as a back rest instead of a wall.

The great suppleness of the hip joint of the knee figurantes are the reason why, when wearing European western dresses, the Kurdish women in fashionable sitting on chairs in Western fashion often forget command of their legs, which fall one to the side in a unstable.

Rests in the back, some and attempts are made to get rid of it by massage, as in bad cases, by crawling on each other. The women suffering from the complaint like doubling up the floor and another stops onto her back. This complaint may be due to long history of work, the example taking in a tailor's posture.

In they tasks as though the back is exercised on various occasions by having to be kept upright in the tailor posture. On the other hand we also of still lower may seen as a result of a permanent squatting working positions, was also women suffer from back legs, condition as "stiffback" then.

The Kurds possess great pliability of body. Working positions are adopted in a completely relaxed manner and are of great static beauty.

Fig. 21 Working position.

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village anniversary. In Tejuosa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter as long as the cattle remain home in the morning. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and the charges. Water is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning vessel is hung up on a beam in the southhouse or on a beam

Fig. 36. Woman smoothing tallow for the Ten Tejuosa.

Fig. 43. Ghanaian fishtail vessel + stick is fastened to a gum. (Cf. fig. 44). Sangha.
Fig. 44. When glazing a rope the fork is used both by men and women. Sangha.

be done by either men or women. On the other hand it only are men wearing vests (Mbre Bassers). After the material of narrow widths has been woven to suitable lengths for jackets (5 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "glazed". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (S. 2296), 0.33 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, removed from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently glazed with two or three sharp pieces in each stick breadth (cf. fig. 45).

The production of clay vessels. There are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed ware are sold in the city of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (S. 2295) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for storing drinking water (are dusty spots in the courtyard or living room). These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual women for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are open or low bottle shaped are both lip of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel*. They are then polished inside and out, fired on the side with a bast handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by slight impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars have

evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that Europeans know nothing about the Islamic woman's world within the seclusion for which it was designed: to belong.

The semi-formal urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloth, are the most important, obligatorily outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village ceremonial and the cotton materials of the plain village costume, in the semi-formal urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

Fig. 44. Ordinary peasant environment, Konya.
Fig. 45. Traditional urban environment, Kahramanmaraş.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 93. Treatment for rheumatic pains. The daughter standing on the back of her mother, Sulaimani.

and placed on a rug or small mattress on the floor. The children were 5 years and 4 months old, respectively. The little girl lay covered with a towel. No doctor was summoned to issue a death certificate. It was said that this is unnecessary in the case of small children. The death is notified later to the authorities. As the funeral was to take place the same day, one of the men of the house was sent to the *sūq* for a suitable piece of white cotton material for the ornaments, whilst the women of the house heated water for washing the corpse. This must include both the small wash, performed prior to prayer: hands, forearms, feet and a light smoothing of the hair on the head with a damp hand, and the big wash, which includes the whole body, so that the deceased achieves complete ritual purity[49]. The little girl had died in the neighbouring house to my interpreter's house in Sulaimani, where I lived. It had originally been an ordinary rich man's house, but had now declined into a slum building inhabited by several families. In the centre of the courtyard there was a watercourse from which the several families on the property fetched water for household purposes. This water, the doubtful cleanliness of which was possibly the cause of the little girl's illness and death, was not used for washing the corpse. Many petrol cans of good municipal water were fetched from my interpreter's home, where water was laid in. A big cauldron was put over a fire in the courtyard. On the floor in one of the rooms at the side of the dead child sat the mother, grandmother and aunt, mingling the child and bewailing its death. This death lament, an old heathen custom, has been retained although

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MAII Hard MAII

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the synopha of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Mohammed's revelations? and is later dropped?—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[2]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—but like the others, in common—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Jâ-nmâz*, (E. 2254) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.40 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the

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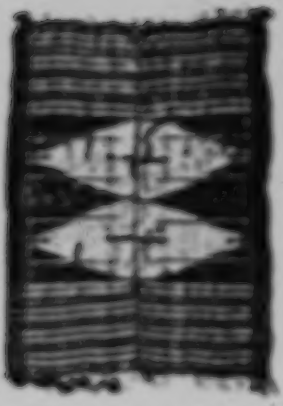

Fig. 9a.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. Ehrl). Tegumm.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sura of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Juynboll[9], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3-8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven position to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 4 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 5 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9-10 p.m.

The morning prayer with its two *rak'a* took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic feature of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were the women acted individually, never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a saucepan filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only possessor being in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable *sin* of interrupting the worshipper.

Lane[9] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 91. Women praying in the forest on a snow beside the snow boots. Sadrina.

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which houses the office of the government veterinarian, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under treatment. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the serai, is the "government" shorkhaan (tea-room), a distinctive mud-brick building with a porch of tamped earth over which in summer is erected a wooden framework roofed with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Beneath this arbor (in the style of a bazir, Kurdish for such a construction) are arranged a number of high wooden benches and tables, occupied for refreshment or ease during the day by those who have had business in the serai, policemen off duty, a chieftain's bodyguards, or the usual loafers.

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To the other side of the serai stands a squat, cement-block building, the "communications" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone switchboard are to be found. The postmaster, in 1951 a heavy-set Chaldaean (Nestorian, a member of the Christian sect centering around Kochil), has several assistants hired from among the townspeople and one or more of them is on duty day and night. While the post and the telegraph can be handled with efficiency, the telephone equipment leaves much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Erbil or Baghdad often requires a good deal of shouting and croaking. It follows that the operators many times suffer considerable frustration, and, unlike other government

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another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of unions than, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Kirkuk. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the village may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Kawandus, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Kawandus save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Kawandus, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlakha, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Kawandus beneath the bluff, and there is a

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string.

The maintenance of a *shebeen* can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the *shebeen*, servants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The *shebeen*, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the *prisoners* or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teashops, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the term "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a *diwankhana* or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in *shebeens* will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, an enlisted man from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (*hijla hay*, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.)

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a treasure re-
sembling that of a European or American army recruit. The
face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great
social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man with- 302
out some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 931
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and,
more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache,
through an understandable cultural process, has come to be
a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with
a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical
qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even
officials and officers, who often wear their hair long,
do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a
sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is
the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and
this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [942]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Women
are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms
and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to
say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [934]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Ex-
cept for the cologne of the barber, men do not use
cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 924
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 574

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, out, however, in Kurmanbus, hold flowers to their noses on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Khalils puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective _hindi_, "rustic," is used with flippancy and condescension. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistence on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a _nadi_ or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated _effendi_ whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a _diwakhana_. Another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

receives, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and gardens are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will have a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men meeting themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not normally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of cards. The game itself is annoying, as well as the particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" is popular, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils [about $0.14], and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars [$2.80]. Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskilful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the mess or in the home of the policeman, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikor, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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[1] The salary of a typical mudir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars (ID16.00 per month and 240 dinars (ID192.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Allah, mentioned above. The mudir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a qaimaqam. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a guest may have excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Bayhan behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical hospitality of the guest-room, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Ball or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chief's house, but here they were replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Kuwaitis, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

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day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, the Mama borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called the Mama, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "Not exactly," sighed the Mama piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "how can a pot die?" The Mama placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the Judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?"

The older women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the *mejli* or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Arbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowanduz district.

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overwhelms any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset,

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domains, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous veiled figures from the waist, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educated workmates or officials like the mayor of the town, any emergence peeked back her veil though at the same time holding the front edge of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn veil and the pushed-back veil were combined. Thus I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmoud's son, the first occasion my interpreter had invited herself and in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connection with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the city, for example in the cloth trades in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently found men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small measure of face through the closely-held veil.

In the Bahaeddin mosque, both the vaulted and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary way. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the mosque was dark, and was again drawn in the interval. Thus in the audience room not always a glimpse of the women to the fore.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the man's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. Moreover, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 178). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hyperlife was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in the houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abā'* and veil. Thus, like the seclusion of the aristocrat's village women, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOME

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women.

Within the village settlement the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, the matter of visitors was the world outside the home. On several visits the village, inspected the fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimaniyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, wage, and economic circumstances. On the rare occasions he was a participant in the life itself in the family section of the house. (There is a women's quarter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three villages.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Shaikh's home at Tirgawra, I gained the distinct impression between husband and other male wives, family, and placement. The presence of our female informant, my interpreter and I, caused all family and personality. Male relatives arriving on leave or illness were also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village differentiated than I noticed.

In the Kurdish village culture, on the other hand, the men spent the leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or clustered with groups in the village bazaar. Village men seemed driven some evenings before a wedding in order to gather some musicians who had arrived. In the village culture there were few genuine qualifications for a male group life then obtained for the village Arabs, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women as characteristic of Muslim areas was inconsistent.

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, chatting around together in the streets of in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu an division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women after paid or received visits or which we were were present. Mixed parties with married couples were welcomed. The home then belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleagues, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being embarrassed by, and not quite happy about, the situation, retired out of conversation for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the Kurdish village culture, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way.

This division appeared to be gained hard in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only received friends in not his words and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure

[illegible]

[illegible]

Translation

Kurdish State and not communist. It existed for only nine months, despite the Treaty of Alliance for twenty years which it had concluded with another Soviet-sponsored government, the autonomous administration of Persian Azerbaijan.

Even such short-lived experiments as the Kurdish Republic of 1946 can become an important factor in the national tradition of a people, who, like the Kurds, are living under foreign rule. Experiments of that kind are apt to create a myth which ultimately may have a greater impact on the national development of the people than the original event itself. From year to year the Kurdish Republic of Qazi Mohammed may appear to the Kurds more splendid and more powerful, particularly if Soviet propaganda does its share by reminding the Kurds of the downfall of 'their' republic and recalling the part which Russia played in its foundation. Soviet propaganda is indeed taking every opportunity of referring back to the glorious times when two pictures decorated the walls of the houses of many a Kurdish sheikh – that of Qazi Mohammed, the Kurdish leader, hanged by the Persians in March 1947, and that of Generalissimo Stalin.[46]

Despite the collapse of 'Free Kurdistan' Soviet Russia has nevertheless made great progress in mastering the Kurdish problem. Kurdish chieftains became acquainted with Soviet institutions and Soviet ideology while the Russian occupation of Persia's Kurdish territories lasted. Many Persian Kurds joined their countrymen already living in Soviet Transcaucasia and Kurdish culture 'national in form and socialist in content' developed: 200 Kurdish pamphlets and books had been published in the Soviet Union by 1945.[47] Nor was there any shortage of qualified Kurdish personnel in the Soviet Union after the war. On the contrary, Soviet propaganda was able to boast of Kurdish 'state dignitaries and outstanding workers in culture and science', who had sprung up among the Russian Kurds. A Kurdish Soviet poet, Amin Avdal, is the 'author of wonderful verses on the Soviet homeland'. Another Kurdish poet, Jasmeh Jalil, translated Russian classics into his native tongue. A Kurdish philologist, Nuru Pulatowa, a graduate of Leningrad University, became the only Kurdish woman scholar in the world.[48] And lastly, between 1946 and 1950 the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. included a Kurdish deputy, Semaad Allievich Sinbandow.

However important the recent Soviet experiments with the Russian Kurds may be, the latter represent not even 5 per cent of the entire Kurdish people. Soviet Russia must bring either the Turkish or the Persian Kurds within her orbit if she wants to make a success of her 'Kurdish policy'. It remains to be seen whether the political dynamic of the U.S.S.R. and the ideological power of Bolshevism will be sufficient to accomplish this aim.

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowandus, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and hyenaers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fellahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its 45
arrival an event of great joy in his household.

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in 294
the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live 29]
more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of
footgear is worn in the area, including European boots,
shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of
slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One 413
shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought [439]
in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work 296
is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and chaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for [521]
customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter.

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

does not command a high price, but provides plenty of leisure and social intercourse. The barber, as in Europe or America, is a notorious channel of gossip, and, albeit poor, thinks of himself as a person of some importance in the community.

Much miscellaneous transport is required for short distances by a town such as Rowanduz, for example, of building materials or firewood, and a number of men find employment as muleteers, furnishing their own beasts and working by contract. "Muleteer" is a misnomer, inasmuch as both mules and donkeys are in use, the latter animal even thought preferable by reason of its cheapness and docility. Little harness is used, and the secret of loading the beasts consists in dividing the load and balancing it across the back on the animal's flanks, tied up in bundles, as with wood, or stitched in twin burlap sacks. Brightly-coloured saddle-bags of heavy woven wool, not unlike rugs in texture, may be purchased, and many animals are caparisoned with tassels and other decorations. The muleteer keeps his animal near or within his house at night, and their departure from the bazar on a variety of commissions is a feature of early morning.

For longer distances and heavier loads, particularly the great quantity of material which comes from Arbil, the town has the use of two lorries. One belongs to a local entrepreneur, Hasan Nopal, who is also its driver, and who was in 1951 under contract to the government on road

Beg, Nuri Bawil Agha, and Sadiq Agha. Because that of 622
Nuri Bawil Agha has suffered adverse fortunes, the House 565
of Isma'il Beg, headed by Lali Khan, has the greatest interest in the town, owning considerable property therein. Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Muhammad 'Ali Agha might be mentioned, for it is nearby at Jindian, and its sons, such as Rashid Agha, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, not only of these families but of the district at large, enter into daily life to a large extent. They [521]
provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, revenue, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. One might inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Agha, the son of Nuri Bawil Agha, or Rashid Agha of Jindian, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the govern- 622
ment personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in 648
common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmad of Barzan and the army officer, Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, who had [697]
captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor, Sayyid Ahmad,

suffice until further investigation is able to furnish a more complete account. Save in the lowest classes of society, mature women, those of the officials and officers, the aristocrats, and the wealthier townsmen, are generally restricted to the interior of their houses, and none can mix freely with society at large. It is more or less inevitable that such women have their friends and visitors among the female relatives of their fathers' and husbands' families, for only these can visit each other's houses without restriction. Because marriages are arranged between persons on a basis of comparable status, a woman's friends, like those of her husband, are close to her in rank. However, women of the upper classes are much more democratic in most respects in their demeanor toward inferiors of the same sex than their husbands are toward theirs, and spend long hours in intimate conversation with female servants, seamstresses and laundresses. The latter are, in fact, an important link with the outside world of the town, inasmuch as they are able to intermingle with others of the lower classes and hence provide the mistress of a wealthy household with welcome news and gossip. The lot of the wives of the officials and officers is much more difficult, because their friends and relatives have been left elsewhere in Iraq, and there is almost no means of making new acquaintances in the town. They, too, find pleasure in the conversation of their maids, Arab or Kurd, and, with the knowledge of the husbands concerned, may visit

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[582]
[521]

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

If the society of adults in Rowandus has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowandus not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

series made up solely of males. To this are added noteworthy collateral ancestors and, in the one or two generations closest to the chieftain in question, all of the collaterals, including the names of wives, sisters, and the latter's husbands. The importance of such a lineage lies in the fact that it is the sole patent of nobility, itself a matter of the highest social importance, and is of considerable value in the arrangement of marriages and the knowledge of one's potential friends and enemies. It is usually associated with a certain amount of folk history, the wars, revolts, feuds, and other deeds with which its personnel were concerned. Commoners are able to reproduce to some extent the lineage of their chieftain, for, as has been noticed, the honor of their leader is also their own, and animated conversations on such topics as aristocratic marriages and lineages offer an everyday source of entertainment. Unlike the mal, the familiya is not associated with a single house, and its members may live in a large number of separate establishments.

It is convenient here to dismiss the question of inheritance with a cursory survey. Inheritance is not a matter over which the Kurdish populace exercises any unique control, because it was defined in the Quran and supplemented over the centuries by the jurists and doctors of Islam. A whole branch of Islamic jurisprudence is concerned with this complex question, and a number of popular expositions are available to the general reader.[1] In

[1]Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 143-151.

attend school, but none has yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the chaykhanas or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or certain vagrants, they can be exposed to influences of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family. Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that he coitum cum asinis per anctes faciase, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Muwa borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Muwa, and inquired greedily if the great vessel hadgiven birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Muwas dously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Muwas laced his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say tothis after you have accepted the offspring of s many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to recor any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the nadi or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowandus district. 538 517 [529] [484] [547] [549]

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very smal part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [648] [668]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

like similar movements among the Arabs, the Greeks, and others, first became a potent factor in everyday life during the nineteenth century, and its principal target at the time was the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Its early protagonists were educated Kurdish officials and officers, organized in the familiar "literary" or "artistic" societies, and from them it spread in more or less extravagant forms to all classes of society. This preoccupation with ethnic independence, however, is not purely political, but is linked with the impingement of the modern state on a society at once tribal and feudal. To this end the warriors for Kurdish nationalism have been the chieftains, who have something more to gain than the vote, and its orators the men of the educated upper class, a point which must be discussed again in concluding this study. Agents of the Allied Powers left the Kurds under the impression they were to be given an independent state in the settlements which followed the first World War, and, insofar as this has been universally denied them (Kurdish literature, for example, is prohibited in Turkey), it is the starting point of most of their arguments. It is unnecessary to treat these nationalistic sentiments in great detail, because, with the ordinary passage of events in the Middle East, they can be exceedingly ephemeral, the friend of one day becoming the enemy of the next. Needless to say, the Kurds themselves are the heroes of these discussions, and, like many popular political expressions, such utterances

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are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment. 521 [428]

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the women, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the women's mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jayjani Ramazan and Jayjani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Sayran festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious life. 574 527 796 527

which the mu'ezzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'ezzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, [529]
it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [521]
one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [784]
smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513]
sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly [485]
held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346
of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near 562
the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521]
as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. 554
Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 346
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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

the mountainside, causing his death. The luckless lad then meets the father of the jinni in fact, for his soul descends to the inferno. The Kurds also speak of shaytan ("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivation of the Hebrew word for "adversary"), devilish beings like the jinni, but of a more congenial and ingenious character than the jinni. "When the first phonograph was heard in Rowandus," Ra'uf Effendi related, "the people said there was a shaytan in it." There are also tales of malicious men and women who are able to change themselves into animals, such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against jinni, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent to the rare discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, chawa zar, "the evil eye," is a subject of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy and malevolence she experiences, which is, in a way, the evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye. Further, it is believed that the individual who at one time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and also to take part in the daily religious exercises[28]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult ag... but a preparation for it[29].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what e should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in e various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often bury our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered a definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an unconfirming of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Ostrup has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as pod form to chat all the time[30]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even was there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance whic did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance o to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-wil. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in a communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiec limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced te hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kûrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kûrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by *imâms* of their own race, Kûrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kûrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kûrds. To the latter they are,

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

indeed, an unfailing object of satire, and their shortcomings in this respect especially form the subject of endless humorous stories, of which the following may serve as specimens:

The Greedy Mollah.[1]

Once upon a time a Mollah and two uneducated persons were travelling together, when they came to a river. All undressed to swim across, the Mollah going first. As soon as they were in the water, the Mollah perceived four small jars, filled with butter, floating at a little distance. He reached the first and held it with his teeth, stretched out his right hand to seize another, and caught the third in his left, so that he succeeded in getting hold of three jars for himself. There remained but one, which was taken by his companions. But not content with three-fourths of the spoil, he called out to the others, "I swear by Allah that I will have my share in that jar too!"[2]

The Mollah taken at his Word.

They say that there was once in Kûrdistan a Mollah named Bazid, who greatly edified the Kûrds by his sermons and counsels. One day when he was preaching in the mosque, he said in his sermon, "O, Musulman people, each of you who possesses two garments ought, for the love of Allah, to give one of them to the poor; each of you who has two loaves ought, if

[1] Jaba, *Recueil de Notices et Récits Kourdes*, p. 18.

[2] This story has given rise to the Kûrdish proverb, "He has seized three jars, and is not content, but would have the fourth."

[3] Jaba, *Recueil, &c.*, p. 16.

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a few or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer. A number of the older men are illiterate, and the difficulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople some courses along these lines at night, and were very surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums, and many place high expectation in the help of their sons at school.

Before describing in greater detail the rules of the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient here to provide a list of persons according to their occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still others employed only in the service of those residing in the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

of which he did not use and the other confided to a tailor to press and "clean." The rapid shrinkage of the pair in use soon revealed the technique of the tailor's wife, scrubbing them with the other clothes. Pressing is little required by the townspeople, and the tailors, with their fire-heated irons, carry out this task. 296

There are three barbers with shops in the bazar, and one of them, Hajji Mustafa, darvish and town extrovert, will require later attention. The barber's shop is typically a booth, equipped with a few benches like those of the chaykhanas for clients in waiting and a plain wooden chair on which the customer is shaved or tonsured. That of Hajji Mustafa is gaudily decorated with a portrait of the founder of his order, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, photographs of actresses selected from Egyptian periodicals, and some other scraps of paper and notices. In addition, Hajji Mustafa's shop boasts a wooden board on which someone has painted "Modern Barber Shop" in Arabic, of interest not only because the "Modern" is a town joke, but because it is one of the few establishments in the bazar graced with a sign. The barber's tools, stored in a metal case, include hand-clippers, scissors, combs, a straight razor, some bits of soap, a mirror, and a bottle of cologne, all obtained through the general merchants. Often the barber is called to the home of a wealthier client, and this kit accompanies him. The barber's occupation is unprofitable, inasmuch as most persons shave themselves and hair-cutting 305 [532] [522]

There is no electricity in Rowandux, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or chaykhanas open late and a rare door-lantern burning for visitors, and it is customary for those walking at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Asbi Shaykhi, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jokingly attributed by the better educated, such as the teachers, to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In shallow ditches the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the ditches to these. The Kurds of this area, unlike some of their contemporaries in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of its relative purity. Rashid Agha of Jindian, whose father's

peasant, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain can never wed a successful peasant.

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It would be incorrect to assign the Muslim clergy, the mullas of the Sunnites and the imams of the Shiites, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amusing

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story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short time, and the woman tore her garments and went into mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "God is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar position. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according to their status in this sense. The darwish, as a religious mendicant, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest status are initiated into the mysteries of the darwish orders. In Rowandus one could find a darwish in a demented

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in contrast to the government, treating such affairs more as sport rather than anything else. Sayyid Ahmad subsequently recounted with some pleasure his experiences in exile, for he did not speak Arabic at the time. He heard the official in charge of him, for example, called "stupid" behind his back by subordinates, and concluded that this was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer as "Stupid Beg" until he was finally corrected. In order to designate the type of meat he desired for his meals, he was forced to resort to imitations of the animals in question, and thought his own picture, that of a Kurdish aristocrat, a son of the great Shaykh Taha, flapping his arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, most amusing. 622 648 [522]

Toward the townspeople, the chieftains are much more friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy merchants. They are not fond of either the chaykhana or the mosque, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer the daughters of the wealthy merchants and landowners of the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and hence to have greater prestige, than any village maiden. The daughter of Ra'uf Effendi, for example, is married to an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, Agha Rashid Agha (the first agha here used as a proper name). Among themselves, there is extensive community of interest and 622 565 [582] 565 622 572

in terms of the three questions just noted above. While in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This mobility, which has a moderate degree of realization, does not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of a company may visit each other and in other ways express their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their homes, just as in Rowanduz friends are to be found among those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by jesting. A man can always have a joke at the expense of an inferior, but never the reverse. "Anwar, you do business like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a gathering in a chaykhana, evoking general laughter. The person in question could only shake his head, laughing at himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to taunt in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the village where almost all belong to the same social stratum, think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

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girls exhibit shyness and what may be described as willfulness in their behavior. "If the young man is a guest at her house and asks her for a glass of water, she may refuse him and the other people will laugh." Both boy and girl are embarrassed by a certain amount of joking by their elders and companions, and chafing a young man about his coming wedding is a common form of amusement. During this period, the girl's father is expected to have doubled the sum of the muqqadan from his own resources, and it is expended on the clothing, household needs, and jewelry of the prospective bride. Both houses are scenes of intense activity in preparation for the wedding. 584 [522] [583]

When a day has been selected for the wedding celebration, one of the elder men of the youth's family makes a tour of the town, inviting relatives and friends of his household. A similar invitation is issued by the father and brothers of the maiden. Those invited send many gifts of food to the two houses. On the forenoon of the wedding, the mother and sisters of the bride bathe and dress her carefully, rebraiding her hair and staining her hands with henna. Members of her family take presents of henna to the townspeople with which the recipients paint their fingers. One can always recognize a wedding-guest for some weeks afterward by such marks. At the two houses, those of the bridegroom and the bride, parties of guests assemble, and refreshments and banquets are given throughout the day, the brother or most intimate friend of the youth receiving the 585 [302]

another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salamu alaykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa alaykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodnes of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakhan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family,

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of cards. The game itself is unvarying, as well as its particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the nadi or in the home of the qaimmaqam, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikaw, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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opposing sides. Occasionally these "bands" can disturb 857
the adult authorities, as in 1950 when some of the [685]
"raiders" took the money of the son of the assistant
commandant of police. Another game is played with a 857
rubber ball and a stick by two teams. These face each 524
other and one of the two "chiefs" hits the ball toward
his opponents with a stick. If the ball is caught by a
member of the opposing side, one of the first team is
eliminated from further participation, and so it continues
until "it can be seen who remains." A third consists in
forming a circle of a dozen or so youths. A ball is thrown
quickly among them until one is expelled for dropping it.
Hide-and-seek is a favorite, as well as throwing stones
or walnuts from a mark on the ground at a hole some dis-
tance away. Jik or knucklebones, obtained from a sheep,
is played by two. One bone is thrown up in the air and
the player endeavors to strike it while still in flight
with the second bone so that both will fall in a certain
way. Something similar to European or American "marbles"
is executed with small wooden balls. The girls commonly
play "house," imitating the domestic activities of their
elders. The older boys, it might be noted, refuse to play
with the girls as unworthy of their dignity. The girls, 868
much more than the boys, are called to perform household 857
tasks, helping the mothers with their work and taking care
of the younger children. It is said that a mother will
cause the oldest daughter to perform almost all of the
domestic activities, instructing her for the role of a

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatrani, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[68]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[69].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphonistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierachy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Østrup has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[70]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the mezza (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, foreswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the diwankhana, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, bismillah, "in the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

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The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [173
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [212]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 805
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11: Rural MA11

584 The initiative came from the young man himself. After a sister had left to be married, the son of the house, a 26 year old primary school teacher who naturally lived at home, began to conduct low-toned conversations with "my father's wife" (his stepmother), and with his sister my interpreter. These talks did not take place during the day, so to say openly, but in the evenings after many members of the family had gone to their rest. Confidential whispering went on between the two women and him as to whether they knew a suitable young girl in the homes they visited and whether they would not start negotiating with the mother of such a person. His savings, which he had put by penny by penny, were in the postoffice (not in the bank) and now amounted to a suitable bride price. I was told that the sum amounted to 500 Dinars, equivalent to £500. The reason why, in addition to his sister, he applied to his stepmother[35] rather than to his own mother was, I was told, because the younger wife of his father was better looking, a better conversationalist, and less old-fashioned than his own parent. The prospective bride was chosen from among the older pupils at the Goizha School for Girls where my interpreter was a teacher. As both the young man and the girl belonged to one of the better families in Sulaimani, they had never had anything to do with each other. Once, swathed in her *abā*, the girl had come to deliver a message at her teacher's home, and was told that the young man who had just left was her teacher's brother. This was all the contact the two had had. The girl was described as "very polite". This can be construed as meaning that her appearance was agreeable, her manners pleasing, and that she was well brought up and domestically capable. The families were unrelated to each other.

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As I was away on a trip with my interpreter, I unfortunately missed the first two conversations between the women of the young man's family and the girl's mother, but I learned that the young man's stepmother, accompanied by a female acquaintance of established position, esteemed alike for the wealth of her progeny and her worldly possessions, paid an introductory call on the mother of the young girl on Wednesday, 28th August (1957), and a second visit on Friday, 30th August. At the third visit in the girl's home, both my interpreter and I were present. On this occasion four women of the young man's family negotiated with the sole representative of the girl's family, her mother. The talks took place in the home's guest reception room, which lay at the side of the entrance hall and was entered without passing through the family rooms grouped around a wooded courtyard. No refreshments were offered, not even ice water, which stressed that the talks at that stage were not binding in any way. Whilst all this went on we were seated on a very high-legged, uncomfortable sofa and equally uncomfortable chairs in an otherwise bare room. A cousin of the girl concerned entered the room, but the object of the negotiations put in no appearance[36].

Two matters were discussed at the third meeting: the one was the character of the customary information collected by the girl's family about the young man's reputation, the other, the size and employment of the bride price, which, in my experience, was debated at this stage and not postponed until the drawing up of the marriage contract by the men. Whereas the young man's family had naturally obtained as much information as possible about the girl and her family before seeking contact, it is only after the first meeting that the other side could begin to investigate a possible son-in-law's reputation in the town where, as a man, he spent the major part of his leisure and working hours. In the case I had an opportunity of following, it had apparently been said that the young man

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4: Hansen E-5 (1997) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

was rather too interested in money, an Arab game of chance, at the tea house (Sura 5, verse 91 of the Koran forbids gambling). However, these rumours were denied in strong terms by my interpreter, the young man's sister, who invoked Allah to witness the truth of her refutations. The next question to be discussed was the amount of the bride price and how much of it was to be spent upon jewellery, household utensils and so forth. This bride price and its size was paraphrastically referred to by my interpreter as "what one will do for the girl". A third subject also came up for discussion: the young man's appearance. Curiously enough, no photograph was produced although there were photographers in Sulaimani. A plan was concocted whereby the girl's mother—closely veiled of course—should drive in a car slowly past the small electrician's shop owned by the young man's father, where at the time (the summer holidays) the suitor was. In this way the girl's mother would obtain a glimpse of the person to whom she might decide to hand over her daughter.

It was the intention that the third meeting should be the final one between the women, and that the girl's mother would then place the matter before her husband to secure his sanction to the decisions reached by the women, whereafter the matter passes to the men. After that the girl's father would arrange a meeting between himself as his daughter's wali on the one hand and the young man and his father, possibly accompanied by some friends[9], on the other. In regard to similar situations in the villages, which, however, I had no opportunity to witness, I was told that at one place 120 men from a young man's village assembled to thank a girl's father for having sanctioned the union. These friends and guarantors for the young man's qualifications were served with tea by the girl's father, the prospective bridegroom having supplied the dearest item, namely the enormous quantity of loaf sugar, chopped into big lumps, used on such occasions. This may have been a Kurdish parallel to the engagement meal of the men of the two families that, according to Granqvist[9], is partaken by the Palestinian Arabs.

Incidentally, after this third and final meeting of women, my interpreter declared that it would be fitting if some time elapsed before the meeting between the men took place, as it did not look well for the young man's family to evince too great an eagerness after the marriage had been arranged. My return to Denmark stopped me from following the matter on the spot, but a letter from Mallu brought me further news. She wrote: "*Please you asked me about my brothers wife. She is not the same girl which we wish you were in their house because we did'nt agree with the family, so we took another girl from the low Kurdish family. Her father is Sheikh Mahmood's cousin which you met his son Baba Ali*". From this letter it appears that it is possible for the young man's family to break off marriage negotiations at a relatively late date; it also seems from the words "*we took ....*" that it was not the young man himself, but the family, in the first instance its female members, which changed the prospective bride. No mention is made of the girl's appearance or qualifications; the most important factor in the urban milieu apparently is to become related to a family of good repute and high social position.

To sum up the question of marriage negotiations in urban circles, it can be said that the bride need not be sought within the family. The father's brother's daughter marriage appeared to be practised by the village aristocracy. Marriage was a matter of family policy, weight being attached to the social prominence of the family with which a marriage alliance is sought. The women of the young man's

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 526

The Kurds are great sportsmen. Even when they have not killed the game themselves, their pleasure after a successful shoot is unmistakable: this shot was shot by Squadron-Leader Johnson

[p. 895 (B)]

• 526 857 the town. At intervals they go outside the houses armed with slings and stones. Sometimes as many as fifty boys of all sizes and ages may gather on each side. They commence a great battle, hurling stones at each other with their slings until one side finds the fighting too fierce and beats a retreat. Woe betide the passing stranger who unwittingly walks across 'no man's land' while a battle is in progress!

Now that football has been introduced in Kurdistan the time-honoured battles with slings are being forgotten. Except in the summer, when it is too hot for violent exercise, they rarely take place, the majority of the time being taken up in kicking footballs about. The Kurds have taken to football like ducks to water. In the afternoons, when school is finished, every

[text continued on p. 392(e)]

[p. 392 (A)]

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful agha, whose armed retainers guarded the *miskin* (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannize the village. In return for this the agha exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An agha used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from less powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghas and the miskên, but the aghas are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *seyyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not contented themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p. 392 (c)]

through "third"). Subjects include Arabic, English, general science, geography, history, mathematics, and social studies, and is completed at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The pupil can next enter the secondary school, consisting of two classes ("second" and "first"), successful completion of which consists in matriculation for a college or university education. A successful student usually completes his secondary education at the age of seventeen or eighteen. 872 [873]

In the Rowanduz district there are small primary schools at Dyana and Hatas, but the center of education is in Rowanduz. Here there are primary schools for boys and girls, and an intermediate school for both. After completion of the intermediate school, students who desire further education must move to Erbil, where they are quartered with friends or relatives, or, if mature enough and possessed of the means, rent a house in common with a number of their fellows. Only one or two each year, however, go beyond the intermediate level in the district. The school year lasts nine months, approximating our own, and, as in the local government, Fridays and public occasions are holidays. [527] Classes are held from 7:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. in summer weather, and from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. in the winter. Pupils in the primary schools remain in the same class throughout the day. Boys and girls are mixed in the intermediate school (a matter of some concern to more conservative parents), and have different instructors during the day. In Rowanduz there were in 1951 about 150 pupils

are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment. 521 [668]

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the woman, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the women's mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jayjani Ramazan and Jayjani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Sayran festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious life. 574 527 796 527

Such festivals are marked by dancing and music, 527 796
and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the
briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual 535
type of dance is that of the sha'i, the wedding celebra-
tion, and is performed by a circle of men and women with
interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually
brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The
dance has three variations, saypay'i, "going in the
direction of the leader's right hand," shapay'i, "going
in the direction of the leader's left hand, and raw'in
"walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The
dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a
shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish 533
music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians,
and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key,
characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a
rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowanduz 534
played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the
tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The
lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not
found at present in the town. A program of typical 207
Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq 533
government radio station. The investigator usually [123]
tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the
house in which he was living at Rowanduz. Once the 871
eldest daughter presented a request that "the beg tell [207]
the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at
the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's
knowledge of radio.

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammad Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kawlokan below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Jihad or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

788 788 527 [431] 554 788 779 [721]

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages, 000

about the sun, it falls short several weeks each year in relation to solar reckoning. 1953, for example, is 1372 years after the flight in Muslim calculation and only 1331 in our own. The terminology of this calendar is Arabic, although the Kurds have their own words for the days of the week and the seasons. The government uses both the Muslim and the Gregorian systems, and Friday is the weekly holiday. Turning to the Muslim festivals observed by the townspeople, the first occurs on the tenth day of the first lunar month (Muharram), the legendary date of many important events, particularly the martyrdom of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. In Shiite areas this day and those immediately preceding it furnish the occasion for the most extravagant ceremonies, including a dramatic recitation of the martyrdom and public displays of mourning in which the participants often beat and lacerate themselves. In Rowanduz, however, it is only a day for special prayer and meditation. "The people pray for Hasan and Husayn," it was said, "but there are no demonstrations of grief." The next important date is the Mawlid al-Nabi, "the birthday of the Prophet," which comes on the twelfth day of the third month (Rabi' al-Awal). This is a day of celebration on which banquets are held and the servants are given small presents, but the display is not great compared with the two festivals to follow.

The ninth lunar month, Ramadan, is that in which absolute fasting is required between sunrise and sunset of every Muslim. It begins on the eve in which the moon

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite foreswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises. 785 796

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this sight begins Jayjani Ramazan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing. 796 527 [574] [431] [535]

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowanduz is Jayjani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the 796

twelfth lunar month (Dhu al-Hijja). This corresponds to 796
the day at Mecca when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually
sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family
in Rowanduz who can afford the expense purchases a sheep [782]
or goat for a sacrifice in communion with the pilgrims on
the first day of Jayjani Qurban, and the head of the victim
is turned toward Mecca as its throat is cut. This feast
lasts three or four days, and is identical in character
with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of
the intense exuberance caused by the end of the fast. Dur-
ing both of these festivals, persons greet each other
cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own
Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances 527
must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year.
The first of these is Sayran or Sayrani Bahar (also
identified in Rowanduz as Kara Charshima, "Black Wednesday," [805]
in border Turkish and as Nawruz in Persian). This corres-
ponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, usually
occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage
the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the
celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be
explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several
weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although
there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or
otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men
and women, go out into the countryside in family parties,
taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of

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doors at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baykhal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Jayjani Qurban, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding. 527● [53] [302]

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Elyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulla has nothing to say about Khidir Elyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Elyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Elyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Elyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowanduz: [183] 773 776

> Khidir Elyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowanduz by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Elyas, I have [492]

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5-6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'idd-l-qurbān* or *qurbān bairām*, that is spent in Minā on the return from 'Arafāt to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safā* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Minā where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Minā. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mina* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

sacred powers of the derwish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma. 789 621 554

THE FEAST

The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnizes feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread. 621 574 571

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a *man*, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige. [554]

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrance in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and resultant total status positions become systematized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast 621 574 527

takes place after sundown, since there should be a fast observed during the day in Ramadan month — as a matter of fact, this fast is observed by very few. However, this degree of Ramadan celebration is not usual. The last three days of that month, on the other hand, are universally regarded as holidays, and serve as formal occasion for forgiving enemies, affirming village loyalties, and reinforcing ties of friendship.

Ramadan is defined in terms of a year of lunar months, and thus falls some days earlier in relation to the seasons for every year. At the time of the present fieldwork, the end of Ramadan coincided roughly with the completion of the harvest; it is difficult to say which aspects of the proceedings were connected with the one, as distinct from the other event. The celebration on the main, first day consisted of four major phases: (1) religious service (2) formal communal meal (3) payment of tax to the mosque (4) informal social celebrations.

The religious service was led by the son of the mullah of the neighboring village, since the village in which I was staying at the time had no mullah of its own. It was held in the house of the *Hadji*, the actual leader and *kikhs* of the village. The local derwish, reacting to the presence of only an un-ordained officiator, tried to assert himself by interjecting loud and pious exclamations, but was soon quieted down as the mullah's son speeded on through the text.

After the ritual followed the communal meal, supplied by the *Hadji*, and his prestige profited by a subtle balance between the conspicuous exhibition of plenty tempered with a pious avoidance of over-indulgence. Two of the lower-class laborers, who had been figeting and feeling out of place, took the opportunity to busy themselves by serving the tea; but the *Hadji* insisted upon their status as guests, and they were quickly relieved by a young son, whom he called in for the purpose. Before the meal, hands were kissed (with a tendency towards reciprocity only between social equals or very close kin), misunderstandings forgotten and grudges forgiven. After the meal, some small boys appeared and kissed the hands of all the men present.

This being completed, the heads of village households each pledged

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

a tax of three kg. of grain to the mosque for each household member. This is done by each of the men in turn seating himself before the mullah, with a symbolic tray of grain between them. The men follow one another in a descending order of prestige, involving public acceptance and confirmation of the actual hierarchy of individuals in the village. At one or two points there was some hesitation, and very elusive momentary pressures were brought to bear by the group on the actors to assure the «right» sequence. This occasion also gave the *Hadji* an opportunity to affirm his leading position in the village by pledging 3.5 kg. pr. person to the mosque, and with a grand gesture paying for a poor widow in the village, not represented by any male, as well as for my interpreter, who, not being of the village, did not dispose of any grain.

At the completion of this, the group dispersed. Later in the day, the landowner appeared, and people also from the neighboring villages drifted in in informal groups and congregated in a large circle in the courtyard of the house in which he was staying. For the remaining period, celebrations involved only smaller, informal groups and individual visiting.

— I have chosen to describe this occasion in some detail, since it was observed under favorable conditions and illustrates the situation in which the hierarchy of individuals in the village is expressed, and how the individual's rating of himself is confirmed or contradicted by the group. Other religious festivals serve an essentially similar function, though they may in part be more amenable to manipulation and «social climbing». For example, two months ten days after Ramadan follows *Qorbani*, the feast of sacrifice, lasting four days, and centering around the killing of a large animal — sheep or preferably cow. Any person may volunteer to do Qorbani, and offer his cow up — though there are probably informal controls on who may in fact presume to that extent. *Maolud*, Mohammed's birthday, is similarly celebrated by a semi-communal feast and conspicuous consumption; the various other holidays are of a more private kind.

Rites de passage. The various rites marking transitions in the status position of individuals through their life cycle are less formally controlled. They are communal in a different sense from the ritual-

726 *dakhalat* (as it is called). They described
727 in stirring tones how they retired to some caves a couple of hundred yards from the village and watched the bombs falling on their homes. The only fly in the ointment was that it was their own houses being destroyed and not somebody else's. Apparently they regarded the affair with some amusement, and themselves as naughty boys who had been punished by having to rebuild their houses afterwards. It had taken them two months' hard work to rearrange the village before the onset of winter; so they decided that in future they would not be led astray by promise of excitement unless they were on the side of the British.

• 527 Another example of the sporting spirit
857 of the Kurds and their disregard for safety is shown in the great sling fights which take place between the children of adjacent villages or of different parts of

[text continued on p.392(A)]

[p.391(B)]

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with flummery and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private house in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidised as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a tearhouse, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilised as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rowandux this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the gaimmegan. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The gaimmegan and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

565 574 [529] 565 573 574 [875]

Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

576 754

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the nadi or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowanduz district. 538 517 [529] [484] [547] [549]

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [648] [668]

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312] [515]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [529] [521] one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [784] smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513] [485] sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346 562 of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521] as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 554 346 771

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[1]Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

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Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Irani Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

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doors at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baykhal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Jejiani Qurban, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding.

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Elyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulla has nothing to say about Khidir Elyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Elyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Elyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Elyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowanduz:

> Khidir Elyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowanduz by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Elyas, I have

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

and distaff for spinning thread, and a number of metal kettles for dyeing the finished cloth a simple brown or blue. In the villages women do a certain amount of embroidery, for example, two flowered designs on a loosely-woven piece of cloth which can be cut out and stitched together to form a woman's cap, and of knitting, such as stockings in crudely dyed black and white yarn. Small, buff pottery jugs are fashioned without the wheel and daubed with designs in a red slip. There is a great deal of woodcarving, such as ladles, combs, bowls, cigarette-holders, and walking-sticks, some of which find their way out of the area to Erbil and even Baghdad. Save for a few pieces of carving, however, almost none of these products ever reach a larger market than that of Rowanduz and bring only the smallest prices throughout the district. Women offer them for sale to the merchants in the hope of realizing a few coppers with which to buy trinkets, and none of these transactions, compared with agricultural or dairy produce, has great importance, either for merchant or for villager.

The collection of faggots and production of charcoal for winter fuel are important services performed by the villagers for the larger towns of the district. In the summer, blocks of mountain snow are in great demand in the town of Rowanduz, particularly for chilling drinks such as sherbet or mastaw (a mixture of curdled milk, mast, and water, aw, drunk from a wooden bowl by means of a cumbersome wooden ladle), as well as large quantities of oak and willow branches which are constructed into summer arbors

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called mazu, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 301 [439] 751. 777 [531]

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keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qā'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Husain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).

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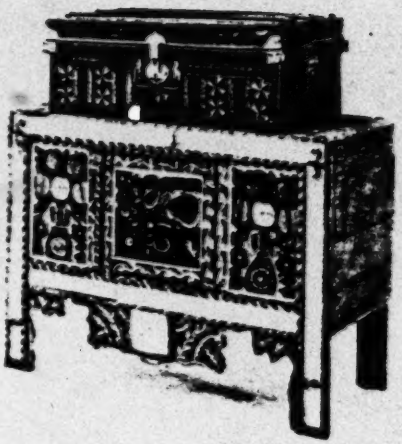

Fig. 27. Tin chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burāq*. Topzawa.

352 decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the
415 house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kᵊlila*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *sᵊnig* (E. 2278). Made in the *sūq* of
[532] Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry
[513] and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[34].

513 The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of
352 the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There,
342 for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilisation of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

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Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargale.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balkin.

be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type are sold in the *sûq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual women for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[17]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

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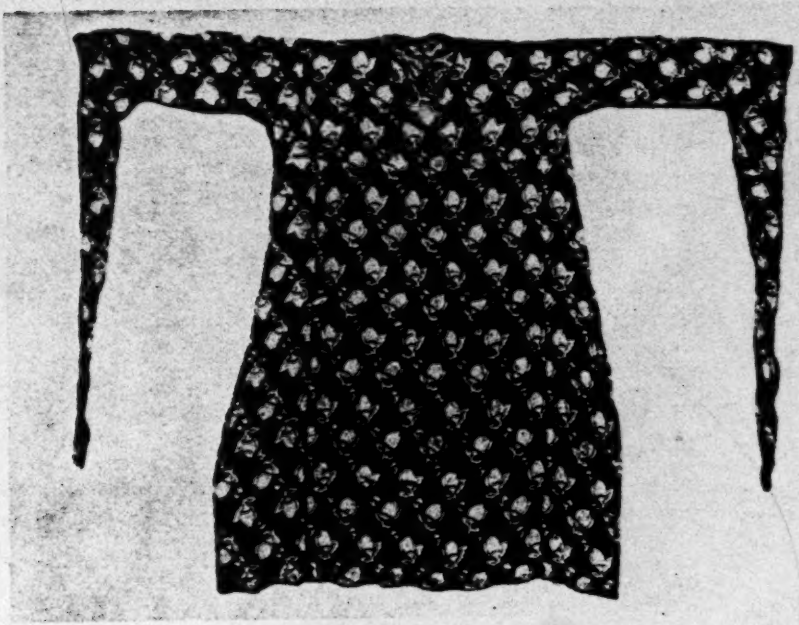

Fig. 51. Woman's kirtle (E. 2335) of pink chiffon with white flowers. (Cf. diagram fig. 66).

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Fig. 52. Diagram. Cut of waistcoat (E. 2336). Scale 1:30.

Fig. 53. Waistcoat (E. 2336) of rose brocade lined with white cotton.

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Fig. 55. Caftan (E. 2342) of violet brocade, wadded and quilted, lined with white cotton.

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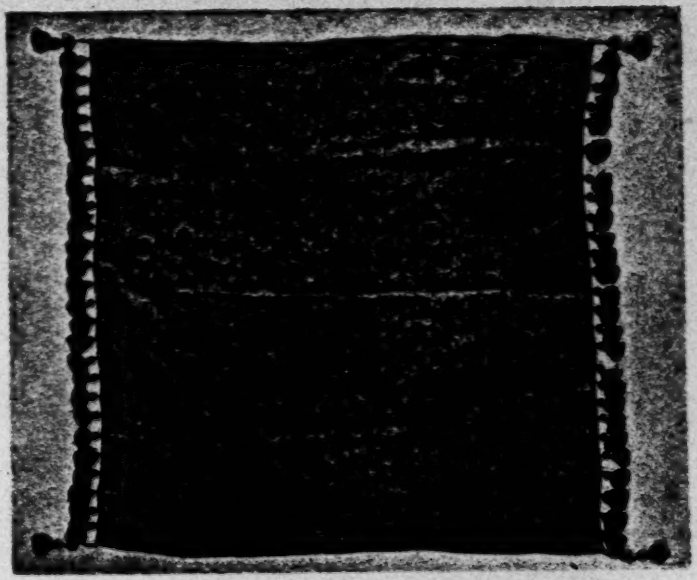

Fig. 57. Shoulder cloth (E. 2343) of brocade. The tassels of the two upper corners are tied together and the cloth hangs around the shoulders covering the back.

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bound together at the neck so that the plaits with the tassels hang down the back outside the neck veil. The material is brocade. The turban cloth lies aslant around the head in circles[19], and outside is bound[20] the forehead cloth (E. 2347), 0.83 m. × 0.80 m., made of thin silk, black with brown and white pattern, a quite different colour scheme from that distinguishing the other elements of the dress, where heliotrope, crimson and turquoise predominate. It is folded diagonally and tied slantwise over the brow in the opposite direction to the turban cloth, is knotted at the neck, the ends being concealed under the wound cloth. Outside the turban, pinned aslant, are chains of jewellery inset turquoise and Persian coins.

The head cloth or head veil, *sikpāl*, (E. 2337, E. 2348) is 1.60 m. to 2.00 m. long and 0.72 m. to 0.84 m. wide, of thin gauze, white or coloured, seamless and hanging loose. A married woman places it over the turban, whilst an unmarried girl wears it direct on the hair where it constitutes her only headgear. Scarves or belts can be worn, but are not essential. The value of a married woman's dress of this kind, apart from jewellery, is about 10 Din. = £10.

There can either be no footwear, if the woman prefers to go bare-footed as is often the case at home, or wooden slippers with a heel and a strap over the instep, *galqāl*, (E. 2338) 0.23 m. long, or perhaps

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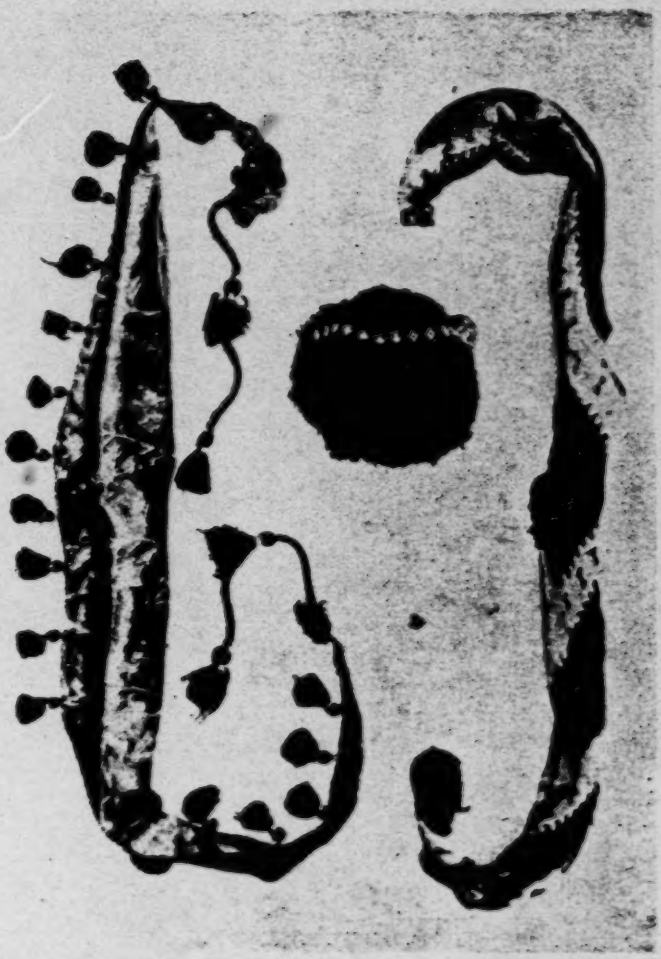

Fig. 58. The elements of the married woman's turban arrangement: cap (E. 2344) of black felt with chain (E. 2388) of blue glass beads, turban cloth (E. 2346) of brocade with tassels, and forehead cloth (E. 2347) of black, white, and brown patterned raw silk.

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embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, *qundîrî* or *pâpuč*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left foot are identical. European footwear of "Bata"s make, from high-heeled black patent leather to summer shoes, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture. 291 [[77]]

Elements connected with Islam. External garment and veil. In Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, *abâ-o-pâšî*, which completely concealed both the face and body. 292

The face veil, *pâšî*, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.46 m. × 0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

The cloak, *abâ*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion 291

[Text continues top of p. 95 — Analyst]

Fig. 59. Woman wearing the black veil and the black cloak, *abâ*, dressed for leaving the home. Sulaimani.

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Fig. 60. Diagram showing the cut of the *abâ* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the tuck. Scale 1:30.

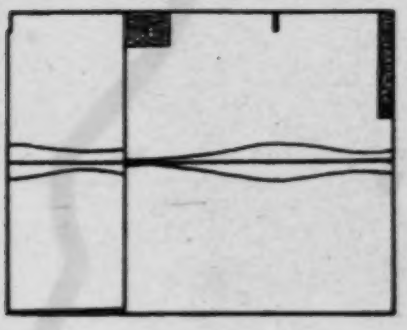

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Fig. 62. Village aristocracy. Married woman's dress, front and back. Topzawa.

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The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black face veil and the black *abā*, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Sulaimani or places further distant like Kirkuk and Mosul.

The ordinary peasant environment. Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried woman and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja no turban, but the whole skull cap covered with silver coins (E. 2352) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant woman did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of flowered cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Topzawa and Rakawa are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Serkan is vermilion, and in Mirza Rustam black, *rang sūr*, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheet[21]. During work at Topzawa the lower

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Fig. 70. Left: man's dress of Rowanduz type. Right: man's dress of Bahdinanī type.
Fig. 71. Man's dress of Bahdinanī type. The funnel-shaped cuffs of the shirts are wound round the arms.

The elements of men's dress. Earlier as I had an opportunity to study it, men's dress in Southern Kurdistan presents a less complicated picture than women's. However, men's dress also contains special Kurdish and foreign elements. The genuine Kurdish male dress is a trouser costume[1]. Two types can be determined, each connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the Bahdinanī region, the other of the district around Rowanduz.

Kurdish elements. Shirt, *kras*, (E. 2314) is made of plain, white cotton material. In use is a shortened pancake-collar[2], 0.84 m. long and a span of 1.56 m. Open in the front, it is fitted with a low collar. The shirt's breadth over the shoulders is 0.67 m. Two sleeves, 0.24 m. long and 0.38 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at acute angle. These sleeves terminate in funnel-shaped cuffs, the three known in Syrian male dress[3]. The cuffs prolong the arm by 0.34 m. and hang down 1.10 m. like long gauntlets exactly the same as the sleeves of a woman's kirtle. Just as with the woman's dress, these funnel-shaped cuffs are drawn out through the garment worn above the shirt, and wound around

Fig. 30. Specimens shown, left: common shrew (S. 2491), shrew, right: mole drain for nest (S. 2496), below, left: the sole of the shrew's mouth from wings of shield, below, right: second hammer (S. 2272) for holding the wings, heads and under the hammer wings combined and folded (S. 2274a-c).

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Fig. 61. Fish ornament (E. 2328), cup (E. 2343) surrounded by turban cloth (E. 2321), and scarf (E. 2329).
Fig. 62. Knives and weapons. From left to right: E. 2282 with E. 2284, E. 2284, E. 2283 with E. 2285. Ivory-inlay embroidered with gold and silk (E. 2344).

291 Ivory in adapting the trouser costume, by discarding the long sarkas in favour of short waistcoat and jacket, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the wing pointed ends of the shirt arms that could be tied round an object, the waist sash in which a cloth bundle could be stuffed or, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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293 Accessories to the costume, corresponding to the ornaments of women, were pocket knife with horn handle (E. 2277) and the curved dagger, *canjar*[Pr], with sheath, 0.30 m.–0.40 m. long, the value of which varied according to the execution and the material of the handle and sheath (E. 2282, 0.403 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a thimble acting as tip; E. 2283, 0.238 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's horn; E. 2284, 0.345 m. long with silver sheath and handle studded with turquoise). The prayer chain or rosary, *tasbih*, composed of 99 beads was worn round the handle of the dagger. These beads could be of horn or other material, every 33rd, being marked (E. 2281 of horn; E. 2286 of fruit pips). As a rule the prayer chain is carried between the fingers over

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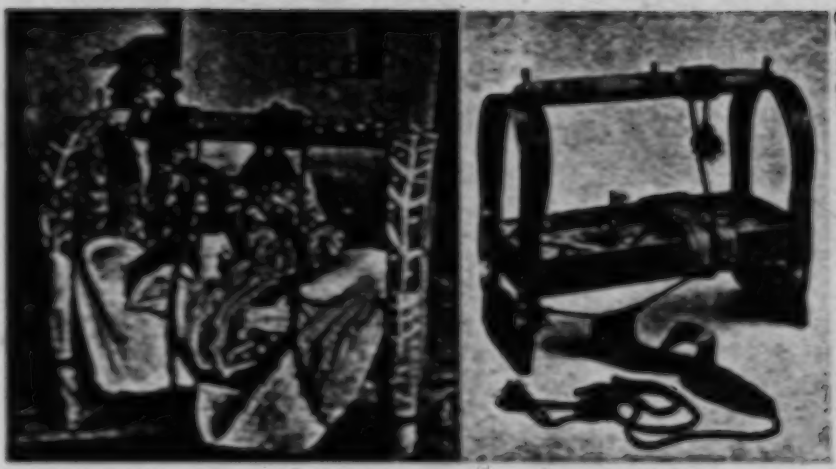

Fig. 44. Transportable cradle, kyeliu, arranged for the child. Behind the cradle the child placed on a nightmat. Sulaimani.

Fig. 45. Transportable cradle (E. 2304) with bandages (E. 2305a-b) and cords (E. 2305c-d). The urine discharge pipe (E. 2306) placed upright in the hole in the bottom.

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abdomen and legs, holding the urine discharge pipe in position. The woollen cords that prolong the bandages are passed under the cradle and then twisted round the heavy longitudinal carrying pole, the tassels hanging as decoration and perhaps for amusement of the tied-up baby. The application of the abdominal bandage turns the child's legs outwards, and I discovered that this out-turned position of the feet persisted until the age of three[39]. A small rug is placed under the baby to absorb any excrement, urine being taken by the pipe. I was told that a bottle or sack like could be hung under the cradle[40], and that an arrangement of this kind was used during the winter in rooms covered with rugs, but I never saw this used in the summer on the roof, in the courtyard or in rooms without carpets, where all liquids running on to the ground or the floor evaporated immediately. Above the bandages a small quilt, *lîfe*, could be laid. The cradle possesses a curtain. For a newly-born child this was of black material, suspended from the transverse carrying pole, so that the child lay as though in a dary tent. For a slightly larger child a turquoise or purple voile curtain was hung up. This surrounded the whole cradle like a bag with an opening on the one side. The curtain, *perde*, (E. 2307) is formed of a piece of cloth 1.80 m. long and 0.84 m. broad. It is folded together into a bag of the same height and length as the cradle, and sewn together with a seam along the upper edge, with an opening on one side. If the night air on the roof was cool a woollen blanket was laid over the curtain to shield the child from draughts. To enable the child to sleep peacefully it could be blindfolded with a white cotton rag.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 98.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. 2254). Tegnaw.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sure of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Jeyrebeff, the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3-8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven position to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 6 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9-10 p.m.

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of which he did not use and the other confided to a tailor to press and "clean." The rapid shrinkage of the pair in use soon revealed the technique of the tailor's wife, scrubbing them with the other clothes. Pressing is little required by the townspeople, and the tailors, with their fire-heated irons, carry out this task. 296

There are three barbers with shops in the bazar, and one of them, Hajji Mustafa, darwish and town extrovert, will require later attention. The barber's shop is typically a booth, equipped with a few benches like those of the chaykhanas for clients in waiting and a plain wooden chair on which the customer is shaved or tonsured. That of Hajji Mustafa is gaudily decorated with a portrait of the founder of his order, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, photographs of actresses selected from Egyptian periodicals, and some other scraps of paper and notices. In addition, Hajji Mustafa's shop boasts a wooden board on which someone has painted "Modern Barber Shop" in Arabic, of interest not only because the "Modern" is a town joke, but because it is one of the few establishments in the bazar graced with a sign. The barber's tools, stored in a metal case, include hand-clippers, scissors, combs, a straight razor, some bits of soap, a mirror, and a bottle of cologne, all obtained through the general merchants. Often the barber is called to the home of a wealthier client, and this kit accompanies him. The barber's occupation is unprofitable, inasmuch as most persons shave themselves and hair-cutting 305 [532] [522]

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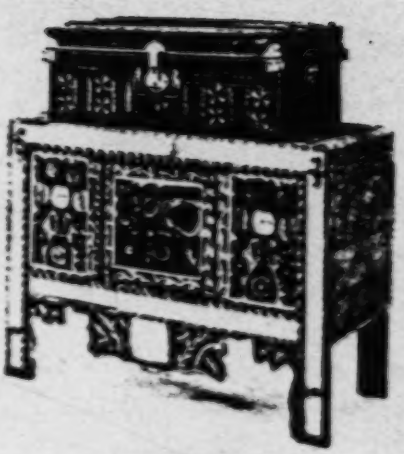

Fig. 27. Tin chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burāq*. Topzawa.

352 415 decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kʷlle*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *ṣnūq* (E. 2278). Made in the *silq* of Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its keeping up of objects[34].

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513 352 The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There, for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilization of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 89. Fragment of star-shaped tile painted in polychrome "Minai-ware". Found in Rayy. Early 13. century. (Ralph Pinder Wilson, Islamic Art, London 1957, fig. 28). Mother nursing child in a cradle like the Kurdish *kyelka*.

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that they can be taken on horseback[19], a thing I also saw done by some passing nomads in Kurdistan. It is depicted by Bishop[20] as an Iranian-Bactrian cradle, and Ploss mentions its use in Iran[21]. Toy cradles made of clay and wood show that this type is also to be found with the Tajiks and Uzbeks[22]. It is met with in Bokhara[23], and the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition brought one back from Afghanistan (E. 1968). They are also in use with the Uigurs, Ferghana[24] and the Kirghiz[25].

Urine tubes of the Kurdish type have been brought back from Turkestan (Q. 72–73). The same type of tube is depicted by Le Coq[26]. Urine tubes (E. 2081–82) were brought back with the cradle from Afghanistan (E. 1968). Such "tubes à urine en bois et en os" are illustrated from Georgia by Pokrowski[27], are mentioned from Armenia by Virchow[28] and from the Crimea by Loreni[29]. The Kirghiz[30] use them and make them out of the bones of sheep.

Ploss mentions Russian Armenia as the area in which this cradle type originated[31], though this can hardly be correct. It is more probable that its origin must be sought among peoples in Central Asia for whom its portability must have been a most important feature. In my opinion, the rockers are secondary, as with the Kirghiz that feature is lacking in this kind of cradle[32], and the heavy carrying pole, by which the cradle can be lifted, is primary. It is thus a form of portable cradle allied to the cradle trough characteristic of reindeer nomadism, extending from the Lapps in the west to the Indians of the North Pacific coast in the east[33], where it meets another pattern of carrying cradle, the cradle board, that is linked with the snowshoe culture widespread among Ameridians from the Algonkians in the north to the Araucanians in the south, with an offshoot to the Ainos in the northern islands of Japan[34]. Beside the cradle board, basin-shaped cradles of the "sitting type"[35] are found in northern California.

In north and central Asia there are also portable cradles with devices related to the urine tubes in the Kurdish *kyelka*. Concerning the Ostyak Pokrowski says that in the oval, box-shaped, portable cradle made of pliable wooden or bark sheets, a box filled with sawdust is placed. If the child is a male, his penis is covered by a piece of bark designed to direct the flow of urine to the foot of the cradle, where it is quickly absorbed by the sawdust[36]. Similar pieces of bark form part of the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

854 171 tangular in form with a flat wooden base and trellised sides, so that a crate results[31], evinces the same principle as the Kurdish hanging cradle. In its simplest and most primitive form this stationary hanging cradle was brought back from the Lurs. It possesses features of both the transportable *byeška* and the stationary frame cradle. The Luristan cradle (E. 289) consists of a "rocking board" composed of two parallel pieces of bamboo to which the child must have been fastened in order to remain lying and particularly to retain the urine tube in position. The cradle has cords at each end and is suspended from a transverse pole resting on two forked sticks[32]. There are two examples of urine tubes, pipe-shaped for a male child (E. 291), and formed like an open canal for a female (E. 290). According to report they are not placed vertically as in the Kurdish *byeška*, but horizontally as in Kalmuk cradles.

Of the three types of cradles used in Kurdistan, all of which are also used in Iran, the portable one [177] seems to be a nomadic element deriving from the nomad tribes of Central Asia, the hammock cradle seems to be an Iranian-Arab element, whilst the stationary hanging cradle in a frame points towards India.

854 In the Kurdish *byeška* the child was only kept in and fastened to it at night, and in the two other types of cradle only by day as long as it slept. The child awake was carried around by bigger sisters or lay in the arms of sitting women. Out in the villages one always saw the slightly larger girls with a smaller child on their backs. Even a sick child, in one case a very sick child, is considered better placed

Fig. 91. Mother and child. Evening in a home viewed through the eyes of a 13 years old boy. Sulaimani.

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

many come uninvited, bringing small presents to the bride in order to be able to take part in the *tchopee*. This national dance of the Kūrds is very similar to the Greek *hora*. The performers join hands in a semicircle, and balance their bodies backwards and forwards, marking time, first with one foot and then with the other, accompanying their movements with wild shrieks at intervals. The step is, however, less animated and varied than that of the *hora*, and has been described as "a soft undulating movement of the whole circle in harmony with the music, like a field of corn set in motion by the wind." During its performance, the Kūrdish warrior will affect the most sentimental and romantic expression of countenance, especially when dancing with his sweetheart, which is customary at small gatherings where no strangers are present. On other occasions the men and women dance separately, though the latter even then lay aside their veils, no matter how great the crowd of spectators.

The music to which they dance is chiefly that of the *bilwan*, a kind of reed-flute, several of which are played in unison. Its tones are soft and pleasing, though somewhat monotonous, Kūrdish music being in general, unlike Turkish and Persian, characterised by regular modulations. The airs are, for the most part, grave and melancholy, and would seem to be inspired by sentiments which one would hardly expect to find in the breasts of wild clansmen whose name has become familiar to us only in connection with violence and pillage.

At weddings, the *tchopee* is kept up for hours by

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 136
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognized. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 164
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 758
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 165
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re- [761]
place the son who had died (at the age of eleven "of the
evil eye"), and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

Such festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the sha'i, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, saypay'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shapay'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and raw'in "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowandus played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowandus. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

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knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [823]

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. 763 [428] [788] [765]

When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Bakin who is also the corpse-washer, mirdu shor, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich, 764 767 [533]

Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, Salawat, salawat 'ala al-Nabi, "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard. 785 796 [203] [533]

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open durhg the day. A number of persons make no pretence of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fact in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better terms, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary reationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demand of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters" [579]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957), 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[131], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[132]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[133]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semicircle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[134]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[135] and from the Bakhtiari[136], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in this group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth stuck up under his waistband. The drum[137] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[138] had a funnel-shaped head, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea houses, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topawa one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventeen tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

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Fig. 92. Wedding dance. Men dance in a row to the music of a drum and a clarinet. Rakzwa.

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harmonization, so, as Ekrem[29] points out, this music to us sounds flat and false. Other instruments include a 20–30 cm. long shepherd's pipe, both single and double (E. 2280–81), referred to by Hay[30], one of which I acquired though I did not hear it played.

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To sum up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's role comprises fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there. (At the one wedding in Rakzwa it was said that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a chain dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the villages, pay for the cars used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance.

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The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's carriage, including the bride's car, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the clay roof covering the entrance hall to the house,

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

535 many come uninvited, bringing small presents to the
585 bride in order to be able to take part in the *tekeper*. This national dance of the Kûrds is very similar to the Greek *horo*. The performers join hands in a semicircle, and balance their bodies backwards and forwards, marking time, first with one foot and then with the other, accompanying their movements with wild shrieks at intervals. The step is, however, less animated and varied than that of the *horo*, and has been described as "a soft undulating movement of the whole circle in harmony with the music, like a field of corn set in motion by the wind." During its performance, the Kûrdish warrior will affect the most sentimental and romantic expression of countenance, especially when dancing with his sweetheart, which is customary at small gatherings where no strangers are present. On other occasions the men and women dance separately, though the latter even then lay aside their veils, no matter how great the crowd of spectators.

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535 violence and pillage.

585 At weddings, the *tekeper* is kept up for hours by

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the sha'i, a round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, holding each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

585 [535] [534] [431] [292] [431] [272]

Bush festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the zhe'i, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, rastar'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," chepar'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and rue'ik "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowandus played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowandus. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which he knew was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by grooms, a representative of the bride's house, either himself or his son, took part in the hosting of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège was completed a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[17], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and as evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Bukovac to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. Then the horse was a mare was to promote child-bearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the flat roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, cans were and harmonist, and the Sabre engl is garnished. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host - in this case the father of the bridegroom - must ensure that the meal take place in accordance with Islamic law[18]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men, who also attend to the wine and serve her[19]. No women ate herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and, at the same time, place their [illegible] on each other's shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semi-circle, and the steps take place radially, to towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semi-circle slowly move sideways. The dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[20]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[21] and from the Bakhtiari[22], where in similarity to the Greek Armenitika pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in the group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth sack, up under his waistband. The drum[23] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, bat-sized one at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and often two were used together. The clarinet[24] had a funnel-shaped bell, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played in the men of the village in the small village tea house. In the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two kerosene pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Tsiganes one evening with accompanying excellent chain lead by the sheikh's son with an American or European amateur of which the house possessed three or four. There was few interval between tunes than in European music, sometimes tunes being used instead of one another. There was no polyphony as

Fig. 10. Wedding dance. Other dancers in a row to the south of a drum and a dancer, Kakoma.

Instrumentation, so, as Stumpf[1] points out, the music is to entrain feet and hips. Other instruments include a 30–50 cm. long elephant's pipe, both single and double (S. 2280–81), referred to by Stumpf, one of which I acquired. Except 1 did not hear it played.

To ease up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's rifle companies fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there, (At the one wedding in Kakoma I was told that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a dance dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the villages, pay for the men used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance.

The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's cortège, including the bride's one, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the flat roof covering the entrance hall to the house,

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians men the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to few years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete supremacy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Moslems in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Jaj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER II.

KURDISH WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

KURDISH maidens are, as a rule, allowed to choose 586
their own husbands, and the practice of courtship is
not unknown. The father's consent is necessary,
though couples sometimes dispense with it by running 587
away together when, for pecuniary or other reasons,
it is withheld. Among the families of the chieftains,
however, *mariages de convenance* are usual, and the
parties are frequently comparative strangers to each
other. The ceremony of betrothal consists of a 589
reception at which refreshments are served. The
expression "To drink sherbet"* signifies with the [272]
Kürds to celebrate a betrothal. The bridegroom's
presence at this ceremony is not necessary, or even
usual, and he is generally represented by a near
relative, a brother if he has one, who brings with
him the customary presents to the bride and her
parents.

The great feature at a Kürdish wedding is the 587 ●
performance of the *tekper*, or national dance, of which 585
the women are quite as fond as are the peasants of
Macedonia and Bulgaria. During marriage festivities,

* This favourite Oriental beverage is made of the juice of fruits, cooked with ice or snow.

[Page 131]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

535 many come uninvited, bringing small presents to the
585 bride in order to be able to take part in the *dakpeh*.
This national dance of the Kûrds is very similar to the Greek *hora*. The performers join hands in a semicircle, and balance their bodies backwards and forwards, marking time, first with one foot and then with the other, accompanying their movements with wild shrieks at intervals. The step is, however, less animated and varied than that of the *hora*, and has been described as "a soft undulating movement of the whole circle in harmony with the music, like a field of corn set in motion by the wind." During its performance, the Kûrdish warrior will affect the most sentimental and romantic expression of countenance, especially when dancing with his sweetheart, which is customary at small gatherings where no strangers are present. On other occasions the men and women dance separately, though the latter even then lay aside their veils, no matter how great the crowd of spectators.

585 The music to which they dance is chiefly that of
535 the *dûdûk*, a kind of reed-flute, several of which are
538 played in unison. Its tones are soft and pleasing, though somewhat monotonous, Kûrdish music being in general, unlike Turkish and Persian, characterised by regular modulations. The airs are, for the most part, grave and melancholy, and would seem to be inspired by sentiments which one would hardly expect to find in the breasts of wild chieftains whose name has become familiar to us only in connection with
535 violence and pillage.

585 At weddings, the *dakpeh* is kept up for hours by

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

relays of performers, the men dancing first, and then the women. Mr. Rich thus graphically describes the part taken by ladies in this national recreation: 535 585

"The music struck up again the notes of the *tekpeer*, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplen- [282] dent with gold spangles and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to me, who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab tribeswomen are more scrupulous.

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and waringly round the enclosure, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The tune was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their [291] homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Sulimania."

The Kûrds, being nominally Moslems, the marriage 585 contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an imâm. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of [713] his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a

still nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by 585
eating and dancing. The wedding-dance is the ghe'li, a [535]
round dance performed by a circle of men and women, some-
times including the bride or bridegroom, holding each
other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small [534]
drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The
wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father [431]
of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handker-
chiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of
the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are
unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is [292]
carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white
cheesecloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil.
Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts,
whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy
themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities
and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige
to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government
officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an
event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, [431]
the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece [272]
of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of
the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water
or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her
husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present
in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in
an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

Both festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the she'i, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, sarrey'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shexey'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and rex'is "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiature and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowandus played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowandus. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

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who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite forewear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, laylat al-qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises.

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this night begins Jeyjnî Remezan (Arabic, 'Id al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shewwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing.

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowanduz is Jeyjnî Qurban (Arabic, 'Id al-akbir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the

585 [591] With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[1], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, while the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, cans were and buttermilk, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[2]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the entertainment of the women[3]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities rarely lasted for more than one day.

585 535 The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and, at the same time place their forearms round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semi-circle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semi-circle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[4]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[5] and from the Bakhtiari[6], where its similarity to the Greek Arrenestika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

[911] [911] [911] The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in the group of common musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth sack, up under his waistband. The drum[7] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[8] had a funnel-shaped bend, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played in the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two kerosene pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Tajuana one evening with accompanying revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interest herein home than in European music, gramophone tunes being used instead of our tunes. There was no polyphony or

4: Ikonen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 52. Wedding dance. Men dance in a row to the music of a drum and a clarinet. Rakawa.

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harmonization, or, as Ekrem[19] points out, this music is to accustom feet and ears. Other instruments include a 20–30 cm. long shepherd's pipe, both single and double (E. 2280–81), referred to by Ekrem[19], one of which I acquired though I did not hear it played.

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To sum up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's rifle companies fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there. (At the one wedding in Rakawa it was said that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a dance dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the villages, pay for the men used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance.

The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's cortège, including the bride's one, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the clay roof covering the entrance hall to the house,

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11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MAll
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The Kurd is born into a world of feasting and dancing: to the music of pipe and drum Kurdish women still dance the traditional, at a ceremonious festival, for hours on end

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852 circumcised at about the age of seven.
304 Once more the relatives and friends gather, sweetmeats are produced, and there are two days of preliminary feasting and music to dim the pain of the operation. On the third day, when the operation is performed, the *rukbdist* (national dance) is danced, in which men and women stand arm in arm in a row swaying backwards and forwards while music and singing fill the night with sound.

583 The next great event in the life of the young Kurd is his marriage. When he reaches about eighteen years of age, or earlier among the tribes, he takes a wife. Among the poorer people a girl of one family is exchanged for a girl of another family, and a double marriage takes place; or if one girl is too young, she is set aside as the *dengwaz* or fiancée of the boy until old enough to be married (that is, about 14 years old in the case of women). So for a poor family the only expense incurred is three days of feasting and the

4; Wilson G-2 (no date) 1927 MSS Iraq MSS
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Kurdish music is [illegible]

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and as often a pleasant lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no measure strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hans and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor cum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers cho fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside ie circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separate, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This doe not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated c kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable realom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan distric of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, wa dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them as who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anying else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villager were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, ancestrious demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah aj, who represented himself *to be the prophet of this new god.* The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could ne of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

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K 722 739 682 704 661 671
K [136]
K 721 657 696 697

R Roosevelt G-8 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

777 448 Three impartially, the Komala moved inevitably into the Soviet orbit.

During this period VOKS, the Soviet international propaganda organization, was starting a number of "Iranian-Soviet Cultural Relations Societies" in all sections of Iran. As the Komala had grown too big to continue meeting in private homes, its leaders now asked the Soviets to found a branch in Mahabad; they hoped thus to obtain a place to meet without attracting too much attention. The Soviets readily complied, and it was founded, not as a branch of the Iranian-Soviet Relations Society, but as the "Kurdistan-Soviet Cultural Relations Society" (Anjoman-i-Farhangi-i-Kurdistan-o-Shuravi). The clubhouse was soon crowded with Kurds, who showed their gratitude to their new patrons by sending ten cases of cigarettes made of Kurdish tobacco to the victors of Leningrad.

186 536 441 It was at a ceremony in the society's clubhouse, in April 1945, that the Komala finally came into the open. The Soviet Consul from Rezaieh and the chief of VOKS in Azerbaijan were honored guests. The main feature of the program was an "opera" in which a woman called "Dalk Nishuman" (Mother Native Land) was represented as abused by three ruffians, "Iraq," "Iran," and "Turkey," finally to be rescued by her stalwart sons. The audience, unused to dramatic representations, was deeply moved, and blood-feuds generations old were composed as life-long enemies fell weeping on each other's shoulders and swore to avenge Kurdistan.

777 622 441 At this ceremony the future head of the Kurdish state, Qazi Muhammad, was finally admitted to the party, to the gratification of the Soviets, who had not liked the democratic organization of the Komala, and had long been looking for someone on whom they could count to lead it according to their suggestions. At first the Soviets, realizing the strength of the tribes, had approached tribal chiefs with requests to lead the nationalist movement. But only three of them commanded sufficient prestige for the task — Qarani Agha Rais-ol-Ashair, venerable chief of the Mamash and the acknowledged leader of the federation of which they were a part; Amir Khan Sharifi, chief of the Shikak and "grand old man" of Kurdistan; and Amir Asad of the Dehbokri, die-hard

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla 874
who already has a position, and, when judged to have 793
shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the
mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad,
Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque
of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can
ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter
may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an
exchange of information of this type between the religious
leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists
in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and
committing the necessary prayers and formulas to memory.
These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual
gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able 793
to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise
which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, [557] ●
is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice [598]
rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of
it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the
imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery
can elicit the strongest emotional responses in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks [565]
of the commoners, and no one in Rowanduz could think of a
case in which a member of the aristocracy had embraced such
a career. A pious chieftain, as his age and reputation for 792
sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh (Arabic, "old 756
man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

At the noon
prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, 788
and between the second and third rak'as the mulla may deliver [537]
a short sermon, usually a stereotyped oration. The language
of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to [183]
say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the re-
quirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore
one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their
prayers entirely. The tasbih or rosary has been mentioned
in the section treating dress, and may be used in devotional
exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetition of
prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used to
occupy idle hands, however, the mind of the manipulator on
matters far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give 795
away part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early 779
days of Islam these contributions were of two types, zakat,
a fixed proportion of the income, and sadaqat, optional
gifts. The zakat have been absorbed into the government
system of taxation, and the townspeople of Rowandus are
thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to
enforced charity. Many free collections, sadaqat, however,
are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the
destitute Arab mentioned in the section treating society,
and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts
of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage 788
to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In
spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the
journey, a surprising number of persons in the Rowandus

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1991
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aspect of this female warrior, who is described as having been a little shrivelled up old woman.'

Among the second and peasant Kirds, as might be expected, very little attention is paid to education. The sedentary Kirds in Sulimaneeh and other centres, are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges. The wives and daughters of the latlered Kirds are also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kirdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mollahs to publish works in that language. The Kirdish tongue is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feeling often manifests itself among Kirdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

The members of the Yezidi sect, who belong to eleven different tribes, and number between seven and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

[1] Dandamaev, *Die Armenier*, p. 130.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER IV.

STORIES WORDS—TEXTS FOLK-POINTS—FOLK-TALES.

[171] The tales and legends told by the Kirdis are of an extremely varied character. Among them are many charming sobriquets, some of which closely resemble Greek or Teutonic favourites, and delightful fables, or stories of animals, which seem to be but Oriental variants of those contained in the collections of Æsop, La Fontaine, and other fabulists. There are also stories of buried treasure, guarded by djins, or genii, touching love tales, and interminable legends describing tribal exploits and feuds, deeds of violence and reprisals. The latter class, though not strictly folk-tales in the accepted sense of the term, illustrate so much more graphically than any description could do the manners and sentiments of this wild and independent people, that I have ventured to include one or two of them in this chapter.

The first story is evidently a variant of the Tzantz Greek folk-tale of "Constantine and the Drakos,"[1] the opening incident of reaping the field of corn being precisely identical. The *Zoo* appears to be the Kirdish equivalent of the English "Ghost," Scandi-

[1] Somerville and Ross, Beside (2 G. vols.), Southward Characters, p. 191; and Blackie, A. p. 180.

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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various "Troll," Indian "Rakshasa," and Greek Δράκων (Drakon);[1] a ferocious but simple-minded monster, who is usually outwitted by a clever mortal, the youngest of three brothers, or a widow's son.

The Three Brothers and the Dove.

539 There once lived in a certain place three brothers. The name of the youngest was Hannuk, that of the second Quoin, and that of the eldest Shelun. Now it happened that each had a sickle, and Hannuk said to his brothers, "Come along, we will leave this country and go to that of another tribe where we can work and get good wages."

So the three set off. They went to the uplands, and there they found a field of wheat. Said Hannuk to his brothers, "Come, let us set to work and cut this wheat, it has no doubt an owner who will pay us."

So the three went to the field, and they stooped down and began to cut the wheat. When they had been cutting for two days, Hannuk saw a cave; it was the cave of a Dove, who came out immediately, and shouted and said, "Who are you? Why do you cut my wheat? I will come and eat the heads of all three of you!"

Said Hannuk to his brothers, "Do not be frightened, there is a Dove; he is coming towards us, saying: 'Who are you, and why do you cut my wheat?' Do not speak either of you, but let me answer the Dove."

[1] Commonly translated by the late Mr. Goldner as "dragon." See vol. i. p. 222, note, and compare Dames, *Chanson. Pop. Baloutches*, No. 6.

[1] Leskien, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, p. 49.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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eldest daughter of the Dev to his brother Rhalam, and 539
the second to his brother Qaim, and they all three
settled down and lived in peace ever after.'

The following pathetic little story recalls Grimm's 534
Brüderchen und Schwesterchen, and also the Bjarmic 170
Greek folk-tale of 'Αστραφτερό and τὸ Πουλάκι ("Starbright
and Birdie"), although in the Kirghiz version the
cannibalistic element is absent.

The Legend of the Owl (Gil'in).[1]

Once upon a time, there lived a man and his wife, 539
who had one son and one daughter. The wife died,
and the man soon after married another. After
two years had passed, and the second wife had a
daughter of her own, she began to hate the children
of the first wife.

The girl used to go out to feed the cattle. One
evening when she returned home she missed her
brother, and asked her stepmother where he was.

The woman replied, "Thy brother has gone to his
uncle's house."

The girl went to sleep, and in her dream she saw
that her brother had been killed and his body thrown
into a pit. In the morning she rose and said to her
father,

"Father, I dreamt last night that thy wife killed
my brother, and threw his body into a pit. I will
now go out with the cattle, and if I find my brother

[1] This story does not say what became of the Dev's wife, but most pro-
bably the Dev had killed her when he went home in a rage.
[2] Lewis, *Pleiadengruppe*, &c., p. 80.

1: Garnett D-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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him to the grave and buried him. He then returned to his house, cut off the head of his wife, and threw her into a pit.

The murdered boy's sister came home in the evening. When she saw neither her brother nor her step-mother, she asked, "Father, where is thy wife?"

"I know not," he replied, "but thy brother is dead."

When the maiden heard this she wept, and went away. Going down to the brook side, she bathed and prayed twice.

"Oh, Allah! Change me into an owl!"

And she was at once transformed into that sad bird. She flew up and away and was seen there no more.

The following story will recall at once the widespread nursery tale of "Puss in Boots. As in the Sicilian version of this story, mentioned by Mr Lang,[1] the Fox, from motives of gratitude, undertakes to make the Miller's fortune, but his endeavours are defeated by the cowardice of the pretended "Tzarinya Pasha."

How the Fox Wooed for the Miller the Daughter of the Pasha of Egypt.[2]

There once lived a Miller in a certain country, and his plenty of grist came to his mill. One evening he stopped the mill, went into his house, and slept. In the morning, on going again into the mill, he found the trough empty. So on the following night, instead of sleeping, he kept watch, and about midnight

[1] *Perrault's Tales. Introduction*, p. xxxix.
[2] Lane, *Fundgruben, &c.*, p. 69.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Padis said, "Go, bring him in." 539
So the Fox brought in the Miller's body, washed it, and buried it.

The following fable is precisely similar in its commencement to the familiar one of "The Fox and the Stork." The incident of the Mullah's fur pelisse is, however, quite an Oriental feature, and the final catastrophe is familiar to me as occurring in another Eastern story, the nationality of which I do not, unfortunately, remember. 531 ● 171

The Fox, the Eagle, and the Wolf.

Once upon a time a Fox and an Eagle lived on brotherly terms. One day the Fox said to the Eagle, "I will prepare a feast for you." 537

So the Eagle went to the house of the Fox, whom he found preparing the meal. When it was ready, the Fox placed the meat on a shallow dish, and invited the Eagle to fall to, saying, "Brother, eat!" But, peck at the dish as he would, the Eagle could not secure a morsel, while his host ate with ease.

Then said the Eagle to the Fox, "Come with me; get on my back, and I will take you to my home."

So the Fox got on the Eagle's back, and the Eagle rose high into the air. Presently he saw a Mullah kneeling on his fur-lined pelisse, at his prayers, and threw the Fox down upon him. The Mullah, terrified, ran off, leaving his pelisse, which the Fox promptly put on, and went his way.

[1] Lewis, *Forebeggers*, &c., p. 46.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of his hole, he looks about for the Wolf, but, not seeing him, he ventures forth, and seizes the gourd, which he ties to his tail. By-and-by he goes to the fountain, and, his tail hanging over the side, the gourd falls into the water, and the Fox, in his efforts to pull it out again, tumbles in himself.

The transcriber of the next story, M. Jaba, suggests that "Shéi-Shâhîd" must have been an old Crusader, who knew of the existence of the treasure, and had come from Europe, disguised as a dervish, to secure it. I venture, however, to think it much more probable that he was the famous warrior-monk, Shéi-Shâhîb, one of the Moslem "Saints" who took part in the Ottoman Conquest, and of whom many extraordinary legends are related by the Turks.[1]

The Armenian and the Dervish.[2]

An Armenian named Shâir once lived in the town of Bagésh, which is situated in one of the *Aumâns* (districts) of Van. One day a wandering dervish was passing through the town, and received hospitality in the house of this Armenian. By the will of Allah, this dervish, whose name was Shéi-Shâhîd, fell sick, and remained a long time confined to his bed in the house of his host, who, with his wife and all the people of his household, took the greatest care of him. Every possible attention was paid to the dervish Shéi-Shâhîd.

[1] Some of these legends are to be found in the *Narrative of Sidee Mbarek*, published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Among other feats the saint destroyed a seven-headed monster, and delivered a king's daughter whom he was about to devour. She is said to have married [illegible] from infancy to seventy, hence even the sea on his shrine's [illegible] sea.

[2] *Recueil de Contes et Récits Kurdes*, p. 60.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The affair got wind, and it was everywhere reported that Shîr of Bagirîv had found a treasure. The news finally reached the ears of the Pasha of Van, who sent for him and shut him up in the city prison, where he lay some time. He confessed the truth, and obtained his liberty only at the price of a quantity of gold, which he gave to the Pasha of Van. In short, Shîr had to scatter his gold in all directions.

Sensible folks will, perhaps, doubt the truth of this story. It is, however, firmly believed in those districts, and often related, and, what is more, the descendants of Shîr still live at Bagirîv in great prosperity. They have lands, mills, many a yoke of oxen and fine flocks, and they keep open house. One might say that it is a *tekkeh*,[1] for every one receives hospitality in this Armenian house; Moslems even are never repulsed, but welcomed with every mark of attention. From that time Shîr became well known among the Kürds, who made great friends with him, and brought him presents of sheep. It sometimes happens that they are at feud with the inhabitants of Bagirîv, and commit robberies and depredations in that town, but they always spare the house of Shîr, saying that it is as sacred as a *tekkeh*, and that not even an indecent glance must enter it.

The following curious story has been preserved by the late Mr. Rich,[2] who took it down literally from the lips of the narrator, a talismans of the Dehbokri of Dersîkranus, without, as he says, adding to or

[1] Dervish monastery, whose hospitality is generally exercised.
[2] Narrative, etc., vol. i. p. 190.

I: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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[117] altering it in any way. The incidents it describes are totally unlike those of Kirdish stories generally, and are probably derived from real occurrences, but belonging to a date far anterior to that assigned by the story-[118] teller, who, with the supreme disregard for accuracy manifested by persons of his calling in the East, would refer any remarkable story to the immediate ancestors of the favourite Kirdish hero, Suleiman Baba, if he could not refer them to the hero himself without being convicted of a too glaring anachronism. It may possibly be a survival of some story of chivalry belonging to the crumbling age of Saladin, whom the Kirds declare to have been a prince of their race.

A parallel to this legend may also be found in the [119] Greek folk-tale of Ἡ βασιλοπούλα καὶ οἱ τρεῖς στρατιῶτες "The Princess who went to the War."[1]

The Maiden Champion.

[120] There lived once in Dersiknous two brothers, Fekih Ahmed and Khidir, who had suffered much from the hostility of the Bulhanis, the most powerful people of Pishdar. Fekih Ahmed, who was of a bold and proud spirit, quitted his village in disgust, swearing never to return to it unless he should be in a position to avenge himself. He went to Constantinople, and entered the service of the Sultan.

It so happened that the Sultan was at that time at war with the Engleh (or Franks). In those days battles were generally decided by single combat. A champion had come forth from the Frankish host

[1] See Hahn, *Neugriechische Märchen*, p. 31; and Absalom, i. p. 104.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1868) 1891
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539 "Thou hast been a prisoner in the hands of the Moslems; thou hast been dishonoured; and darest thou show thyself before me?"

The bride, in her anguish, exclaimed in the Kirdish language, which had become familiar to her, "Oh, Fekih Ahmed, would that thou wert here!"

The person thus invoked immediately rushed forward, slew the bridegroom, and escaped with his wife to Constantinople, where the Sultan bestowed upon him an addition to his former grant. The couple then returned to Fidsheh, where they lived happily all their days. Before Fekih Ahmed died, he completely subjugated the districts of Fidsheh, Mergeh, and Mawett, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Dehe Silliman, the ancestor of the present princes of Silimaniah, who conquered the remaining districts of that part of Kirdistan now under their authority.

540 The Sultan Murad, who figures in the following Kirdish story, is most probably Murad IV., who reigned early in the seventeenth century, and resembled the famous Khalif Haroun al Rashid in his fondness for going about his capital in disguise. His adventure with the shepherd is almost identical with that related of James V. of Scotland—"The Gudeman of Ballengeich"—with the former Donaldson, who was subsequently known as "The King of the Moors."*

* See Sir W. Scott's Notes, Appendix to The Lady of the Lake, 8vo edition, 1833.

1: Chronett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Sultan replied that it had indeed been bestowed upon him by his father.

Shaking his head, Sher cried, "I knew that it could not be a dervish's property!" and a few minutes afterwards he asked permission to leave, in order to look after his sheep, which had been left without a keeper. The Sultan told an attendant to send some one to look after the sheep and call them, adding to the shepherd, "I will not let them depart." His Majesty ordered them to take him to the bath and give him a robe of state, and then only did Sher learn that Baba Murad was his Padishah. When again conducted into the presence, he fell at the Sultan's feet and implored his pardon for having been so wanting in respect for him. Murad overwhelmed Sher with benefits and honours, had his sheep sold, granted him many favours, and finally bestowed upon him by *berat*[1] the *fief* of several villages of Bayazid. At this day the chiefs of the tribe of Berekan are of the family of this man, and live in the village of Girkavia.[2]

The Kurds, like the Turks, have for their hero of [illegible] most of their comic and humorous stories, Nasr-ed-Din Hodja, the Imam junior of Timour the Tartar. Some of these stories are identical with those current among the Turks, but many are, doubtless, of much greater antiquity than the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, the date assigned to this famous Oriental wit. The character of these anecdotes varies greatly. In one, for instance, the

[1] The Turkish equivalent of "royal letters-patent."
[2] Between Bayazid and Erivan.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1889) 1891
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§ 37. Hodja administers a severe rebuke to the evildoer; in another he enunciates a wise maxim for general observance; in many he is a mere buffoon; and in some his own honesty and integrity are more than questionable. Underlying the majority, however, is a vein of quiet sarcasm; and the *jeux de mots*, so much appreciated by Orientals, and to which the Turkish language especially is so well adapted, are very frequent, but impossible to reproduce in another language.

The Adventures of a Cooking Pot.

§ 38. One day the Hodja borrowed a cauldron (*kazán*) from his neighbour. Now this neighbour was a bad man, and the Hodja did not like him. After the cauldron had remained some days with him, the owner knocked at the Hodja's door and re-demanded his property. The Hodja placed a smaller pot in the cauldron, and handed it to him. When the owner observed this, he said to Nasr-ed-Din:

"This little pot is not mine."

The Hodja replied, "Thy cauldron has given birth to a young one; take them both, I do not want thy goods."

At this the owner of the cauldron rejoiced greatly, and exclaimed, "*Allah kerim*—Allah is great! with the Almighty nothing is impossible!" and so saying, he took the pots and went his way.

A month or two afterwards the Hodja again went to his neighbour to borrow a cauldron. The man brought out the biggest he possessed. "But that is too big," objected Nasr-ed-Din.

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Beyhal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-room, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chief's house, but here they have replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as the Mamo or Mihe Shatir el-Hik, but it is to said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of the Mamo, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day the Mamo borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after filling the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned the Mamo, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the new son of the pot." Thereafter the Mamo borrowed each

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Aga Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Aga Nuwas, and inquired greatly if the great vessel had given birth. "God rewards," sighed Aga Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "how can a pot die?" Aga Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?"

The older women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the mejlis or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowanduz district.

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset,

this as a career simply starts to study with some sheikh who already has a position, and, when judged to have shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad, Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can ultimately succeed and replace his teacher, or the latter may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an exchange of information of this type between the religious leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and committing the necessary prayers and formulas to memory. These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual gifts above the average. The "best" sheikhs are those able to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery can elicit the strongest emotional responses in listeners.

Sheikhs are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the commoners, and so one in Ramadan would think of a case in which a number of the aristocracy had entrusted such a career. A given sheikh, as his age and reputation for sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh (arabic, "old man"), a title which is sometimes honorific, but does not

Sir Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1943) 1957 MA11 Hard MA11

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Baban principality was, in the words of another poet, "neither subject to the Persians, nor slave-driven by the House of Osman."

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Bedr Khan and General Shérif Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The prominence in the south of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression not only in Iraq but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which were on to the academy and staff-college at Constantinople, and so received a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these same officers naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's "programme of the world's peace" announced in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be "assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." Shérif Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the north-eastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

IV.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Khan Kharki. The Turkish troops were enjoined to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] It was a fundamental rule of the Turkish army that only the official language of the administration or occupation of the area was that a large proportion of the officials in the new Kurdish districts had an even fundamental rule.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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any lapse from virtue on the part of a married woman being, as a rule, summarily punished by the injured husband with death; and her partner in guilt usually shares the same fate. No social odium attaches to the man who thus takes the law into his own hand; on the contrary, such an action is considered highly meritorious. Various stories are current among the Kiirds illustrating such retributory vengeance. One relates how a Kiird, the captain of some irregular troops employed at Baghdad, hearing of his Kiirmendji wife's suspected unfaithfulness during his absence, returned secretly to his native town, entered the house by night, and shot dead both her and her lover. Another of these stories describes the murder, by a boy of fifteen, of his stepmother and her partner in guilt during the absence of his father, whom a feud with a neighbouring chief had obliged to removehimself to a distance. In both these cases the deed was considered highly meritorious, and its perpetrator treated with every mark of consideration by friends and neighbours. The relatives of the guilty persons made no complaint to the authorities, nor did they manifest any resentment. On the contrary, the crime which had occasioned the murder is so abhorrent to the Kiirdish mind, that the customary visits of condolence were not paid to the families of the dead.

Stories, too, are common of women, both married and unmarried, who have defended their honour by taking the life of their assailant. One of these stories is so thrilling that I will endeavour to reproduce it in brief. A Kiirdish lady was returning, accompanied only by a manservant, to her husband's house from

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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a visit to her parents, who lived a day's journey off. (See On the road this man contrived so many delays that, instead of reaching home before sunset, they were obliged to stop for the night at a lonely and untenanted khan, of evil repute as the resort of robbers and brigands. After stabling the horses, the man came upstairs to the room occupied by his mistress, and approached her with dishonouring proposals. But she, divining his intention, had ready a small knife, which she plunged into his throat as he laid hold of her, and he fell dead. Not daring to close her eyes in that horrible place, she crouched in a corner to await the dawn. About midnight she was startled by hearing the sound of horse's hoofs approaching the khan—for who but a malefactor could arrive there in the dead of night? The newcomer alighted, and appeared to be seeking a stable for his horse, as he was leading it about below. "If he finds our horses," she thought, "I am lost," and again seizing the knife she cut off one of the dead man's arms and flung it from the window at the stranger as he passed below. He, however, still continued to wander backwards and forwards, leading his horse; so the next time he passed she cut off the other arm and threw that also at him. Upon this he cried, "Whosoever ye be, know that I am Dergo of Kiraz,* and I fear ye not!" Oh, joy! It was her husband's voice.

"Dergo!" she called in reply, "It is I, thy Gaurl, come and save me."

The astonished husband and his wife found their way to each other, and mutual explanations followed.

* A town between Bitlis and Van.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Not being sure of the day of his wife's return home, he had not been anxious at her non-arrival, but had been spending the evening with a party of friends. A question had arisen regarding his bravery; and, to vindicate it, he had accepted a wager to go alone at midnight to the Ilas Khan, and leave there a token of his visit. He had been searching for a safe place in which to leave this token, unawed by the ghastly missiles hurled at him, as he supposed, by some bandits who had taken up their abode in the khan.

Mr. Rich, when travelling in Kûrdistan, met a girl of the Bulbassi tribe who had killed with a spear a Turk who insulted her. This young Amazon was dressed like a man, and served the chief, Fazullah Effendi, as his faithful henchman, accompanying him on all his expeditions. The women of this tribe are particularly hardy and intrepid. They sometimes take to the road as brigands, and unlucky is the trader or traveller who falls into their hands. For not content with robbing him, they strip him, excite him to make proposals to them, and then punish him for so doing with every species of mild torture which their lively imaginations can suggest, such as pinching, scratching, and scourging with thorns.

In the domestic circle the women are treated as equals by the men, who are most affectionate in their relations with their parents, sisters, and children, and in the character of husbands most considerate, kind, and forbearing. As an illustration of this latter trait, and at the same time of manners generally among the sedentary Kûrds, I cannot do better than give the following charming story.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Pasha's Lesson to his Wife.[1]

Once, and more than once, let us pray Allah that 539
His mercy be on our fathers and on our mothers who bear us!"

In former times the Pashas of Bayazid had no wealth, and were in a state bordering on penury. The revenues of the villages, and the receipts in general, were taken by the *dydas* and the *aghas* of the district, who were rich landowners with many servants and soldiers ready for campaign. The houses of the Pashas were supplied with their daily provisions by each *agha* in turn. The wives of the *dydas* and *aghas* dressed elegantly, and had very costly things, while the Pashas' wives wore very simple clothes. One feast day the wives of the *aghas* and *dydas* came to kiss the hands of the *kanûm* (Pasha's lady). The latter was ashamed of her own appearance, as contrasted with that of her visitors; she was quite put out about it, and got in a very bad temper.

When the Pasha came in the evening into the *haremlik*, he found the *kanûm* looking very glum, and asked her, "What is the matter? why art thou so gloomy?"

The lady replied, "How should I not be upset? To-day being a feast-day, the *aghas'* and *dydas'* wives came to call upon me, splendidly dressed, covered with gold and jewels. In gala dresses, and wearing such magnificent ornaments, they came to kiss my hand! And was it not shameful for me, a

[1] Jaba, *Recueil de Notices et Recits Kourdes*, p. 32.
[2] The common preface to a Kûrdish story.

1: Garrett B-6, 5 (ca. 1850) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

by *kondus*, to receive them in this poor guise? It is abominable!"

The Pasha remarked, in reply, that his wife ought to be satisfied, with the high rank she occupied, to leave the pleasures of the toilette to others, and content herself with her position. "All these *agàs*' wives, with their numerous retainers," said he, "are thy very humble servants; that is thy splendour, and it is a sufficient one. All these horsemen are at my orders, ready to march against the enemy; and so, I repeat, greatness consists in having subjects and numerous horsemen to obey one, and not in the possession of gold and rich clothes."

But the *kondus* would not listen to reason; she wanted fine dresses, gold and diamond ornaments.

"To have such things it is necessary to pillage villages," said the Pasha. "I must lay hands on some *agàs*, and dismiss some of my people, so as to save their salaries; and what is saved shall be for thee, for thy gold and thy fine clothes."

A few days afterwards the Pasha secretly assembled the *agàs* and *dyàs*, told them of his wife's fancy, and ordered them to mount their horses in the middle of the night, and to go out and post themselves in detachments all round the town. The *agàs* and *dyàs* accordingly assembled with their horsemen to the number of three thousand, forming six squadrons, and placed themselves around the town awaiting further orders. When day began to dawn, the *kondus* saw from her window that the town was surrounded by troops; she instantly awoke the Pasha.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1935) 1991
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"It is no time to sleep!" she cried. "The enemy have surrounded the fortress!"

The Pasha replied by telling the *hanim* to fetch her gold and her fine clothes, and offer them to the enemy in order to induce them to depart. The lady exclaimed that such was not the way to repel the foe, and declared she desired neither gold nor rich clothes, but only to be saved from the enemy. The Pasha told her not to fear, as he had plenty of horsemen and armed men among those whom wives had come to see her, ladies with gold, and richly dressed. "But still," he said, "if she desired it, he was ready to dismiss them, and give her their pay, that she might have gold and stuffs."

"May Allah forbid!" cried the lady. "I will have none of such riches; I am ready to give even the garments I now possess to our people and to our troops. I admit that greatness consists in numbers of soldiers and horsemen. There are plenty of rich traders, but what can they do?—they have not that which constitutes real greatness."

The Pasha went out and gave the order for the horsemen to retire and disperse to their own homes. But they would not consent to do so before they had made an excursion to bring back some booty for the *hanim's* toilet. So they set out for Karadagh,* whence they returned with a rich spoil worth a hundred thousand piastres, and offered it to the lady.

The Pasha's wife, however, refused to accept it for herself, and gave it up to the troops, persuaded at last

* "The Black Mountain." The name of a district of Persia, situated some forty miles beyond the Turkish frontier.

1: Garrett B-4, 3 (ca. 1888) 1991
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[539] that one can well do without gold and rich stuffs, but that without millions one cannot maintain one's power.

[542] The Kirdish women, of the normal tribes more especially, take a lively interest in the social and political affairs of the tribe, are acquainted with all that concerns it—its feuds, plans, and conspiracies, in which they are indeed often moving spirits. As enterprising and indefatigable as the men of their race, they are ever on the alert, and ready to leap to the [542] saddle, where, though not elegant riders, they are quite at home, and able to keep up with their husbands in their adventurous wanderings.

This participation in the political life of the tribe is a peculiarity of normal life, and of a primitive state of society. Mr. Millingen relates two instances which came under his personal notice of the intervention of women in public affairs. After a skirmish with the [721] Shikish tribe, the beaten Kirds retired to their en- [721] campment, with the loss of twenty-four of their warriors, and sent with all haste a deputation to the Pasha of Van imploring his mediation. A kind of commission being despatched on their behalf from this town, it was met at a distance of several miles from the Shikish camp by a crowd of women, the petty men at the head wearing black veils, and shrieking as loudly and woefully as it was in their [721] power to do. Their lively grief, backed by a bribe of the Kirdish delicacy called *djedjik*,[1] was successful in bringing about a solution favourable to the tribe, which, through the mediation of the women, was allowed to escape further punishment.

[1] The entire fat-covered abscess above mentioned (p. 106).

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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787 indeed, an unfailing object of satire, and their short-
823 comings in this respect especially form the subject of
endless humorous stories, of which the following may
serve as specimens:

The Greedy Mollah.[1]

824 Once upon a time a Mollah and two unlearned
793 persons were travelling together, when they came to
a river. All undressed to swim across, the Mollah
going first. As soon as they were in the water, the
Mollah perceived four small jars, filled with butter,
floating at a little distance. He reached the first and
held it with his teeth, stretched out his right hand to
seize another, and caught the third in his left, so that
he succeeded in getting hold of three jars for him-
self. There remained but one, which was taken by
his companions. But not content with three-fourths
of the spoil, he called out to the others, "I swear by
Allah that I will have my share in that jar too!"[2]

The Mollah takes at his Word.

They say that there was once in Kirdistan a Mollah
named Ruzid, who greatly edified the Kirds by his
sermons and counsels. One day when he was preach-
ing in the mosque, he said in his sermon, "O, Mussul-
man people, each of you who possesses two garments
[57] ought, for the love of Allah, to give one of them to
the poor; each of you who has two loaves ought, if

[1] Jules Rivoyre, Contes et Récits Kirdes, p. 16.
[2] This story has given rise to the Kirdish proverb, "He has refused three jars, and is not content, but would have the fourth."
[3] Jules Rivoyre, &c., p. 16.

1: Ch.Ch.Mss B.4, 5 (ca. 1895) 1895
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he would walk in the path of God, to give one to the wretched."

The wife of the Mollah happened to be passing the mosque at that moment, and hearing the words of her husband, she turned back and went home. The Mollah had two changes of garments, the one which went to the wash, and the other which he wore. His wife gave to the poor the one in reserve, and at the same time distributed to them half the provision of bread. When the Mollah came home in the evening, he said to his wife, "My clothes are soiled, bring me the others that I may change."

"But I gave away to-day your spare suit," replied his wife, "and distributed to the poor half the bread we had in the house."

Then the Mollah was very angry, and he said to his wife, "Why didst thou give away my clothes and my bread?"

"Because to-day," she replied, "when you were preaching in the mosque you exhorted all to divide their superfluous goods with the poor in order to walk in the path of God, and so what we were not using I gave to the beggars."

At these words the Mollah waxed very wroth, and he exclaimed, "Woman, my exhortations were for the congregation and not for myself. If I preach thus to the people, it is that they may give me the surplus of their clothes and their bread. You should not think of giving away my spare clothes and my children's bread. I preach to men in my own interest, and thou —thou carriest out, at my expense, the counsel I give them."

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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[138] The Kitáb also relates the following allegorical story with reference to the same subject:

The Prophet and the Angel.[*]

When the Prophet—blessings upon him!—ascended to Paradise, the archangel Gabriel accompanied him in order to show him all the wonders of the heavens. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—observed an angel of majestic stature, who stood in an expectant attitude, bearing on his shoulders an enormous drum, and holding in his hand a long drumstick. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked who he was, and what was his occupation. The angel replied, "O messenger of Allah, my duty is, when a Mollah confers a benefit or bestows an alms, even were it but some broken food to a beggar, to beat the drum, and thus announce to all the angels of the heavens the benefit or the almsdeed of the theologian."

Upon this, the Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked the angel, "How many times hast thou beaten the drum since thou hast held this office?"

"I am still waiting," replied the angel; "and up to this hour I have not once beaten it."

Will it be always thus? Allah knows. The clergy of all religions perform for the most part but few acts of benevolence or charity, for they require of the people almsdeeds and benefits, and themselves give nothing to the poor.

771 745 The vague mysticism which is so closely interwoven with the doctrines of the Shia sect, to which the

[*] Jaba, Recueil, &c., p. 13.

1: Garrett B-4, 9 (ca. 1900) 1891
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cation "Troll," Indian "Rakshasa," and Greek Ἀρίων (Drakos);[1] a feminine but simple-minded monster, who is usually outwitted by a clever mortal, the youngest of three brothers, or a widow's son.

The Three Brothers and the Dev.[2]

There once lived in a certain place three brothers.[3] The name of the youngest was Hasanak, that of the second Qasim, and that of the eldest Hashem. Now it happened that each had a sickle, and Hasanak said to his brothers, "Come along, we will leave this country and go to that of another tribe where we can work and get good wages."

So the three set off. They went to the uplands, and there they found a field of wheat. Said Hasanak to his brothers, "Come, let us set to work and cut this wheat, it has no doubt an owner who will pay us."

So the three went to the field, and they stooped down and began to cut the wheat. When they had been cutting for two days, Hasanak saw a cave; it was the cave of a Dev, who came out immediately, and shouted and said, "Who are you? Why do you cut my wheat? I will come and eat the heads of all three of you!"

Said Hasanak to his brothers, "Do not be frightened, there is a Dev; he is coming towards us, saying, 'Who are you, and why do you cut my wheat?' Do not speak either of you, but let me answer the Dev."

[1] Conveniently considered by the late Mr. Goldziher as "dragon." See vol. i. p. 225, note, and compare Dragon, *Chinese Rep. Religions*, No. 6.

[2] Lorck, *Vierundvierzig alter die Kunden*, p. 48.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1860) 1891
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So they went on cutting the wheat as they saw the Dev coming. The Dev cried, "What are you doing there? You do not know my name. I will make one bite of the heads of all you three!"

Said Hamouk, "Effendi, allow me to speak to you."

"Speak, my son," replied the Dev.

Said Hamouk, "We are three brothers. We came here and found this wheat, and we stooped and began to cut, for we said, 'Perhaps this wheat has an owner who will pay us our wages.'"

Said the Dev to Hamouk, "Very well, my son, reap away." Then the Dev came closer to Hamouk, and said to him, "My son, give me thy sickle; sit thou still a little and rest thyself."

So the Dev, and Quim, and Shaban all three reaped until the hour of evening prayer.

Then the Dev arose and wrote a letter, gave it to Hamouk, and said, "Take this road, go; you see yonder mountain? On the top of it is my house, where my wife and my three daughters live. Take the letter thither, give it to my wife, she will understand."

So Hamouk took the letter, and set out. He walked for two hours, and then opened the letter, and saw that the Dev had written:

"When this man brings this letter into the house, cut off this man's head, and cook me a pilaf with the head of this man, that I may eat it."

Hamouk tore up the letter, threw it away, and wrote another:

"When this man brings this letter into the house, prepare a pilaf with the head of the brown bullock;

let Hamnah be-night weary my eldest daughter, and [illegible] ●
[illegible] bring let him bring me the gilet."

So the wife of the Der killed the brave bullock, made of the meat a gilet, and gave it to Hamnah. Hamnah took the gilet, went, and brought it to the Der. The Der saw Hamnah coming. Hamnah brought the gilet and gave it to the Der. The Der took it, and said to Hamnah, "I did not write such a letter; that bad woman, why did she prepare this dish and give it you? Why have you brought me this dish? This I did not write in the letter [but rather that] she kill me Hamnah, out of the flesh of Hamnah prepare me a gilet and send it to me."

Said Hamnah, "If you will go this time, then go. But if you will not go, then I will go, and this time she must kill me, prepare you a gilet, cook it, and send it."

The Der replied, "My son, sit still. I will write once more, give [the letter] to you, to take to my wife. If you return this time then I will go myself."

"Very well, Hikuh," said Hamnah.

When the Der had written the letter, he rose and gave it to Hamnah. Hamnah took it, and, after having walked two hours, he opened and read it, and saw that the Der had written in the letter: "This time cut out the eyes and the lips of Hamnah, and make kebabs of them. If this time the man returns safe and sound, then will I cause at once, bad woman, and cut off thy head, hands, and feet, for then will do no man's bidding." Hamnah read in the letter the evil which the Der had written, and he tore it up, threw it away, and wrote another.

● 130 "Kill this time the red bullock, prepare dainties, and send also bread and pilaf. To night let Hasanak marry my youngest daughter, and to morrow let him take the bread and pilaf, and bring it to me."

Hasanak took this letter, and gave it to the wife of the Dev, who read in it, "Kill this time, &c." The wife of the Dev killed the red bullock, and prepared dainties of the flesh, and that night Hasanak married the youngest daughter of the Dev, and rested until the morning. In the morning he rose, went into the room of the Dev, and said to his wife, "Give me the victuals, and I will go to the Dev." The Dev's wife rose, gave the victuals to Hasanak, and said, "Greet the Dev from me, and say to him, 'Assistant rose, thou emptiest my house of victuals!'"

And Hasanak rose, and said to the Dev's wife, "This bullock [with the flesh of which] I go, is to me a remembrance of thee."

The Dev's wife replied, "Arrive thou well, and have luck on the way."

Hasanak responded, "I thank thee, and may Allah be pleased with thee!"

Hasanak rose, brought the victuals, and gave them to the Dev. The Dev took them, and grew very angry, threw the meat down, and went home.

Hasanak said to his brothers, "Brothers, the house of the Dev is emptied of provisions, arise, and let us go further!"

So Hasanak's brothers arose, and he led them away, and they walked for four days. The Dev came back, but he did not see Hasanak. The latter went

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ake a town, took his brethren to the market-place and [illegible]
said to them, "Go where you will."

Hannah's brother Qasim said to him, "Why didst thou bring us here?" and his brother Shalem wept.

Said Hannah, "Brother, why dost thou weep? This is great."

Said Qasim, "Why didst thou bring us here? What wilt thou do with us? This place is strange and we have no helping, nobody will receive us, we will go home again."

Said Hannah, "Hire thyself to a master" (again).

So he took his brother to a coffee-house, and said to the keeper, "Effendi, this is my brother, his name is Qasim, he would be your servant."

The man replied, "My son, in what kind of work is your brother skilled?"

Said Hannah, "Any work that you may give him my brother can do."

So the keeper of the coffee-house said, "Very well, my son," and Hannah left his brother there and returned to the market-place, but he did not find his brother Shalem there. He wandered about for a month, and at last he found him in prison.

"Brother, who has put thee in prison and locked thee in?" he asked.

Shalem replied, "I went to the Dey to complain myself, and after I had found him I was seized, led away, and thrown into this prison."

Hannah took his brother out of the prison, and rested with him four days. He then took him to a bath, soaped, washed, and cleaned him, took him out

1: Garrett D-4, 3 (ca. 1880) 1891
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139 of the bath and led him to the captain of the guard. Hassouk said to the captain of the guard, "I give this, my brother, into thy keeping."

The captain asked, "Here, whither goest thou?"

"To take vengeance on the Dev," replied Hassouk.

Said the captain, "Go, here, for I, too, am a Dev-tamer. The Dev has a sword in a golden scabbard under a cover near the couch where he sleeps. Take this sword and go further. To the right is a lattice, go to this lattice, open it, and sit near as the Dev enters the room, take his sword in your hand, and when he advances into the chamber strike at his head, cut it off, and throw it on the floor. In the head is a tongue which speaks; if it says to you, 'Give a second blow,' then reply, 'I strike no second blow, a love speaks but once.'"

Hassouk arose and went to the house of the Dev, took the sword which hung over his pillow, went further, and saw the grating on the right side of the room, and placed himself in front of it. By-and-by the Dev arrived. Hassouk grasped the sword, and, as the Dev advanced into the room, he aimed a blow at him and cut off his head. The Dev fell to the floor and then said to Hassouk, "Give me a second blow."

Said Hassouk, "A love speaks but once."

The Dev died. Hassouk arose, carried away the corpse of the Dev, threw it into a pit, and then returned by another way to the Dev's house. He took the youngest daughter of the Dev and married her, and then set out to search for his brothers, Qasim and Ibrahim. When he had found them he gave the

eldest daughter of the Dev to his brother Bhalwa, and [illegible] the second to his brother Qasim, and they all three settled down and lived in peace ever after.[1]

The following pathetic little story recalls Grimm's [illegible] *Brüderchen und Schwesterchen*, and also the Hebrew [illegible] Greek folk-tale of *Aenopia and the Bluebird* ("Starlight and Birdie"), although in the Kirelish version the cannibalistic element is absent.

The Legend of the Owl (Gil'ia).[2]

Once upon a time, there lived a man and his wife, [illegible] who had one son and one daughter. The wife died, and the man soon after married another. After two years had passed, and the second wife had a daughter of her own, she began to hate the children of the first wife.

The girl used to go out to feed the cattle. One evening when she returned home she missed her brother, and asked her stepmother where he was.

The woman replied, "Thy brother has gone to his uncle's house."

The girl went to sleep, and in her dream she saw that her brother had been killed and his body thrown into a pit. In the morning she rose and said to her father,

"Father, I dreamt last night that thy wife killed my brother, and threw his body into a pit. I will now go out with the cattle, and if I find my brother

[1] The story does not say what became of the Dev's wife, but most probably the Dev had killed her when he went home in a rage.

[2] Lorch, *Herzlosigkeit*, &c., p. 8n.

1: Gerrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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"If I have no my return in the evening, I shall know that all is well with him. If he comes not, I will no longer tend the cows, neither will I remain here."

The father replied, "Go out to-day with the cattle, and I will wait for thy brother, and find out the truth. Since my wife hates you, neither will I remain here, unless I find your brother."

So the girl arose, and led the cows to pasture. The father, too, went out, and found his son's body thrown into a pit, and covered with a stone. He returned home and said to his wife:

"Why hast thou slain my son? His sister saw in a dream in the night that her brother was dead, and she came unto me and wept, and said, 'My brother has been killed, and thrown into a pit.' I said, 'Hush, my daughter, fear not, thy brother is well,' and the maiden said to me, 'To-day I will go out with the cattle, and if, when I return in the evening, my brother has not come, I will no longer remain here.'"

The woman replied, "Go, leave me in peace, you horrid man! You listen to your daughter, and then you come to me and ask me, 'Why have you killed my son?' Why should I thus kill thy son?"

The husband went forth in anger. He drew the corpse of his son out of the pit, carried it to his wife, and said to her:

"You monster! By whom has this boy been murdered?"

The woman was speechless. She trembled and could not utter a word.

The father washed the dead body of his son, carried

him to the grave and buried him. He then returned [537] home, cut off the head of his wife, and threw her into a pit.

The murdered boy's sister came home in the evening. When she saw neither her brother nor her step-mother, she asked, "Father, where is thy wife?"

"I know not," he replied, "but thy brother is dead."

When the maiden heard this she wept, and went away. Going down to the brook side, she bathed and prayed twice.

"Oh, Allah! Change me into an ox!"

And she was at once transformed into that red bird. She flew up and away and was seen there no more.

The following story will recall at once the wide-[537] spread nursery tale of "Puss in Boots. As in the [171] Sicilian version of this story, mentioned by Mr Lang,[1] the Fox, from motives of gratitude, undertakes to make the Miller's fortune, but his endeavours are defeated by the cowardice of the pretended "Tremaja Paska."

How the Fox Wooed for the Miller the Daughter of the Pasha of Egypt.[2]

There once lived a Miller in a certain country, and [537] plenty of grist came to his mill. One evening he stopped the mill, went into his house, and slept. In the morning, on going again into the mill, he found the trough empty. So on the following night, instead of sleeping, he kept watch, and about midnight

[1] Perrault's Tales, Introduction, p. lxxiii.
[2] Lane, Pentamerone &c., p. 83.

[1.19] he saw a Fox enter the mill, go to the trough and take out the flour. The Miller came out of his hiding place, seized the Fox, and began to belabour him with his stick. The Fox yelped, and said to the Miller, "Let me go, and I will woo for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt!"

"I am a Miller," was the reply. "How wilt thou woo for me the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt?"

Said the Fox, "Kill me not, and I will indeed woo for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt. If I fail to do so, then thou mayest kill me."

"Then must take thine oath upon it," said the Miller.

So the Fox swore to the Miller, and the Miller let him go.

The Fox set off, and by-and-by he arrived in Egypt. When he came into the presence of the Pasha, he saluted him most courteously, and the Pasha said to the Fox, "Tell me thy desire."

The Fox replied, "Sire, have I your permission to speak?"

"Thou hast."

"Then," said the Fox, "My master, Tewinaya Pasha, seeks the hand of thy daughter."

The Pasha of Egypt replied, "Take horsemen with you, and go to meet this Tewinaya Pasha, who may be some Vizier, but whose name I do not know."

"Sire," said the Fox, "give me a suit of clothes," and I will take it to Tewinaya Pasha. But do not send your soldiers out to meet him before two days

[1.19] * Presents of apparel are very common in the East, and are frequently mentioned in folk-tales.

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have passed, for I will myself announce to you his approach."

So the Pasha of Egypt gave a suit of clothes to the Fox, who immediately set off with it for the Miller's house.

Said the Fox, "I have wooed for thee the daughter of the Pasha of Egypt. Arise now, go to the bath, wash and clean thyself, put on these clothes, and I will lead thee to the Pasha of Egypt."

So the Miller went to the bath, where he washed himself, shaved his head and his beard, and donned the new suit. He then set off with the Fox. When they arrived on the Egyptian border, the Miller remained behind while the Fox went to inform the Pasha of his arrival.

Said the Fox, "Effendi, Tentenpo Pasha has come. Give me a handsome carriage for him, and let your soldiers go out to receive him."

The Pasha ordered a state carriage to be got ready, with three servants to walk in front of it. So Tentenpo Pasha came to Egypt, and the Egyptian army shouted "*Selam aleikum!*"[1] But the Miller was confused, and could not reply to the greeting, and some of the soldiers said, "It is a drunken man! it is a drunken man! It is no Pasha! it is but a Miller!" The Fox then walked up and down before the soldiers, saying to them, "The weather is very warm, and Tentenpo Pasha is quite overcome; you must excuse him." So Tentenpo Pasha was conducted to the palace of the Pasha of Egypt. As he stepped out of the carriage, the Fox took him by the hand

[1] "Peace be with thee."

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 and led him into the serail into the presence of the Pasha. Said he to the Pasha of Egypt,

"Effendi, for a month past Temteqa Pasha has been absent-minded."

"Well," replied the Pasha of Egypt, "lead him to his apartment, and put him on the divan to rest."

The Fox obeyed. The Miller was trembling with fear, and the Fox said to him, "Curse thee, leave off trembling, and lie down to rest!"

"The Pasha of Egypt will come hither, and cut off my head," replied the frightened Miller.

"Not he," returned the Fox. "Fear not, I will not forsake thee. Have thy wits about thee, and if he enter the room rise from the divan and kiss the hem of his garment."

"If the Pasha of Egypt comes into the room he will kill me," repeated the Miller.

Said the Fox, "Get up. I will bring thee water to perform the ablution, and then thou canst say thy prayers."

"Yes," replied the Miller, "bring me water, and I will make the ablution."

So the Fox fetched some water and gave it to the Miller, who went out to seek a place proper for making the ablution before saying his prayers, without, however, knowing where to look for it. The Fox waited for some time, but as the Miller did not return he went to seek him, and found him lying on the ground, dead. Then he went to the Pasha of Egypt, and said to him,

"Temteqa Pasha went out to make the ablution, and has fallen down dead."

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Pasha said, "Go, bring him in." 539
So the Fox brought in the Miller's body, washed it, and buried it.

The following fable is precisely similar in its commencement to the familiar one of "The Fox and the Stork." The incident of the Mollah's fur pelisse is, however, quite an Oriental feature, and the final catastrophe is familiar to me as occurring in another Eastern story, the nationality of which I do not, unfortunately, remember. 538 171

The Fox, the Eagle, and the Wolf.[1]

Once upon a time a Fox and an Eagle lived on brotherly terms. One day the Fox said to the Eagle, "I will prepare a feast for you." 539

So the Eagle went to the house of the Fox, whom he found preparing the meal. When it was ready, the Fox placed the meat on a shallow dish, and invited the Eagle to fall to, saying, "Brother, eat!" But, peck at the dish as he would, the Eagle could not secure a morsel, while his host ate with ease.

Then said the Eagle to the Fox, "Come with me; get on my back, and I will take you to my house."

So the Fox got on the Eagle's back, and the Eagle rose high into the air. Presently he saw a Mollah kneeling on his fur-lined pelisse, at his prayers, and threw the Fox down upon him. The Mollah, terrified, ran off, leaving his pelisse, which the Fox promptly put on, and went his way.

[1] Lerch, *Forschungen*, &c., p. 46.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 On the road he met a Wolf, who asked, "Brother Fox, what kind of fur coat are you wearing?"

"Brother Wolf, I am a tailor," replied the Fox.

"Then, Brother Fox, make me a fur coat," requested the Wolf.

"Certainly," said the Fox, "I will make you a fur coat."

"How soon will it be ready?"

"I must first have seven sheep, and then I will make it," replied the Fox; and he went to his den, and lay down.

The Wolf went further, found seven sheep, and brought them to the Fox, who said, "Brother Wolf, go home and wait three days; then return, for I shall have sewn your coat."

The Wolf waited three days, and then returned to claim his pelisse.

But the Fox replied, "My father is a tailor, and so is my mother, but I am not one."

Then said the Wolf, "Brother Fox, would you mind coming out of your den?"

"Get away with you," replied the Fox; "these seven sheep will suffice me for a whole year."

"Then," returned the Wolf, "I will wait a whole year before your den."

But the Fox heeded him not. He ate the seven sheep, and went to sleep. The Wolf remained seven or eight days before the Fox's earth. Seeing that he made no attempt to come out, the Wolf at last fetched a dried gourd, into which he put some stones. This gourd, rolling about, made a continual noise, which roused the Fox's curiosity. Coming cautiously out

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of his hole, he looks about for the Wolf, but, not 537
seeing him, he ventures forth, and seizes the gourd, which he ties to his tail. By-and-by he goes to the fountain, and, his tail hanging over the side, the gourd falls into the water, and the Fox, in his efforts to pull it out again, tumbles in himself.

The transcriber of the next story, M. Jaba, suggests 538
that "Sûri-Saltó" must have been an old Crusader, who 171
knew of the existence of the treasure, and had come from Europe, disguised as a dervish, to secure it. I venture, however, to think it much more probable that he was the famous warrior-monk, Sûri-Saltik, one of the Moslem "Saints" who took part in the Ottoman Conquest, and of whom many extraordinary legends are related by the Turks.[1]

The Armenian and the Dervish.[2]

An Armenian named Sûtir once lived in the town 539
of Begiriv, which is situated in one of the *kazas* 216
(districts) of Van. One day a wandering dervish was passing through the town, and received hospitality in the house of this Armenian. By the will of Allah, this dervish, whose name was Sûri-Saltó, fell sick, and remained a long time confined to his bed in the house of his host, who, with his wife and all the people of his household, took the greatest care of him. Every possible attention was paid to the dervish Sûri-Saltó.

[1] Some of these legends are to be found in the *Narrative of Evliya Effendi*, published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Among other feats the saint destroyed a seven-headed monster, and delivered a king's daughter whom he was about to devour. He is said to have travelled about from country to country, borne over the sea on his dervish's sheepskin mat.

[2] *Recueil de Notices et Récits Kourdes*, p. 94.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 286 In about two months the dervish got well and recovered his strength. One day he said to Sätir, "Get ready by to-night a sack, a cord, flint and steel, a candle, and some matches. Have all these things in readiness, for we are going somewhere. Thou hast put thyself to much trouble for me, and it is but right that I should do thee a good turn."

The Armenian, Sätir, got ready the sack and the other articles mentioned by Säri-Saltó, and, as soon as it was night, he and the dervish took them, and left the town. At an hour's distance from Begirlv, near the village of Kürütt, on the top of a hill, are the ruins of a castle, which dates from the time of the Infidels (*i.e.*, the Christians), the architecture and walls of which are very ancient. The dervish Säri-Saltó and the Armenian Sätir penetrated together into the interior of the ruins.

The dervish said to Sätir, "Knowest thou why I have led thee hither?"

"I know nothing about it, thou only knowest," replied the Armenian.

539 Then the dervish revealed to him that in the centre of this fortress, which has remained from the times of the Infidels, a treasure lay hidden. "I am going," he said, "to remove the spell which guards it; we will enter, and thou shalt take some of the gold. But utter not a word." After this caution to Sätir, the dervish pronounced some words, when a noise, accompanied by an earthquake, was heard within the walls. A few moments afterwards a door opened, and both entered the treasure chamber. Sätir lighted a candle, and saw indeed a large room where gold and coins of

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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the old Christian Emperors were lying in heaps. On 539
one heap of gold was a golden partridge with diamond eyes, which sparkled; and its beak, wings, and the whole of its body were covered with precious stones, which glittered in the light. The dervish stretched forth his hand, seized this golden bird, and hid it in his mantle, and advised Sâtir for his part to fill his sack with as much gold as he could carry, as it was time to retire. The Armenian did so, and made so heavy a load that he could hardly carry it. They left the chamber, the dervish again recited some words, and the door of the treasure house shut again. They walked away together for a little distance, and the dervish then said to Sâtir, "Do thou go home, and I will go about my business, but do not forget me," and he went off in another direction.

No sooner had he gone, however, than the demon began to tempt Sâtir. The recollection that the dervish had taken away with him the image of the partridge studded with precious stones tormented him, and made him fancy that he, as a confederate, had some right to it. So he turned to follow after the dervish, with the intention of taking the bird from him by force, if necessary. Putting his sack on the ground, he ran after Sâri-Salté and soon overtook him. Hearing the sound of footsteps behind him, the dervish looked round, saw Sâtir, and asked what had brought him back. The Armenian replied that he wanted the partridge, and not the gold.

The dervish replied, "Thou art a fool. This gold is sufficient for thee; go about thy business, I want

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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● 539 this partridge. It is for this bird that I have left Frenghistan[1] and come hither; but I fell ill on the way and remained in thy house, and in reward for thy care I have given thee so much gold."

Sätir turned away. The demon, however, did not leave him, but induced him to go and try to take the partridge by force from the dervish, and also to keep all the gold. So again he runs after Säri-Salté, and, in a word, in spite of all the latter's counsel, he would not be persuaded. Seeing that Sätir was prepared to take the bird from him by force, the dervish told him to come nearer and he would give it to him. At the moment he approached, Säri-Salté threw at his nose something, the smell of which was so overpowering that he fell back in a faint.

The dervish went off, and Sätir did not come to himself until the following day. He got up, saw that the dervish was gone, took up his sack, and carried it home, where he hid it carefully. By degrees he purchased property of various kinds, several yokes of oxen for the plough, a fine flock, and some mills. The Governor of Begiriv learnt this, and suspected that Sätir must have found a treasure somewhere, as he was buying so much property. The neighbours informed the Governor that a short time back a dervish had arrived there, and remained in Sätir's house, that he had recovered, and disappeared, and that it was from that time that Sätir had become so prosperous. Finally, they succeeded, by one means or another, in getting some ancient coins from Sätir's house.

[1] The land of the Franks, *i.e.*, Europe.

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The affair got wind, and it was everywhere reported 539
that Sâtir of Begiriv had found a treasure. The news finally reached the ears of the Pasha of Van, who sent for him and shut him up in the city prison, where he lay some time. He confessed the truth, and obtained his liberty only at the price of a quantity of gold, which he gave to the Pasha of Van. In short, Sâtir had to scatter his gold in all directions.

Sensible folks will, perhaps, doubt the truth of this story. It is, however, firmly believed in these districts, and often related, and, what is more, the descendants of Sâtir still live at Begiriv in great prosperity. They have lands, mills, many a yoke of oxen and fine flocks, and they keep open house. One might say that it is a *tekkeh*,[1] for every one receives hospitality in this Armenian house; Moslems even are never repulsed, but welcomed with every mark of attention. From that time Sâtir became well known among the Kûrds, who made great friends with him, and brought him presents of sheep. It sometimes [577 628 778]
happens that they are at feud with the inhabitants of Begiriv, and commit robberies and depredations in that town, but they always spare the house of Sâtir, saying that it is as sacred as a *tekkeh*, and that not even an indiscreet glance must enter it.

The following curious story has been preserved by 538
the late Mr. Rich,[2] who took it down literally from 114
the lips of the narrator, a tribesman of the Bebbehs of Darishmana, without, as he says, adding to or

[1] Dervish monastery, where hospitality is generally exercised.
[2] *Narrative, &c.*, vol. i. p. 291.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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altering it in any way. The incidents it describes are totally unlike those of Kûrdish stories generally, and are probably derived from real occurrences, but belonging to a date far anterior to that assigned by the story-teller, who, with the supreme disregard for accuracy manifested by persons of his calling in the East, would refer any remarkable story to the immediate ancestors of the favourite Kûrdish hero, Sulieman Baba, if he could not refer them to the hero himself without being convicted of a too glaring anachronism. It may possibly be a survival of some story of chivalry belonging to the crusading age of Saladin, whom the Kûrds declare to have been a prince of their race.

A parallel to this legend may also be found in the Greek folk-tale of Ἡ βασίλισσα ποὺ πάγαινε στὸν πόλεμο, "The Princess who went to the War."[1]

The Maiden Champion.

There lived once in Darishmana two brothers, Fakih Ahmed and Khidder, who had suffered much from the hostility of the Bulbassis, the most powerful people of Pizhder. Fakih Ahmed, who was of a bold and proud spirit, quitted his village in disgust, swearing never to return to it unless he should be in a position to avenge himself. He went to Constantinople, and entered the service of the Sultan.

It so happened that the Sultan was at that time at war with the English (or Franks). In those days battles were generally decided by single combat. A champion had come forth from the Frankish host

[1] Von Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 57; and *Märchen*, i. p. 114.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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who for five days had kept the field against the flower of the Turkish chivalry, all of whom he had successively overthrown and slain. Fakih Ahmed volunteered to meet this redoubtable foe, upon which the Sultan sent for him, asked him concerning his country, and being satisfied with his appearance, allowed him to undertake the adventure, after first supplying him with a suitable horse and arms. He ran his course, and overthrew the Frankish knight. Upon alighting to cut off his head, he found, to his great astonishment, that his fallen enemy was a young maiden, who besought him to spare her life and she would marry him. He brought her back to the Turkish camp in triumph, and upon the Sultan's asking him what reward he should bestow upon him, he claimed and obtained a *firman*, constituting him Bey, and bestowing on him in perpetuity the village and lands of Darishmana. In this he displayed either his modesty or his ignorance, for, had he claimed the whole of Kürdistan, he would have obtained it. 537

Fully satisfied, however, with his new acquisition, he returned in triumph to his native place with his bride, Keighan, by whom he had subsequently two children, Baba Süliman and Boodakh Keighan. He had frequent contests with the Bulbassis, whom he succeeded in reducing to considerable order.

One day, however, when he was absent, a large party of them came down on a predatory excursion. His wife, Keighan, sallied forth alone, and put the whole of them, amounting to some four or five hundred horsemen, to flight, killing a great number. She then

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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summoned together the people of Duriahmana, mounted her horse, and addressed them as follows:

"Men of Duriahmana, Fakih Ahmed spared my life when I was in his power, and I have this day requited the service, which was all I wanted or waited for. Now tell Fakih Ahmed what you have seen, and also that I am gone where he shall see me no more. Tell him that I charge him not to follow me, for it would be in vain, and I should do him harm, which, God knows, I would not willingly do." So saying, she turned her horse, and was out of sight in a moment.

As might be supposed, Fakih Ahmed was, on his return, much astonished to hear what had happened, and also deeply grieved at the loss of his beloved Keighan, whom he resolved to follow in spite of her prohibition. He came up with her in the valley of Khidheran, which is in Pizhder, and besought her to return with him.

"It is impossible," she replied. "You are a Moslem, I am a Frank. I go to the land of my fathers. Farewell. Come not near me, or I shall harm you!"

As the enamoured Fakih persisted, she raised her spear, and thrust him through the shoulder. He fell, and she galloped off. But she had not gone far when she bethought herself that she had made but a poor requital for his mercy to her when her life was at his disposal, and that, though he was a Moslem, he was the father of her children. She therefore relented, turned back, and finding him still breathing, applied to his wound a powerful ointment which placed him out of danger till he should receive succour. She

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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then set off again. But the ardent lover and husband, as soon as he had recovered from his wound, nothing abashed by the rough usage he had received at Keighan's hands, still persisted in his design of following and recovering her, and in pursuit of her reached Frenghistan. At nightfall he came to a large city, where he heard the sound of revelry. The *mehter khana* (band) was playing, the *meshals* (torches) were lighted, and all the other preparations for a *toey* (nuptial feast) were going forward.

Uncertain what to do, or where to take up his abode for the night, he resolved to leave it to chance and remain where his horse might stop. He accordingly gave him the reins, and the animal stopped before the house of an old woman. After making some difficulties, the woman consented to receive Fakih Ahmed as her guest, and he then inquired of her what was the occasion of all the rejoicings. She replied that the daughter of the king had gone to war with the Moslems, and had just returned after having been missing for several years, and also that she was then going to be married to her cousin. Fakih Ahmed begged his hostess to procure him admission as a spectator to the nuptial feast, which she at length agreed to do, provided he would allow her to dress him in woman's attire. This he consented to, and, favoured by his disguise, he contrived to be close at hand during the first interview between the fair Keighan and her proposed spouse.

When the lady came forth, the ungracious bridegroom immediately saluted her with a box on the ear, saying:

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 "Thou hast been a prisoner in the hands of the Moslems; thou hast been dishonoured; and darest thou show thyself before me?"

The bride, in her anguish, exclaimed in the Kûrdish language, which had become familiar to her, "Oh, Fakih Ahmed, would that thou wert here!"

The person thus invoked immediately rushed forward, slew the bridegroom, and escaped with his wife to Constantinople, where the Sultan bestowed upon him an addition to his former grant. The couple then returned to Pizhder, where they lived happily all their days. Before Fakih Ahmed died, he completely subjugated the districts of Pizhder, Mergeh, and Mawutt, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Baba Sûliman, the ancestor of the present princes of Sûlimanieh, who conquered the remaining districts of that part of Kûrdistan now under their authority.

538 The Sultan Murad, who figures in the following Kûrdish story, is most probably Murad IV., who reigned early in the seventeenth century, and resembled the famous Khalif Haroun el Raschid in his fondness for going about his capital in disguise. His adventure with the shepherd is almost identical with that related of James V. of Scotland—"The Gudeman of Ballenguich"—with the farmer Donaldson, who was subsequently known as "The King of the Moors."[1]

[1] See Sir W. Scott's Poems, Appendix to *The Lady of the Lake*, p. 260 (Black's edition, 1865).

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Sultan Murad and Siso the Shepherd.[1]

It is well known that the Kûrds lead their sheep in flocks into Syria and Arabia, and even to Constantinople. Once a shepherd named Siso, of the tribe of Bera-Berukân, led his sheep to Constantinople for sale. His shoulders covered with a goatskin, as is the custom among shepherds, he grazed his sheep in the neighbourhood of the capital.

One day Sultan Murad and his *lala*,[2] both disguised as dervishes, were walking in the suburbs, and they came to the spot where Siso was with his sheep. Now Sultan Murad had never in his life seen Kûrds, nor shepherds in such a costume. Seeing Siso so strangely dressed, the Sultan was astonished, and said to his *lala*, "What race of men is this who resemble in no respect the people of Stamboul, with their heads and their eyes covered with goatskins?"

The *lala* replied that it was a Kûrd from Anatolia, who had brought his sheep for sale.

"Let us approach this strange creature," said the Sultan, "and see what manner of man he is."

Then the Sovereign and his *lala* in their dervish disguises came up to the shepherd and saluted him. He returned their salutation, saying, "You are welcome, *bâba* (father) dervishes." The Sultan and the *lala* sat down. The shepherd had a pipe with a short stem which he filled and offered to the dervishes, who

[1] Jaba, *Recueil, &c.*, p. 62.

[2] Tutor or confidential attendant. This name is also given to a male slave who has the charge of children.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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were much surprised by this act of courtesy. He then said:

"I have bread and milk, and will bring you some."

Sultan Murad wished to decline his offer, saying, "We are not hungry, and have no need of food." But the shepherd insisted upon sharing his bread with them, and quoted to them th Arab proverb: "Whoso visits a living person and eats nothing at his house might as well visit a dead man."

"I am well," he added, "and refuse to be called a dead man, so you must not leave mewithout breaking bread."

The Sultan was charmed with the shepherd's remark, and accepted his offer of bread and milk. Siso unslung the skin bag which hung on his back, took from it a wooden cup, went to milk some of the sheep, and returned, bearing also in his hand a loaf, which he placed beforehis guests. The Sultan and the *kodja* ate a little, and the shepherd then asked the dervishes if they lived at Constantinople.

"Yes," replied Sultan Murad, "we belong to the capital. For the love of Allah, shepherd, if thou comest into town come and see me.'

The shepherd asked Sultan Murad what was his name and where he might be found.

His Majesty replied that his name was Baba Murad, and that he lived near th Sultan's palace. "Come to that place," he added, "and thou wilt find me."

The two dervishes took leave of the shepherd, and

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returned to Stamboul to the imperial palace. The Padishah stationed a man at the Sublime Porte with orders to look out for a shepherd, dressed in such a certain fashion and covered with a goatskin, who would present himself there; as soon as he appeared, to say to him that he belonged to the house of Baba Murad, and then to conduct him to the apartment prepared for him, seat him there, and inform the Sultan of his arrival. 539

Two or three days afterwards, the shepherd took two or three of his fattest sheep, drove them before him, and traversed Stamboul, inquiring for the house of Baba Murad. Every one laughed in his face, and made fun of him, until he arrived near the palace, when the man who had been posted there by order of the Sultan went forward to meet him, and asked, "Whom seekest thou?"

The shepherd replied that he was looking for the dervish, Baba Murad, his dear friend, and that he had brought the sheep as a present to him, and a token of his friendly regard.

The man replied that he belonged to the household of Baba Murad, and offered to conduct him to his master's abode, giving the sheep into the charge of his servant. The shepherd's costume was enough to frighten one, with his goatskin covered with hairs standing on end, and in this costume he entered the sumptuous apartment, took off his shoes, and sat down. The palace attendant went to inform the Sultan that the shepherd had come, and that, according to his orders, he had conducted him to the apartment specified, and awaited his Majesty's further orders.

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●539 The Sultan put on again his dervish's dress. The *kale* did the same, and both entered the room where the shepherd was.

"*Salaam aleikûm*, peace be upon thee," they said.

The shepherd had still no idea that he was in the presence of the Sultan. The Padishah ordered the black coffee which is served in *findjânes*[1] to be brought.

"My brother,"[2] cried the shepherd, "why is thy milk so black and so bitter? and these cups, why are they so small? It scalds my mouth, and I can't drink the milk. Let them fill my wooden cup, and I will put in some pieces of bread and eat them."

The Sultan smiled, and ordered coffee to be brought in a coffee-pot. They filled with it the cup of Siso the shepherd, gave him a piece of bread, and he ate it with a spoon. Then addressing his Majesty, he said:

"By Allah, my brother, thy milk is bad, it is too bitter." Then, looking at the cushions and mattresses covered with gold brocade which decorated the room, which he thought was but printed cotton, he added, "Brother, buy me a little of that stuff for my children. I will repay you when I have sold my sheep."

"Willingly," replied the Sultan.

Siso continued to look about the apartment, which was full of magnificence and luxury, inspected the beautiful furniture, and again addressed the Sultan.

"My brother, who built this house for thee? doubtless it was left to thee by thy father?"

[1] Turkish coffee-cups. Though coffee has long been known in Kurdistan, it is little used by the nomad Kurds, and is unknown to many shepherds even at this day.

[2] Kurds always address each other by this term.

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The Sultan replied that it had indeed been be- 534
queathed to him by his father.

Shaking his head, Siso cried, "I knew that it could not be a dervish's property!" and a few minutes afterwards he asked permission to leave, in order to look after his sheep, which had been left without a keeper. The Sultan told an attendant to send some one to look after the sheep and sell them, adding to the shepherd, "I will not let thee depart." His Majesty ordered them to take Siso to the bath and give him a robe of state, and thus only did Siso learn that Baba Murad was his Padishah. When again conducted into the presence, he fell at the Sultan's feet and implored his pardon for having been so wanting in respect for him. Murad overwhelmed Siso with benefits and honours, had his sheep sold, granted him many favours, and finally bestowed upon him by *berat*[1] the fief of several villages of Bayazid. At this day the chiefs of the tribe of Berukân are of the family of this man, and live in the village of Girberân.[2]

The Kûrds, like the Turks, have for their hero of 535
most of their comic and humorous stories, Nasr-ed-Dîn Hodja, the Imâm jester of Timour the Tartar. Some of these stories are identical with those current among the Turks, but many are, doubtless, of much greater antiquity than the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, the date assigned to this famous Oriental wit. The character of these anecdotes varies greatly. In one, for instance, the

[1] The Turkish equivalent of "royal letters patent."
[2] Between Bayazid and Makoo.

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538 Hodja administers a severe rebuke to the avaricious; in another he enunciates a wise maxim for general observance; in many he is a mere buffoon; and in some his own honesty and integrity are more than questionable. Underlying the majority, however, is a vein of quiet sarcasm; and the *jeux de mots*, so much appreciated by Orientals, and to which the Turkish language especially is so well adapted, are very frequent, but impossible to reproduce in another language.

The Adventures of a Cooking Pot.

539 One day the Hodja borrowed a cauldron (*kazán*) from his neighbour. Now this neighbour was a bad man, and the Hodja did not like him. After the cauldron had remained some days with him, the owner knocked at the Hodja's door and re-demanded his property. The Hodja placed a smaller pot in the cauldron, and handed it to him. When the owner observed this, he said to Nasr-ed-Dín:

"This little pot is not mine."

The Hodja replied, "Thy cauldron has given birth to a young one; take them both, I do not want thy goods."

At this the owner of the cauldron rejoiced greatly, and exclaimed, "*Allah kerim*—Allah is great! with the Almighty nothing is impossible!" and so saying, he took the pots and went his way.

A month or two afterwards the Hodja again went to his neighbour to borrow a cauldron. The man brought out the biggest he possessed. "But that is too big," objected Nasr-ed-Dín.

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"I haven't a smaller one to lend you," said his neighbour. "What does it matter? If this one should bring forth, surely its child will be a big one."

So the Hodja carried the cauldron home, and put it on the oljak. The cauldron not being returned, the owner, after a month or so, went to ask for it. At the sight of him the Hodja wept.

"*Amán*," he cried, "a great misfortune has happened. Thy cauldron was a beautiful cauldron—it is dead—but thou art in good health."

"How can a cauldron die?" retorted the other incredulously; "thou art mocking me, Hodja."

"My heart," replied the Hodja, "when I informed thee that thy cauldron had brought forth a young one, Allah was all-powerful; and now, when I tell thee that she is dead, thou sayest that I mock thee!"

Nasr-ed-Din and the Beggar.

One day the Hodja went up to the terrace roof of his house, and while he was busy putting it in order, a knock was heard at the street door. On opening it the Hodja's wife saw a stranger, and asked his business. The man replied, "Go and tell the Hodja to come hither quickly, as he is wanted."

"But he is up on the roof, and is busy," objected the Hodja's spouse.

"No matter," was the reply, "call him that he may come quickly."

So the Hodja's wife called from below, "*Effendi*, there is a man at the door who wants you; come down quickly."

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539 Said the Hodja, "I have mounted a thousand steps to get up here—ask the man what he wants, and then tell me."

But the man insisted on the Hodja's coming down to him at once, so the good woman again went to call him. Finding the caller so persistent, the Hodja said to himself, "Perhaps he comes on some business matter. I had better go down."

Hurrying down the staircase, he fell and hurt himself, and, coming to the door out of temper, found there a beggar, who said:

735 "For Allah's sake, give me an *aspre*!"

"Come this way," replied the Hodja, and he led the man up the staircase. When they had mounted forty steps, the Hodja turned to the beggar and said, "Go, may Allah send thee one."[1]

"You might have said that to me downstairs," grumbled the beggar.

"Man," replied the Hodja, "thou didst bring me down a thousand steps to hear thee say, 'Give me an *aspre*,' and hast been the cause of my fall and my hurt. I bring thee up but forty steps to hear me say, 'May Allah give it thee.'"

Nasr-ed-Din Hodja and the Corpse.

539 764 One day, as the Hodja was at home washing his clothes, a man came to request him to perform the ablutionary rite for a corpse, so that it might be buried.

"I am busy," replied the Hodja; "I am washing my clothes. Go, bring the corpse here, lay it on this

[1] The usual Oriental formula when refusing a beggar's request for alms.

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table, and I will wash it here, as I have plenty of warm water,' and then you may take it and bury it."

"Very well," said the man, and he went to fetch the body.

The Hodja placed it on his table, and then said to the bearers, "Remain outside with my wife while I see to the corpse."

So the men went and sat down outside. The Hodja locked the door and fell a-thinking. Said he to himself, "I begrudge the warm water which I want for my clothes."

A small stream flowed past the house, and the Hodja finally decided to let it carry the dead man away unwashed. So, seizing the corpse by the legs, he threw it into the stream, which was swollen, and it was soon borne out of sight.

"I must now be wily with these men," said the Hodja to himself, and opening the door, he asked, "What has the life of the dead man been?"

"He was a rogue, a thief, and a cheat," was the general reply.

"No," said the Hodja, "that cannot be. You are mistaken. This man must have been a good man. When I had washed him on the table he opened his eyes and sat up. A silver chain then came down from heaven, angels came and took him up, and they said, 'This was indeed a man.'"

The simple villagers believed the words of the Hodja. "It was the will of Allah," they piously said, and returned to their homes. When, however, the corpse

[1] See Muslim funeral rites, p. 450.

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● 539 had been in the water for three or four days, its further progress down the stream was arrested by the overhanging branches of a tree, and was observed by the country people. A peasant presently came to the Hodja, and reproached him, saying:

"You told us, Hodja, that the dead man had been taken up to heaven, and there is his corpse in the stream all swollen."

"Then he has been thrown down again from heaven," replied the Hodja, promptly. "You said he was a rogue, a thief, and a cheat, and who knows what he may not have been doing up there? He has probably stolen something, and they have cast him down again. Go quickly and bury him, or he may again come to life and rob you of something."

How the Hodja lost his Quilt.

One winter's night, when the Hodja and his wife were snugly asleep, two men began to quarrel and fight under his window. Both drew their knives, and the dispute threatened to become serious. Hearing the noise, the Hodja's wife got up, looked out of the window, and seeing the state of affairs, woke her husband, saying, "Great heavens! get up and separate them, or they will kill each other."

But the Hodja only answered sleepily, "Wife, dear, come to bed again; on my faith, there are no men in the world. I wish to be quiet; it is a winter's night. I am an old man, and perhaps if I went out to them they might beat me."

The Hodja's wife was a wise woman. She kissed

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

his hands and his feet. The Hodja was cross and scolded her, but he threw the quilt about him, went downstairs, and out to where the disputants were, and said to them: 539

"For the sake of my white beard, cease, my sons, your strife."

The men, in reply, pulled the quilt from the Hodja's shoulders, and made off with it.

"Very well," observed the good man. He re-entered, locked the door, and went upstairs. Said his wife:

"You did very well to go out to those men. Have they left off quarrelling?"

"They have," replied the Hodja.

"What were they quarrelling about, Hodja?"

"Fool," replied the Hodja, "they were quarrelling for my quilt. Henceforward my motto shall be, '*Beware of serpents.*'"

of faith), Ullahu akbar, Ullahu akbar, ashhadu inna la ilaha illa llah wa ashhadu inna Muhammad rasul Ullah, "God is greatest, God is greatest, I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God," for the infant, something analogous to a Christian baptismal ceremony. He then says the name of the child loudly in its ear three times, and the formal ceremony is completed. The investigator was told that elsewhere in Kurdistan, specifically at Sulaymaniya, there are extensive celebrations connected with naming. The name itself is usually selected by the parents, who can defer its choice to the grandparents. It was also said that a name was occasionally obtained by drawing one of a number of written slips from a bag, or that it appeared to one of the parents in a dream. 553 852 [539]

The Kurds do not use family names, but occasionally add appellations which further identify the person in question. The proper names are in part derived from Arabic, among them the numerous "slaves" of God, for example, 'Abd al-Rahman, "Slave of the Merciful," or simple ones such as Anwar or Fatima. Others, like Mustafa or Izzet, have a Turkish origin, and some are purely Kurdish or Persian. On analogy from the Arabs, the parents of a child may be designated after him. Thus, the mother and father of Nawzad might be termed Dak Nawzad and Baba Nawzad respectively. A person may also be identified by the name of his father, for example, Aziz Shakir, Aziz "the son of" Shakir. For additional characterization, a man may be 551

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There [461] [556]
are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. 517
Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do [224]
some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the
countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal
behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men
prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the
tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama [524]
or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj,
chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered
from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the 538
townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-
tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in
the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor
have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, [546]
radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are [207]
never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a [204]
considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such
comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it
is said that they cannot compare with the artistry dis-
played by the old professionals. A short story of Abu
Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the
type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel 539
> from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding
> the original pot, returned one much larger and of
> greater value. "The pot is different," remarked
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> have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried
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> son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the nadi or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowanduz district. 538 517 [529] [484] [547] [548]

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [648] [668]

Sure 24, verses 30-31 of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognised as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allāh* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allāh* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[12].

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Muhammed[13], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Sures of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a nun's habit. Unknown and unrecognisable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[14] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil ... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand ... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ...".

Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 76). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu. Many times in the *sūq* at Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

4: Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
Kurd MAII

I K 438 439 173 782 539

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body

of cards. The game itself is unvarying, as well as its particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the nadi or in the home of the qaimmaqam, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikaw, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

[1]The salary of a typical mudir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars ($56.00 per month and 240 dinars ($672.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah, mentioned above. The mudir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a qaimmaqam. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificant view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatrani, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

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roadside <u>ghaykhana</u> between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowandus keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowandus. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>ghaykhana</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowandus itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowandus and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowandus and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowandux, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which are menial and those which are not. A successful kebabchi or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the merchant's son would rarely become a kebabchi. There is also some exchange of persons between town and villages, those seeking their fortunes in Rowandux and those, successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but migration from the town itself outside the district is very limited. This does not apply to the area as a whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent population of Rowandux, however, with its core of older families from the days before the First World War, seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ellah, but

onsiderable social intercourse between the two groups. 186
nfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, 563
ook service with the British, particularly in the infantry 571
evy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in
rushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled
n the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and,
hile outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a
ertain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance
ith the British, especially in the lucrative occupations
f the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [547]
he Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as
re able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582]
roup are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of
heir daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them.
ne can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or
erman wives, but never Armenian or Chaldeean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627
uslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim 837
oman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent 548
anger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad
ress is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553]
hem assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite,
nd wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing
utwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771
ommands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578
"proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A
uslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

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noted for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jindian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amira, "princess," or khan, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations.

The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of badalkhwin or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his house, and, on the other, to his family. The Kurds do not use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Aziz Shakir Mujjrim (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Baba Nawzad," the father of Nawzad, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exoganous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between

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known by his trade, as in 'Umar Chaichi, 'Umar the Tea-shop Owner, by a nickname, as in Shakir Mujrim, Shakir the Criminal, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali Farsi, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the Tribe of the Prophet may preface their name with sayyid, "Lord," as in Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, and have the right of wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use titles such as agha or beg after their names, although the townspeople often apply these to officials and officers of the government elite. The only titles which precede the proper name seem to be Arabic, hajji, a pilgrim, mulla, a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Hashimite Tribe, and shaykh, an aristocratic or religious chieftain. The titles which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi, and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief mulla of Rowanduz is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi. No local pattern could be discerned to the aversion of calling a child by his proper name in public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to wander about the streets of the town, sometimes to their peril.

al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public. 792 212

To illustrate further the character of the darwish, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rowanduz. The story was recorded in the garden of Shakir Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iran disguised as a Jew, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology. 159 792 [124]

> My real name is Mustafa Aziz, but my name as a darwish is Khalifa Hajji Mustafa Rowanduzi. I am now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rowanduz who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is Aziz who helps in my shop and the other is an infant. [551] [587]
>
> I was born in Rowanduz and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Aziz Hasan 'Usman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the schoolboys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had [857]

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Nahida, Sahiba.

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of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody,
also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifûr. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name
to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question.
For example there were *Sheikh Taifûr* and his brother, usually called "*Mam(a)-Xal(a)*", but whose
real name was *Abdul Qadir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert.
There was also a third brother, *Kaka Rizâ* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rizâ*, who owned the village
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valid, and I would draw the readers attention to the seemingly very close interdependance of kinship, political and economic factors in the groups studied. 121

Preliminary note on Kurdish names

The ordinary Kurd has a single name given to him at birth of which the following are typical - Jelal, Ali, Mustafa, Hamid (Mohammad), Amin, Kharim. If it is necessary to be more specific he will give the name of his village also; thus we find that sophisticated detribalised Kurds often use the name of their village as a surname - my interpreter called himself Kharim Bakhani - Bakhani being his village of origin. Among the tribes such usage is unnecessary. 551

The title Agha will be discussed in detail later - it is usually translated "chief" and is carried by the landlords of villages and their immediate male relatives. As a title it follows the name:- thus Ali Agha, Hamid Amin Agha. To be more specific the name of the village is added:- thus Hamid Amin Agha i Haupurdan. 554

Analogous to this is the title Beg. Strictly speaking it is a turkish title but is used by some Kurds. Thus the Sorani people of Dergala call themselves Begzwada, by virtue of the fact that their leaders claim descent from the former princes of Rowanduz, who established an independent principality in the 17th/18th Century.* The use of Beg among the Sorani seems to be identical to Agha elsewhere, so to avoid confusion I refer to the chief of Dergala, Mir Hamid Amin, as Agha and not Miran or Beg as he is usually called.

Mir (prince) is similarly a turkish title which is carried by certain notables. The Agha of Rust for instance is Mir Sadik Agha and the title appears several times in the ancestry of the chiefs of Walash.

The title Sheikh does not, as in Arabia, imply tribal leadership. Normally it is reserved for religious leaders:- e.g. Sheikh Alauddin of Khalan, a leader of the Nakhshwandi sect of mystics. The name is however sometimes carried as an ordinary name. Thus Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash is not himself a religious leader. He was given the personal name Sheikh Mohammad at birth after a relative who had been a real sheikh.

The Mulla is the village priest, his precise functions are discussed later. As a title it comes before the name:- thus Mulla Mahmoud.

Hajji is the Mohammedan title for those who have visited Mecca. As few Kurds achieve this, the bearer of such a title likes to be

*See C.J.Edmonds - A Bibliography of Southern Kurdish (Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol.XXIV, 487).

construction in the valley. The other is the property of Lali Khan, head of the House of Isma'il Beg, and is more regularly used to transport merchandise from Erbil. In addition, there is a bus service between the town and the city with two decrepit British station wagons serving as vehicles. When the first of these was put in service some years ago, it was known as bus to the townspeople, but when the second appeared it was personified as Baba Bus, "Father Bus," and the second, Kurri Bus, "Son of Bus." These vehicles make the trip twice or three times each week, departing from the square near the great mosque early in the morning, their roofs piled high with luggage, and, by the time Shaqlawa is reached, the interior crammed with passengers. They are owned in Erbil, however, and their drivers live in that city.

The garage is to be found across from the great mosque, and consists of an enclosed courtyard. In a locked storeroom opening on the yard there is a supply of gasoline for sale in five-gallon tins. The garage is operated by a merchant hired by Lali Khan, its owner, and her lorry is usually parked in its courtyard. It should be noticed that aside from those of the government and the two privately-owned lorries, no other vehicles are permanently at the town. Taxis, hired by chieftains or wealthy persons, arrive frequently, but they are almost all derived from Erbil. Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, one of the sons of the famous Shaykh Taha, regularly arrived to visit the House of

considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186 563 571
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167] the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582] group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627 837 548
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553] them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771 commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578 "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, can be carried about easily by this last. The child is laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin. In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross-piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye, verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded ornaments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a little apron. No undergarments are in use. The shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia, much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, an event which is not marked in Rowanduz by an elaborate ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend, and entertains them in the guest-room with light refreshments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name selected previously by one of the family. He holds the child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear. He gently intones what was described in Rowanduz as the iman (Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

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7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

561 religious festivals; though such transitions are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is then determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

344 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons, [719] and the woman's fear of being barren: When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or onionleaf beside his crib. This is so that the *shaoa*, a form of *djinn* or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaoa is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaoa is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion-leaf may be placed beside her.

553 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the *naming ceremony*. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

852 *Circumcision* of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, it may in fact still be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Suleimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village

disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not quartered in the serai, but occupies a similar, smaller building of its own a short distance up the road which serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. However, the actual direction of the police has its place in the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director, and his assistant, the mamur (Arabic, "official"), an officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there. These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the police. During the summer of 1951, the mamur's adjutant, also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the townspeople for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy, helping himself to refreshments and other small items at the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of the police in Rowanduz itself includes watching the market by day, providing guards for government buildings, transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the streets by night.

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of investment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how small the amount involved, than precious metal or land. To all classes of society these two are tangible objects of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers are highly variable, but soil or gold are always of value.

is native to the town, although one is related to the chief mulla. It is interesting that a substantial number are Christians, for in contemporary Egypt it is common-

[illegible] with their Muslim instructors and fellows. Here the rules are reversed: the Christian instructor can be placed in some embarrassment by his Muslim pupils. Most rural school-teachers, such as those of Rowanduz, are young men of poorer families, graduates of the teachers' college in Baghdad, and, within the hierarchy of the Iraqi civil service, occupy a low position indeed. They are not highly paid (and can hence little afford the amusements of the others), and are to some extent looked down upon by bona fide administrators, army and police officers. Because of such disabilities, instructors have the not undeserved reputation of being an easy prey to extremist political formulae, and are subject to some official distrust and scrutiny. With meticulous content required of him in addition to his other complaints, the teacher is apt to feel his lot is extremely unhappy, if not precarious. On the other hand, the teacher, because he is often courted by the fathers of his pupils, is likely to play a much wider part in the social life of the town than, say, an army officer, and to enjoy considerable prestige among the lower classes, a role among these last which will be returned to later.

Playing a part in the social life of the town far greater in importance than any which it might normally

perform in its formal administration is the army. It would 701
be ungrateful to speculate on the character or strength of 554
strategic installations throughout the district, as these
constitute an important link in the chain of defenses which
guard the northern frontier of Iraq. It is possible, how-
ever, to make some cogent general remarks concerning the
unit which has its training headquarters near Rowandus, and
whose commandant, a colonel, has prestige and power equiva-
lent to that of the qaimmaqam. On the southeastern bank 712
of the Rowandus river, between Rowandus and Jindian, is located
the garrison, quartered in a huge rectangular barracks en-
closing an interior parade ground, constructed some years
ago by the British. This building houses barracks, stores,
offices, mess-rooms, and, with a few exceptions, every-
thing necessary to the operation of the unit. Near it other
parade and training grounds have been set up. Slightly
closer to Rowandus, below the road by the river, is a
motley aggregate of small mud-brick dwellings which are
used as married quarters for the non-commissioned officers.
Most of the officers as are accompanied by their wives
have their homes in Rowandus.

The unit includes a large number of officers and en- 701
listed men, and the ethnic origins of both groups are some- 563
what varied. The colonel was a Muslim Kurd, a major was a
Nestorian Christian, one captain was a "Sharh Arab,"[1] and

[1]"Sharh Arab" is English usage; referred to as Ba'adan, they prefer the term sharqi, "easterner," themselves.

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he [556] is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house [574] in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowanduz itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, [554] occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives [627] in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the 175 634 Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. 648 In that time Rowanduz was the seat (a kaza) of a qaimmaqam under the Kirkuk sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Arbil and, as

little the people, aside from a personage like the mukhtar, are able to participate in their own government. Rowanduz, as the physical center of this government, exerts a powerful influence as well as a formal control not only over the townspeople but over the district as a whole. Such an administration, while in no sense new or unique, has extended the range of its activities into a great part of the people's life, and it is impossible to deny its relevance as the most powerful determinant in the change of local culture. Lastly, a new "elite" of civil officials and officers, alien to the area, make up its directing personnel and add a new element, reinforced by prestige and power, to the older form of society. 634 649 [647] [554]

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a chaykhana can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the chaykhanas, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The chaykhana, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the qaimmaqam or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a diwankhana or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in chaykhanas will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (hatiw baz, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.)

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[574]

[558]

[701] [578] [838]

elicits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a chaykhana. The bus from Rowanduz to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them. 265 554 [562] [494]

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a chaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a chaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from transients in the town who could find no other place to eat. 265 [262]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is 253 [251]

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowanduz, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

443 [223] [235]

[234]

554 186 443 548

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

ever the years without reference to any plan, surrounding a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business is a Nestorian who lives in Dyana and who, in addition to other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of bottled beer and arrack to the civil servants and officers. He comes to Rowanduz only two or three times each week, and, during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is foresworn by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself offers the transient little more than a room and a bedstead. He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find nourishment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is little more than "a roof overhead and lesser animiculae within," in this, a modern descendant of the khan or fundug of Medieval days, so often described and so often cursed by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees normally find accommodations with one of the local civil servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley and Kurds, as well as Nestorians, who must spend a night in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great house of Isma'il Beg. It follows that the khan is little used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers from Erbil or beyond, too low in social status to apply to the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of Kurdish hospitality.

485 [444] [274] 485 574 485 554

[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 193-194.

does not command a high price, but provides plenty of 305
leisure and social intercourse. The barber, as in
Europe or America, is a notorious channel of gossip, and, [521]
albeit poor, thinks of himself as a person of some im- [554]
portance in the community.

Much miscellaneous transport is required for short 492
distances by a town such as Rowanduz, for example, of build-
ing materials or firewood, and a number of men find em-
ployment as muleteers, furnishing their own beasts and
working by contract. "Muleteer" is a misnomer, inasmuch
as both mules and donkeys are in use, the latter animal
even thought preferable by reason of its cheapness and
docility. Little harness is used, and the secret of load-
ing the beasts consists in dividing the load and balancing
it across the back on the animal's flanks, tied up in
bundles, as with wood, or stitched in twin burlap sacks.
Brightly-coloured saddle-bags of heavy woven wool, not
unlike rugs in texture, may be purchased, and many
animals are caparisoned with tassels and other decorations.
The muleteer keeps his animal near or within his house at
night, and their departure from the bazar on a variety of
commissions is a feature of early morning.

For longer distances and heavier loads, particularly 494
the great quantity of materiel which comes from Erbil, the [493]
town has the use of two lorries. One belongs to a local
entrepreneur, Hasan Nopal, who is also its driver, and who
was in 1951 under contract to the government on road [499]

Isma'il Beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three heavily-armed bodyguards. 574

A comparatively large group of men in the town are casually employed as laborers or porters. It has already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Anwar Salah, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more.

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Because of the nature of this work, unemployment is 464
frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and
porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty
persons for the town as a whole.

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, 357
are employed in the town as servants, but it would be 464
difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this
group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to
day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two
classifications, but they do not appear to have any pre-
cise social differentiation, and are only hazily dis-
tinguished in the popular mind. First, there are permanent [465]
servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and
who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the
houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own.
Most of these work in one way or another for the government,
a number in the government buildings, for example, the
qaimmaqam's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the
primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen
help, and still others as household servants of government
and military personnel. The qaimmaqam's household has three
attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a
merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening,
perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male
visitors in the diwankhana or the garden. To such persons 357
as these a little of the scornful treatment of the pro- 554
fessional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or pilk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowandus is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shakir Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (gholam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes shubana). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bawil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

357 592 [593] [622] [554] [628]

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 357 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (atar), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the atar is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowandus for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowandus, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 [554] [426]

		443
tea	Turkish coffee	
toothbrushes	uniform caps	
toys	watches	

On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up [438] a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale.

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442 bazargan, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, As'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Shakir, and Sayyid Majjid, and it is interesting to note from the 788 title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper [554] name, that three of the five have been able to make the

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which are menial and those which are not. A successful kababchi or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the merchant's son would rarely become a kababchi. There is also some exchange of persons between town and villages, those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those, successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but migration from the town itself outside the district is very limited. This does not apply to the area as a whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent population of Rowanduz, however, with its core of older families from the days before the first World War, seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but

army officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform 291
trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective baladi 186
(from balad, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the 291
first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same 554
connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an official or an officer has entered a higher class of society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing, say, a skullcap, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," baladi, who has no understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true [668]
of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be interpreted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolutionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing as far as the government service and the governed are concerned.

Most of the men of the district are armed and appear 411
frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most widespread is the khunjir or dagger which is a curved blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

the materials. Here bright colours are worn, typically 292
deep reds and blues, and a number of chemises, skirts, and aprons make up the costume. A white blouse and a tight jacket with long sleeves are often seen. For a headdress, the headcloth is white and is coloured silks is found, as well as a cap to which a circular disk, the qurs, some five inches in diameter, of embossed gold or silver has been sewn and around which a turban of silk is affixed. This last is one of a woman's dearest possessions, and the qurs, refitted with cap and turban whenever necessary, is either bestowed on a favorite daughter or kept until death. Whether or not a woman "dresses up" each day depends very much on her own personality. In some houses of the wealthy, the mistress wears only a simple print frock and the white headcloth, while in others, sometimes of lower station, the wife is always resplendent in a multiplicity of garments and jewelry. The servants of Lali Khan, herself in perpetual mourning, are always "dressed for a wedding." In cold weather women of any class do not use a coat, but add undergarments and a shawl.

The wives of government personnel, who are for a 554
large part Arabs, have the same social origins as their 562
husbands, the educated middle and upper class families of Iraq. Some of the officials are unaccompanied by their spouses, and those of lower rank, the mudirs, the junior army officers, and the teachers, are usually unmarried. Nevertheless a number of these women are resident in the

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowandux the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in shapeless black, and in the ten or twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their footwear includes European models, some simple slippers, and the kabkabs. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the noble family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 565

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is _familiya_, puzzling in its similarity to the Latin _familia_. The same noun is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and _sayyids_, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (_sajara_, from Arabic _shajara_, "tree"). In the case of the _sayyid_ the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowanduz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include _beg_, _agha_, and _mir_, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times _pasha_ was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic _shaykh_, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, 565 596 [173] 611 565 565 554

noted for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jindian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amira, "princess," or khan, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations.

The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of bedalkhwin or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

of quarrelity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most sanguine of vendettas could follow. 622 624 584

The integrity of its women is perhaps the primary asset of a family's honor. If a Kurd insults anything other than the women of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honor of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious accusation cannot be taken lightly. The honor of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this second regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus dead to them in every sense. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or 577 562 554 [684] [585] 589 562

to let Mahmud Beg know of their presence and visit his 622
[illegible], or he will think they look down on his hospital- 574
ity, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a
chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen 423
from the section on administration that the government 648
takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The
state lays claim to all unregistered land, [illegible], which
includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory,
and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the pro-
ducers, thus cutting off the most important source of
aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, abreast of
the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered
in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to 648
the government, either the civil code of the judge or the 692
tribal code of the [illegible]. Vengeance is also of the [692]
state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and
the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and
sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be
unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and [554]
such titles as [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible], while they are widely
used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the
constabulary are thought adequate to handle military
exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly
parties of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not
dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of 525
its important functions and perquisites. They are no longer 178
leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, 622
although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages 565
between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, 572
although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join [582]
two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A
chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth
and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system
of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can
be done with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system 565
constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social
hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible
for this, the first of which is that it is considered de- [461]
grading for men of the "upper" class to work with their
hands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in
addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus
includes among the people of the town the clerks, land-
owners, mullas or priests, and businessmen, such as the
wealthier merchants and the owners of the clayhouses and
the hotel. Such a person is termed effendi or "gentleman," [554]
and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two
examples are provided by Shakir Effendi and Ra'uf effendi,
both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shakir
Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Ra'uf Effendi [693]
is the mukhtar or representative of the townspeople. The
chief mulla of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-
Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the [212]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
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series made up solely of males. To this are added noteworthy collateral ancestors and, in the one or two generations closest to the chieftain in question, all of the collaterals, including the names of wives, sisters, and the latter's husbands. The importance of such a lineage lies in the fact that it is the sole patent of nobility, itself a matter of the highest social importance, and is of considerable value in the arrangement of marriages and the knowledge of one's potential friends and enemies. It is usually associated with a certain amount of folk history, the wars, revolts, feuds, and other deeds with which its personnel were concerned. Commoners are able to reproduce to some extent the lineage of their chieftain, for, as has been noticed, the honor of their leader is also their own, and animated conversations on such topics as aristocratic marriages and lineages offer an everyday source of entertainment. Unlike the mal, the fesilîye is not associated with a single house, and its members may live in a large number of separate establishments.

It is convenient here to dismiss the question of inheritance with a cursory survey. Inheritance is not a matter over which the Kurdish populace exercises any unique control, because it was defined in the Quran and supplemented over the centuries by the jurists and doctors of Islam. A whole branch of Islamic jurisprudence is concerned with this complex question, and a number of popular expositions are available to the general reader.[1] In

[1]Geuthofer-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 143-151.

a husband to honor this second amount if the contract 583
is broken before the marriage is consummated or if the 421
woman, for some reason, abandons the house of her spouse.
In Rowanduz, in contrast to other areas, the father of
the bride is expected to double the first portion of the
dowry, the mucaadan, from his own resources, and the
money thus realized is given into the hands of the maiden.
"The money of the mucaadan is for the girl," it was
related, "and it is an evil and impious parent who with-
holds it from her. There are some bad fathers who eat up
their daughters' dowries." The dowry of a girl of the
lesser townspeople in Rowanduz is at least 20 or 30 dinars
($56.00 or $84.00) and that of daughters of the wealthier
families or the aristocrats is much greater.

It must be realized that the amount of a dowry is 583
also a sign of social status, and to this end the figures 554
written into the marriage contract often have more prestige
than reality behind them. A number of discussions of this
point have been heard in the Middle East, and one of these,
similar to those recorded in Rowanduz but perhaps more
aptly expressed, was the expostulation of an English-
speaking teacher, one Hasan al-Gasti, in Egypt. "When, as
a youth, I returned to my parents' town from the university
in Cairo," he said, "I was called upon to negotiate the
dowry of a maiden whom my younger brother wished to marry.
Her relatives, when I spoke with them, named a figure so
extravagant I could hardly credit my ears. I told them it
was improper to bargain for a girl, and that, although I

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, publicized to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the muqeddam, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'akhar, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against heedless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

583 554 [586] [301] 593 454

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these prescriptions. There is

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a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
xwushki mard, "sister of husband," rather than mardxwushk. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554 ●
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaqte prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
woman of the upper strata of society, the townswoman of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

or guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574

The eldest brother occupies a position over his brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He shares to some extent in the parental authority and is responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger brothers their rozhana, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught [454] to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest brother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he takes their savings and purchases them something they desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all of his directions must be carried out by those junior to him without alteration. Whenever he enters the room, the younger children are supposed to stand, although this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children [562] is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and the care of the younger children. In several families observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. 583 The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' 557 honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels 577

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f childhood, but in later life. If a woman is re- 593 577
urned for some reason to her parental home, it is as 554
uch a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there 291
as been no question of the veil, except for a maternal 882
ncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not per- 574
itted to associate freely with all of the women of the 602
ouse unless they happen to be close friends of its master. 835
he veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age,
nd the striking difference between a married man and a
achelor is encountered for the first time. When a young
an reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen
r sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal
heir faces from him. If, for example, he visited the
ouse of his father's brother, the latter's wife might
ppear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters
f the house would be at least shy and retiring in his
resence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however,
osing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom
rom hiding). When he is married, the whole situation
hanges and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even
lone together in a room. There are, of course, none of 605
hese restrictions among male cousins and among female
ousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by
haking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is
aid that a young man could greet the daughter of his
aternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [584]

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the veil of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The qaimmaqam, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

absolved him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household. 592 554 357

Friendships contracted outside the mal, as noticed in the discussion of society, are, in adulthood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is subsequently married, the other acts as his 'servant,' receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." Male companions of this sort visit with each other in the bazar or the mosque, and exchange calls at their houses. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the diwankhana or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of bread and salt, termed nimak, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each 572

known by his trade, as in 'Umar Chaichi, 'Umar the Tea-shop Owner, by a nickname, as in Shakir Majjrim, Shakir the Criminal, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali Farsi, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the Tribe of the Prophet may preface their name with sayyid, "Lord," as in Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, and have the right of [292] wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use titles such as agha or beg after their names, although the townspeople often apply these to officials and officers of the government elite. The only titles which precede the proper name seem to be Arabic, hajji, a pilgrim, mulla, a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Hashimite Tribe, and shaykh, an aristocratic or religious chieftain. The titles which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi, and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief mulla of Rowanduz is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi. No local pattern could be discerned to the aversion of calling a child by his proper name in public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to wander about the streets of the town, sometimes to their

perd.

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Something of the divisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows. 795

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowanduz district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent 771 121 173 554 792 [292]

may be traced through either parent, and almost anyone, if genealogies were regularly kept by the commoners, could find some relative from whom the title might be claimed. The only sayyid in Rowanduz who made use of the green turban was a poor and elderly blacksmith, something of an extrovert, who also wore a beard to increase his appearance of saintliness. The chieftains, many of whom have the title, usually avoid these appearances, such as Sayyid Ahmad of Batas who dressed in the same fashion as the other aristocrats. Whether these pedigrees are genuine or bogus is impossible to say, for the Arab penetration of Kurdistan has gone on for many centuries, but one may suspect that, insofar as the title accords a little social distinction, many of these claims, at some point, are as valid as those of some pretentious Englishman who finds ancestors for himself who landed with the Conqueror or an American who discovers forebears on the Mayflower.

The religious phraseology of the townspeople is in the Arabic language. All of their prayers, pious utterances, and, indeed, their expletives are in Arabic, while everyday speech is Kurdish. Prayer will be dealt with below. The most common expletive, heard constantly in the conversation of the day, is simply Ullah, "God." It can be used in a variety of contexts, some of them pious and many quite otherwise. The tired merchant stretching himself on his cushions or bed may utter a long-drawn out Ullah, and the same is applied to a welcome glass of tea, a lovely woman, or the like. It should not be supposed, of course,

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [312] [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples
to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general
aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts
no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his
call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a
tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, [529]
it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [521]
one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers,
seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing
purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [784]
smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the
mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513] [485]
sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly
held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exer-
cises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman
influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses
preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town
are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346
of these, the woman's mosque, is found above the bazar near 562
the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521]
as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it.
Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 554 346 771

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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the women's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowandus serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowandus have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowandus in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen

[1] Brewer, 1946.

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammed Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowandus, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kawlokan below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammed 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowandus itself could claim the distinction. The duty of jihad or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of feuding will be discussed below.

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages,

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taiba's property. Topsawa.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the higher-ed was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[9]. A guest wing is typical of the finer houses in Kurdish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village to the squire. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Barton, Edmonds and Leach[9]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rakawa. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family house some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a loggia. The roof to this was supported by five columns of hacked, but variegated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hacked wooden blocks inserted as

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[55A]
[114]

[Text Continues Top of P 32--Analyst]

4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of water and dry, sheets of bread folded into convenient to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[Pr], and, rarely, fried eggs, *kâlla*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104 F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[Pr], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[Pr], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[Pr] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmjân*[Pr] or 'ladies' fingers, and *bâdinjân* or eggplant[Pr] plus gherkins, bright, fresh, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[Pr] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in water as the morning meal and also grows as a sort of fruit, split into small beans strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topsawa, Sulaimani and Bâkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and mince, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[Pr]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225-0.245 m. long (E. 2366, 67, 68), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable heap of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

can be attached to what this young man said, so I prefer to stick to the facts available about his immediate family. In the humble village environment (Tegawra) I came across three examples of brides having been brought from Sulaimani as they gave prestige to the village. In the educated milieu, on the other hand, I met a strongly-expressed wish to be linked by marriage with good, prominent families. 582 583

Difference in the position of man and woman when contracting marriage. None of the brides in Kurdistan whom I had an opportunity to observe appeared as radiant as we are accustomed to see in our cultures. The Kurdish brides either looked remarkably unaffected or else directly resentful. My interpreter's sister, whose wedding preparations and later wedding I witnessed, went about in the days prior to the wedding extremely unkempt and with an attitude of complete indifference. In reply to my question my interpreter told me that it is not the custom for brides to take any part in the preparations, and that out of regard for her future family no impression must be given of exploiting the working capacity of the young woman; in addition, the bride-to-be must not suggest, by paying too much attention to her appearance, that she is interested in being married. 585

In her study of weddings and marriages in Palestine, Granqvist probably provides an explanation applicable also to the Kurds, for she says[7] that it is the bridegroom who is happy, and with him his family and friends. Happiness prevails in the home of the bridegroom, the house of the wedding. A bride, on the other hand must bewail her fate. Is she not to leave her family home, and will not this home lose a member? Besides, Granqvist points out, it is considered highly unbecoming for a bride to evince happiness.

When, on the other hand, the marriage negotiations began in the case of my interpreter's brother and the wedding arrangements were being discussed, it was planned as a joyous festival, the house next door being borrowed and a dance arranged in its large courtyard. A later letter, dated 23rd August 1938, told me that 600 people were invited to the wedding, and that the dance had lasted from morning to night. As an unmarried son, his accommodation in the home was confined to a mattress which he spread out with the rest of the family, plus a niche behind a mirror for his few effects; his pyjamas (leisure and sleeping garment) lay, when not in use, rolled up on a chair in the guest reception room, which he also used for changing. In a word, he had had only a minimum of room at his disposal. When he married he and his wife would be allotted to their sole use one of the house's three living rooms. He and his wife, at all events initially, would form a cell within the family with a claim to space and a private life—a notable improvement of his position in the home. [554]

Marriage policy and marriage negotiations. "Many families have wanted me", was my interpreter's reply to my question as to what possibilities she had had to be married. In other words she could boast of the fact that many families had applied to her[8] regarding the instigation of the marriage negotiations an essential a preliminary to a marriage in a Muslim area, where the world of men and women is divided, and a young man meets no women other than his nearest relations with whom marriage is precluded. 584

In the family home of my interpreter at Sulaimani I had an opportunity of watching at close quarters the marriage negotiations conducted by the young man's family with that of a possible candidate.

from which they enter, with high, narrow steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there were access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses facing the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 12. Into this [illegible] milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[1], came, when the car carriage was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Ejaculations were passed round among the women, a lord was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[2], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[3], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[4]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the lord was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful [illegible] on the shoulders and head, [illegible] more thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again so long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[5], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that the bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseau, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dowry given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable factory-operated window set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing [illegible] only are among Turkish women in Mosul, but it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

assured the institution which, as far as I could understand, hardly evoked higher than one gentleman of former days.

The Hajj has in the month of ramadān began in 1937 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from each time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the last month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting as her vow for a day as a result of a promise to do so[1], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 26th, which, in 1937, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh or Sayyid's. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 120°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an unknown strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connection with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the 8th and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Quran says in Sura 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, [illegible] unto him who can find a way". Of the women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage some from the mountainous urban sullen. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane: Damascus-Jiddā, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the same age who were married to the same business man in Erbil. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jiddā, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddā. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 300 Dīn. (say £300)[2].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrim mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women wear discriminative sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head wear serve again to herald. The light head veil, shyāl, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

[illegible] normally the ones when the funeral-shaped cloth are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured photographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was to the unreformed urban milieu that I was anxious who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Soleimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed urbanized and nonliterate urban milieu the base days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the known whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it. Four days around the 10th dul-hijja namely 9-12, which in 1997 were Monday 6th July to Thursday 10th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (4th July 1997), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of spiritualness and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the male has on two unstitched draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[7] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[8].

On this day the Meccan pilgrim performs the seven-fold circumbasure of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The circumbasure, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrim now visit the holy spring, Zamzam, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismail when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, Safa and Marwa is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she on the command of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at Marwa, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no expectations of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connection with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Monday the 8th (7th July 1997) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafat which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Soleimani, as in other homes, a special kind of red onion were baked, which were served on the day after, when meals were paid. These onion were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, greased inside. The dough was pasted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped [illegible] sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

On today the 9th (8th July 1997) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kordofan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Soleimani in new, sometimes ostrich of which clothing. The fleet of children was composed of boys and girls from 3-4 up to 12 years of age. Refuge had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

Bakhtiyari, and is called AMULE. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.720 m. Inset between the links is a silver hanging bowl. It is this hanging bowl that Kurds call AMULE from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[1]. From the chain hang two silver bells[2], two triangular amulet cases of silver[3], two small silver retaining rings[4], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow cornelian[5].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2298)[6] is known as Kalmakan, 1.30 m. long. Amidst the 40 glass beads a grayish-white, spherical, agate bead[7] has been inserted to avert evil[8]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet worn up to recently, which will be discussed when considering later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called mihrabiya, length 1.40 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Chamakhaye[9] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of stone again[10] and an amulet cover from a piece of brocade.

Among the broader jewellery for women are bangle ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294-2295) known as gal consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red cornelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.030 m., imported (it appears 6th cent. power of assorting evil on the cornelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by local craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (blue), their shape (snail shells), their material (bells), or their material (cornelian, stone again or amyl).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, yellow paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[11] like brocade, velvet or cotton, [illegible] of a square or triangular[12] envelope. It is worn by the women herself. This amulet case hung on a necklace worn by women[13] (E. E. 2298 and E. 2291, the amulet pendants of which measure 0.073 × 0.06 × 0.013 and 0.06 × 0.06 × 0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be worn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Each small pendant of material worn was in Kandjaran hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[14] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[15] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2302) known as *Sila*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck (c.) a charm. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[16]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, where it is a matter of previous mode of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the ornaments, the amulet itself was, as far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant mullahs (cf. p. 158). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aforesaid village Sellou. Two itinerant mullahs, recognizable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the home of the Sheikh of Tagaroua. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

The category of thirteen lady men who is "predominantly conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "treasures of native low status", is referred to in the case of the Kaiids by Barth, who notes that

[THIS CONTINUES TOP OF P. 158 -- GWALYST]

992 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[4]. None of the grown-up men of the house were home at this time. The sayyids were not received in the guest room of the house in accordance with their station as strangers of a certain rank, that an exceptional exception could be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard, and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather coincidently, a dead lamb had been spread open—awaiting its return for flour and sugar emptied into the beggars' bags that the sayyids carried over their shoulders. These persons appeared to rank with the sheikh's servants. No refreshment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

992 The amulets were made whilst we watched. The one sayyid placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the sofa by the side of the ink bottle. He then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn red lines, forming rectangular panels. These were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to distinguish this from the distance away I had to stand. On another piece of paper he took out was drawn a round. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes. These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded like a triangular packet, the bottom corner being bent diagonally, and the paper was then folded together.

306 The amulets were picked up from the sofa, broken in the middle, and stuck into the triangular paper packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular packet but without any bent corners. When the amulets were handed over to the women they were laid in a little box in which already lay other amulets not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to view the amulets whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

[illegible] with "written charms .... consisting of certain sentences of the Kur'an and names of God"[5]. So far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was forced to keep, the amulets, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That type is included in amulets, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[6]. It did not appear that these amulets were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known from Afghanistan (E. 2/43), and, referring to a Kurdish book of prophecies, Mikkelsen[7] reports that "..... in ihnen [ihre drunter die spruchweise gute bis teilweise teilbaldige dann [illegible] ....".

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984 *Holy land.* Fjellberg[8] refers to the Lors having a rod with a small carved wooden head at the top, that was carried in the watchband of an old man who allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the row check and then the other. A large wooden head, wrapped round with a flattering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round in the village of Tegawra by one of the other four sayyids who were "working" the place at the same time. This man also tried later to visit the sheikh's house, but got no further than the steps up to the loggia of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to shout. As he entered

293 562 [114] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban women, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

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[554] *The head veil of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Tapawra, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[1]. Within the village environment it was mainly white. The humble village women in Tapawra and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women were black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the new flooded Kery hamlet of Mirza Rostem all were black and in Sargalu bright red.*

293 917 562 *In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof or windows to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she would not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a guest tea, without the head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Serkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 113). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also removed the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.*

369 *The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu where a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.*

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293 562 *The yellow-robed "bridal" veil I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Tapawra) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's*

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hans MA11

WOMAN'S POSSIBILLITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

562 563 564 565 Possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion. In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard of each colonel in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Tegazwa the wife and daughter of the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pluck fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained in themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

562 123 In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the sons received my interpreter and me in the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

564 565 A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Tegazwa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to their own pastoral camp at Sargalu, was bluntly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. Thus what we understand by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of them were allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

562 563 564 565 In the meantime the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brothers-in-law,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Tepasova this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to nayyids. The sheikh families at Sergalu and Serkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a *khizi malik*[1], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but for whom he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Hakkija's first lady, Lady Adela, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinates compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The classic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my home is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "..... the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while countrymen, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[2]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellahin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect .... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womenfolk"[3]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[4] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Mohammedan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

4: Hainen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that she is bought. Most people among whom bride price is customary do not understand the Western ideal; their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgement depends on customs, which is no certain or absolute measure of value"[9].

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various areas, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected and valued position; she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the only means whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state.

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West, in place of the clearly-crowned special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At the same time her efforts in the sphere that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly less prized.

As the industrialization of the country progresses, a large part of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to trade with all its consequences, both good and bad. Her firmly-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by religion, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

In the event of divorce and the adoption of monogamy, the ordinary home that has so far existed for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mother and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the community structure, as it already is to the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has now reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not obtain a place in the joint family, and the homes will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. The paramount demand concerning virginity is only logically justified provided a home exists where the girl can dwell, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself—arrange her marriage.

The older members of the family are deprived of the right and duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent improved security for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and what it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old stormy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

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[For additional information on status, role and prestige, see category 126, pp. 78-130 passim.]

Self-

548 respecting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main
461 role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks
554 from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 100, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, mum, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 10, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

621 With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group
624 tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the *tira* itself, usually identified with separate *khels*. But since the *khel* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *khel* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *khel*, to which a more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not, are connected by economic ties.

622 These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of
624 the *Raïs*. The position as *Raïs* is inherited, and the family of the
631 *Raïs* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble class or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the «noble» lineage segments of other tiras. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Raïs* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous as far as the *Raïs* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Raïs* and wealthy lineage segments among the «commoners» within the *tira* itself. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Raïs* within the *tira* itself, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To reify a distinction between «noblemen» and «commoners» within the *tira* would thus be an error, since the separ-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

he also exercises certain rights in his relations with the landowner — he can e. g. exclude any newcomer from village membership.

Among the various villages in an area, or those belonging to one landowner, there is no attempt at coordination. My host owns among others, the three neighboring villages Hazar Mard, Decon and Darbaro in the Sulaimani valley. These villages share, for historical reasons, the usufruct rights to the surrounding area. Rather than making any attempt at concerted action in matters concerning them all, e. g. by meetings of the village headmen, there exists considerable enmity between the three villages. A marriage between the son of the *kikha* of Decon and the daughter of the leading family of Hazar Mard does not seem to have had any «political» results, and was probably manipulated to enhance the prestige of the *kikha* and his son in their own village.

GENERAL FEATURES OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The application of these formal political organizations, both of the lineage and feudal types, is modified by one basic principle, namely, the universal application of status difference, and the resulting lack of conceptualization of «the office», as apart from the total person occupying it at any one moment. An example might illustrate the point: Upon my arrival in the village of Decon, a small group of workmen were engaged in laying a brick floor in the local house of my host, the landowner. In their social classification of me, the only criterion available to them was the fact of my being his guest; so I enjoyed a reflection of his high status position, and consequently found myself in a relation of super-ordination with respect to the workmen. They found it necessary to interrupt their work unasked to perform personal services for me, e. g. serving me my tea, etc. The workmen, brought to the village for the sole purpose of laying the brick floor, had no feeling that theirs was only a part-role in the situation, where they were expected to perform a specific service and no more. The status of bricklayers is clearly inferior to that of friend-of-the-landowner; the fact that their contact was by virtue of their office as bricklayers did not release them from universal sub-ordination to the occupier of higher status. Wherever a

● 554 clear status difference is recognized, such an all-inclusive relation of super- and sub-ordination seems to result, and demands even of personal services by the possessor of higher status are thought reasonable.

422 554 In the formal organization, groups are clearly defined, on criteria of descent and residence, and each group is furnished with a named leader. But the nature of the leader's *office* remains rather vague; he is, in Max Weber's terms (Parsons 1941, p. 121), granted a liberal sphere of «arbitrary free grace». For a large part, the political leaders are not followed by virtue of their holding an «office», but are granted the right to make political, as well as other, demands on their followers by virtue of their higher status position — which wanes and wanes with the vicissitudes of fortune. Though the formal political categories are named and hierarchically ordered, the actual distribution and foci of power and control in the village and lineage remain quite fluid.

It is profitable in our analysis to make a distinction between *authority*, the more or less «legitimate» powers attached to a specific office or part-status, and the blanket term *power*, which depends upon the *total* status position of a particular individual, and his personal charisma (Weber, 1947), and is taken to cover the individual's total ability to lead or otherwise control the actions of other people.

This distinction is generally not made by the Kurdish villager, since, indeed, the abstract concept of an office is hardly developed; but it is useful in an analysis to distinguish the legitimate powers that belong with the office or part-status. The lack of a conceptual distinction in Kurdish thinking between authority in this sense and total power is evident in the almost complete absence of *lateral* relations between a specialized staff of functionals, in favor of a complete dominance of *line* relations of super- and sub-ordination.

Returning to the applicability of the term *authority* in such a system: The total status position of the individual, from which his power stems, is a product of *all* his part-statuses, not only in the political field, but also in other hierarchies (e. g. hierarchies of religious power, wealth and class status, etc, cf. p. 73 ff.). Any for-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

mal, named political position, however, is connected with an approximate total status position as a sort of stereotype. The relative grading of formal political positions is vaguely defined, and the individuals of a village, through competing for the positions, will align in superand subordination according to this ruling. Thus certain ill defined demands and powers are *expected* (and therefore more readily submitted to) from persons occupying such positions. This amount of expected and generally unquestioned power is the authority that belongs with the particular position. The authority is thus not *derived* from the part-status, as it would if it were an office; it is brought to it. Persons occupying the position may at times not be able to exert it; nonetheless, in the formal political organization this authority and degree of ability to apply sanctions of some kind is assumed.

These considerations are applicable in both the tribal and the non-tribal political systems, and modify the expression that these systems take. The evident differences between Kurdish tribal and non-tribal structure are thus reduced, and the Kurdish segmentary lineage organization becomes in its actual application more similar to the Kurdish non-tribal organization than to the classical segmentary organizations, exemplified above by the Cyrenaica Bedouin. When combined with this principle of universal application of status difference, the segmentary structure of the lineage offers the framework for a hierarchical organization of leaders of segments. And these segments are residential and territorial units, as are the units in the non-tribal system. In the following, then, Kurdish lineage organization will be seen as a hierarchy of leaders of groups of increasing genealogical spread, rather than in the classical manner as whole segments in opposition.

The general characteristics of Kurdish political systems correspond in many ways to those of the *traditional* system of Max Weber (op. cit.). The rules governing the various positions in the hierarchy are not enacted, they are traditionally defined. «The order underlying a system of traditional authority always defines a system of statuses of persons who can legitimately exercise authority». The concept of the *office* is undeveloped: «Such a status is different from an *office*». It does not involve specifically defined powers with

642 the presumption that everything not legitimized in terms of the
• 559 order is outside its scope. So long as the encroachment of such a
status does not yet counter to the traditional order, ... loyalty is
due, not to 'the order', but to him personally.» (Pareto, op. cit.,
p. 121).

The main contrast between the Kurdish system and this «ideal-typical» type lies in the implication in the definition of the latter that concrete traditional prescriptions are indeed accepted and agreed upon by all. The cultural homogeneity of the South Kurdish area has been emphasized above; this homogeneity makes for a situation where a truly traditional system can not operate. Any single concrete traditional prescription tends to be questioned by all but a minority, and conflicting interpretations of what is in fact the traditional order are constantly advanced. As a result, the theme of power attains an overriding importance, following the line of reasoning that if you can get away with something, it can't be very wrong. The effective check on excesses in the use of power is the threat of
681 murder. Though there is obviously much more control with this action, Kurds are rightly famous for being «trigger-happy», and a person who strongly feels that his rights have been infringed upon may go to great lengths to retaliate. Since no institutional means exist, violence has become institutionalized as the only mechanism at hand.

[78 It is tempting to see the present situation as the result of break-
642 down of a formerly functioning traditional system. There is considerable evidence indicating that Southern Kurdistan some 100 years ago was better integrated than today, in the form of a strongly
[78 feudal Pashalik centering around Sulaimani. The Baban Pashas of
682 Sulaimani had frequent opportunities during conflicts with both the Persian and the Ottoman rulers to show that they had the unquestioning support of an overriding majority of the population, and through several centuries of rule they built up a traditional hierarchy of hereditary status positions, assigning persons to principle offices (Rich op. cit., p. 111). The traditional nature of the rule is strikingly brought out in the following citation, where the Pasha of Sulaimani explains the solidarity that his subjects feel towards him by contrast-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

Chapter IV.

Non-political hierarchical organizations.

(8) The theme of power is extremely important in Kurdish thinking,
• 59 in the sense I have used the expression *de-facto* power: the actual, total extent to which a person is able to lead people or otherwise induce them to act according to his wishes. There does not seem to be any single word in Kurdish to cover this concept, but, though a blanket term, it is found very useful in an analysis of Kurdish social organization. The Kurdish villager seems to object to feel that the total status position of a person, and the de-facto power that he controls, stand in a direct proportional relation to one another. At any rate, this is the manner in which status and prestige is described. The type of delegated power vested in the clerk of some large, bureaucratic department is not found in any local, autonomous hierarchy or organization.

Formal political organization constitutes the main hierarchy of institutionalized power relationships; but there are also other hierarchies of status positions, regulating other fields of activity. A high status position in these hierarchies affords the holder the right to apply certain sanctions, positive or negative, to persons inferior to him in the hierarchy. He is thus able to influence the actions of his fellow villagers in much the same way as a political office-holder; [illegible] power. I call the participation in a [illegible] political contributes to his total status, and to the power he controls, and thereby becomes a factor in deciding his position in the total power

hierarchy of his village and society. The formal political organization, discussed so far, is thus only one factor in the hierarchy of super- and sub-ordination in the village, and it must be related to the other formal organizations or hierarchies that exist.

However, this phrasing of the relationship makes use of distinctions foreign to Kurdish thinking. As stressed in the discussion of general features of formal political organizations, the concept of an office is underdeveloped, and relations of super- and sub-ordination spring from differences in the total status of individuals. The Kurdish villager is not concerned with abstract features of village organization — he sees the organization of his own village, and other organizations affecting him, in terms of hierarchies of individuals, of named and familiar people, each with a familiar total status. But to analyze the relationships and clarify some of the principles operative in this type of organization, it is necessary to break down these total statuses into component elements. Previously, the formal political hierarchies have been discussed. In the present section, non-ruler status positions and hierarchies will be divorced from their contexts in observed total statuses, and described. It is not implied that the total status of individuals is merely a sum-total of these part-statuses; the integration of such part-statuses into a total status will be discussed later, after the village scene, where such integration takes place, has been described. Our present concern is with the principles governing these various, analytically separable, hierarchies, and the part-statuses defined by these hierarchies.

There is a distinction to be made between these *hierarchies* of institutionalized positions of super- and sub-ordination in an organization — hierarchies of part-statuses — and a more general scale of prestige. A person's prestige depends on the degree to which he approaches certain ideals; and one may distinguish between various such scales, relating to degree of piety, age, wealth, etc. The prestige that accrues to the individual from high rating on such scales is convertible into influence and power; part-statuses in a hierarchy, on the other hand, give power directly. To complicate the situation further, high rating on a scale of power might also be said to contribute to a person's prestige. Several scales have been implied in the

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NAII Kurd NAII

554 631 previous discussion, and are indeed implicit in the systems of status hierarchies. An attempt will be made to relate the various status positions to ideals expressed on such scales, and in the final paragraphs of the section to outline the main scales on which individuals may be rated.

ECONOMIC CLASSES

565 631 The village hierarchy of class differences, based on division of labor and attendant differences in wealth, has been discussed above, pp. 20 ff. This hierarchy is, as we saw, produced primarily by the *feudal principle of delegation* of work on the land, and is conceptualized in terms of distinct social classes, each with traditionally defined rights and privileges in their relations to each other. Each class is thus a status category, and they are arranged in a hierarchy leading from *laborer* through *tenant farmer*, occasionally an *intermediary capitalist*, and culminating in the *landowner*. This is in itself a power hierarchy, since each superior status directly gives opportunity for control over persons of inferior status positions, within the traditional limits. The *freeholding farmer* class, on the other hand, occupies a status partly divorced from this immediate power hierarchy. Characteristically, where such freeholding farmers are found in a village partly controlled by a large landowner, every effort seems to be made on the part of the landowner to secure property rights also to the remaining fraction of land, and thus place all members of the community in the unambiguous hierarchy of control and power. Consequently freeholding farmers with property of any significance are generally found in tribally organized communities, and a dichotomy between only freeholding vs. only tenant communities generally holds true. *Freeholding farmers* as a class tend to be on a par with the *tenant farmer* class in the larger class system, and frequently control a small group of *laborers*, and in certain areas also the serf class, the blacksmiths. The socio-economic relationships between these classes have been sketched previously.

565 631 393 649 The special position of the *shepherd* remains to be discussed. He is essentially a laborer, working for a stipulated annual payment in kind (grain), but also receives a share of unlicensed brand daily

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

In the next life, Mohammed will pray for all derwishes, ask God to give them pardon. To become a derwish you must renounce all the faults and evil thoughts and acts of men, and always be good. Anyone can become a derwish — young, old, man, woman. So he went to the great Sheikh Kader. And the *Sheikh* advised him to be good, always; he told him to protect Islam, follow all the ethical rules, etc. He stayed only five minutes the first time — the *Sheikh* only takes your hand in his, tells you all the rules of derwish, and blesses you. Then afterwards, you pay him regular visits, as often as you wish — once a month, or every two months, or even once a year. Sometimes you give gifts to the *Sheikh*, though you don't ever have to.

There thus seem to be no elaborate, much less mystic, rites of initiation to membership, as reported from e. g. the Persian area. The only visible sign of derwish-hood among men (who in fact form the great majority of followers) is letting your hair grow long — though there are, incidentally, no special taboos or precautions connected with cutting it.

The explicit logic and ethical position of the group, and the motivation for persons to join it, thus seem quite simple. Between the various derwish groups there is little room for conflict, since their differences are not dogmatic, but merely a question of the efficacy and greatness of the holy powers of one holy man as compared to an other. Similarly, except for the fundamental approach, which would rarely be questioned by the uneducated villager, there is no dogmatic conflict with the official church — the same ethical and ritual rules are propounded by the Derwish Leader and the mullah, and any further admonishments and elaborations introduced by the one merely serve to support this fundamental body of ritual. The more heterodox interpretations attached to this common body of ritual are generally overlooked by the mullah as lying largely outside his domain.

But it would be overlooking a very important aspect of the derwish organization if these statements were taken at their face values, and it were seen merely as a more emotional and personal interpretation of Islamic doctrine; as being a religion of the disinherited

7: Barth E-S (1951). 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

in the same way as are numerous of the smaller sects of the Christian church. On the contrary, the theme of *power* is stressed and elaborated, corresponding to its importance in the Kurdish value system, and the more conventional religious possibilities largely played down. Great religious fervor is generally lacking among the villagers, even among derwishes. Fraser (no date), an early traveller in the area, notes with disappointment the lack of superstitions, fear of ghosts, etc. among his Kurdish friends. In accord with this, the point that is stressed is not contemplative or mystic, but might be said to be the aspects of potential power resulting from closeness to God, with great interest in the *overt* signs of this potential, covert power. It seems to satisfy the subjective needs of the underprivileged group, not by being an escapist religion of the next life, but by offering its adherents a present substitute for the highly valued political and economic powers they can not attain. To demonstrate the efficacy of the great powers they control, the derwishes rely on certain signs, the most important being their ability to do wierd and amazing things, generally feats of the type one associates with Indian fugirs.

The pattern of the delegation of this power illustrates something of its nature. It all centers in the Sheikh, in the present example Sheikh Abdul Karim. He belongs to the same family as Sheikh Mahmud, and traces descent as well as the origins of his powers through the revered Kaka Hamma, from whom also Sheikh Mahmud has received his sacred powers. The immediate predecessor of Sheikh Abdul Karim was his father, Sheikh Kader — a man of considerable influence and intellect (he accompanied Sheikh Said on their so successful visit to the Sultan, cf. p. 42). Succession to the position as Leader of Derwish is by appointment by the Sheikh himself. No rule of primogeniture is observed (Sheikh Abdul Karim is the second of three brothers), the person showing the greatest ability is chosen. This need not be a son, though it usually is — naturally, it must be within the family, since descent from the Prophet is essential.

There seems to be an unresolved problem here, in that the sacred powers are part of the «biological» inheritance of the descendants of the Prophet, yet vary in strength between different lineages of them. And these lineages may increase or decline in power over a

791. The father of the present Sheikh is said to have used his influence
• 559 with considerable effect — certainly, a very exhalted status is associated with the position as Leader of Derwish, as far as the village population is concerned.

The individual derwish, on the other hand, has no recognized or defined status. The relative position of the derwish in the village community will be discussed more fully below, where it can be related to the other hierarchies of organization. Being largely recruited from the most underprivileged sections of the population, membership in the derwish group is often regarded as a badge of the lowest class. In face-to-face relations they are, on the other hand, afforded a certain respect, springing from an undeniable awe or fear of their strange powers.[*]

[791] Where the service of a mullah is undesirable, the local derwish tends to function in his place, by virtue of his assumed greater knowledge of religious ritual. Thus a derwish who is generally accepted as being knowledgable, may attain some status, but that primarily by virtue of his knowledge, and not qua derwish. Thus, the power obtainable through membership in the derwish brotherhood is mainly of a subjective and substitute kind. Their special powers are of a symbolic and expressive, not of an instrumental type. Strikingly, these special powers and strange fears are exhibited mainly in newly exclusive derwish meetings, and are rarely directed outward, toward village spectators — though secrecy, on the other hand, is made no point of, and any one who wishes to be present may attend most

[*] Something of the position of the derwish may more clearly be illustrated by a summary characterization of the derwishes with whom I came most into contact (not including those residing in the home village of the Leader of Derwish):
a) Highly eccentric, with considerable respect. Officiated as occasional funerals etc. Reputed to be able to perform charms and sickness with spells.
b) Rather inconsequential. Sacrificed a sheep when his watch (unique in the village) started showing discrepancy with the sun — was ridiculed for this by fellow villagers.
c) and d) Quiet, ordinary wife in appearance. Accused of rehearing spells. Possessed handbook.
e) Unintelligent brother of village headman. No special accomplishments.
f) Ordinary farmer. No special accomplishments.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 WAll Ford WAll

meetings. We are left with a religious brotherhood, vested with mystic powers, but where membership is regarded as a badge of low social status. The various overt signs of these mystic powers are not systematically manipulated in front of an uninitiated audience, to enhance the position of the performer; nor is the brotherhood developed into a secret society, the secrecy and exclusiveness of which might give status. The interpretation followed here, that membership in the brotherhood offers subjective satisfaction, giving the underprivileged person a field in which he feels that he too can manipulate and control power, seems the only constructive alternative.

Sheikhs and Seyyids. The category of persons called Sheikhs and Seyyids are, as the dervishes, in a somewhat ambiguous position, but they may, as we have seen in the case of Sheikh Mahmoud, make use of their position to great advantage in the political field. Essentially, a Sheikh is in Kurdish a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, reckoned patrilineally from Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, and corresponding to the Arabic Seyyid. The general position of esteem in which such persons are held is indicated by the term itself, Sheikh in Kurdish being borrowed from the Arabic, where it is a political title for tribal chief or elder; Seyyid in the Arabic of pre-Islamic times having the similar meaning of elder. Actually, both the terms Sheikh and Seyyid are used today in Kurdish to indicate descent from the Prophet — a distinction between the two will be made later; the present discussion will concern the Sheikhs, who in Southern Kurdistan are by far the larger and more important of the two groups.

By virtue of their descent from the Prophet, Sheikhs rate high on a religious scale of sanctity, and it is believed that they embody a variable degree of unseen good power. This vague sanctity is however divorced from implications of greater piety; no significantly greater morality seems to be expected of the Sheikhs, and membership in the descent group does not economically affect the social position of an individual.

To clarify the position of the Sheikh group, its distribution and internal structure should be examined. Logically enough, Sheikhs are not found among members of tribes (*ilwar*), since tribal groups constitute patrilineal maximal lineages, and no member of the *ilwar*

can trace patrilineal descent from AS unless the whole tire claims such descent. None of the South Kurdish tires arrange this, however. Shaikhs are consequently characteristic of the non-tribal areas, where they occupy the whole gamut of social positions from landless labourer to feudal lord.

In characteristic Kurdish fashion, Shaikh families tend to split up into small endogamous lineage segments, and, though the census materials gathered from a few villages is not statistically reliable in the matter, there is strong suggestion that FaBrDa or other close kin marriage reaches considerably higher frequency than usual in tenant villages, and approaches that found in the politically organized lineages, the tires. However, any exhaustive organization uniting the whole Shaikh descent group, or major segments of it, such as would in fact convert it into a type of widely dispersed tire, is lacking. It would on the other hand be equally misleading to think of the Shaikh group as an endogamous caste, since extra-group marriage do in fact take place, and the emphasis is not on Shaikh endogamy but, in usual Kurdish fashion, on local lineage endogamy. It is convenient to think more in terms of these local endogamous Shaikh lineages, where they are found in the village community, and relate their comparatively higher endogamy to an effort to retain a special status in the local community by not dispersing kinship obligations too widely in that community. Where Shaikh families occupy higher social positions, this stress on lineage endogamy tends to disappear, or seems to reflect efforts to prevent the dispersal of family property through the multiple Koranic inheritance rights.

An example of a Shaikh lineage group of tenant farmers, residing in a small village community, might be given. Of 11 households in the village, 7 are of the Shaikh lineage, the remaining 24 belonging to various larger and smaller kin groups. Of the heads of these 7 Shaikh households, 4 have married a FaBrDa, 2 another close relative, and only 1 a non-relative from outside the community (the sister of a neighbouring headman). At least in this generation, there is thus no intermarriage with other families in the local community.

The head of the Shaikh lineage is regarded as the most important man in the village, but he is not elected kikhe (village headman).

7: Barth 8-8 (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

The present *Aškha*, whose father and grandfather held the post before him, belongs to another, slightly larger kin block, counting at least 9 households. Furthermore, the frequency of family endogamy in this family of which the *Aškha* is the head is less than 10 %, which may account for his weaker appeal in the community. Thus the emphasis on the special status of the Shaikh lineage also tends to relate this lineage, in part to their disadvantage.

The majority of the Shaikhs in the village are tenant farmers, and tend to be among the better situated. One occupies the position as *mullah*, to which his son will closely succeed him. However, one of the Shaikh household heads is a landless laborer, giving a class distribution in the Shaikh lineage of 3 farmers / 1 laborer, as compared to 18 farmers / 4 laborers in the remainder of the community. The class position of the Shaikh lineage as a whole is thus not significantly high.

The status of this small Shaikh lineage might be contrasted to that of the above mentioned Leaders of Derwish, or to that of Shaikh Mahmud, both of whom have achieved their high position in part by virtue of their descent from the Prophet. The most reasonable generalization seems to be that membership in the Shaikh descent group defines a type of position in the religious field which contributes to the general esteem in which a person is held, and which may, in certain situations, contribute to justify a high position of actual power, but which in no way automatically ascribes such power to the individual.

A category of travelling holy men, similarly claiming descent from Mohammed, are given the Arabic name Seyyid by Kurdish villagers. Whereas the Kurdish Shaikhs claim descent specifically from Hussein, one of Mohammed's two grandsons, through a medieval Persian theologian, the claims of the wandering Seyyids are more variable. On the other hand, this reference to religious sanctity forms the basis of their livelihood. The spellbinder Shaikh need only imply high rating on a purely religious scale of sanctity — Seyyids convert this into a definite status position, fundamental to their occupation. Preferably conspicuously clothed, and wearing green head-dress as a symbol of their status, they ride from village to village carrying old

[illegible] holy books from which they can tell of the past and the future. [illegible] They also sell good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc. Being residents of the larger towns, however, they only appear on the village scene as transients of rather low status.

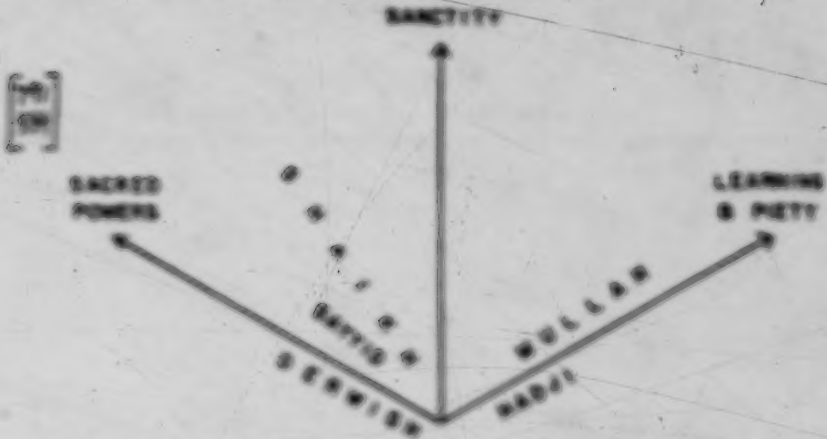

Diagram No. 6. The scales and measure of the religious field.

[illegible] The Mullah. Whereas the position of a Mullah depends upon his rating on the scales of sanctity and sacred powers, the position of the mullah is related to the scale of sanctity, and to a scale of learning and piety. High rating on the scale of sanctity springs directly from the office, while the degree of learning and piety depends upon the individual's behavior, and is consequently variable.

[illegible] The position as mullah is a true status position, since it defines a place in an institutional hierarchy — that of the larger church organization — but since it is related also to the scale of piety, the actual relative status ascribed to specific mullahs in their villages may vary considerably. Thus again, the lack of development of the concept of an office has its effects; any separation of the individual's official and private capacity is impossible, and no clear definition of the status of the mullah, as divorced from the individual achievements of a specific mullah, is possible. The very weak regional organization of the church is in part responsible for this — indeed, it is

misleading to speak of an indistinct church organization in the sense one knows it in the West. The actual qualifications of individual mullahs vary tremendously, and financial arrangements for the support of the Mosque are, as far as village mosques are concerned, entirely in the hands of the local community. Yet traditionalism and informal controls give a certain unity and enforce certain limits on deviations from a vague norm. 793 795 539

The position as mullah is an achieved status with completely open recruitment. Successful application to the study of the Koran leads eventually to initiation. There is a tendency for Sheikhs and Seyyids to be over-represented, but this seems primarily due to a higher frequency of religious inclinations, resulting from their economic bias in education. Frequently a dervish will be willing to support his son through some or all of the necessary years of reading and study, and thus achieves for the son what was beyond the reach of the father. At times, through an early interest in the teachings of the village mullah, a boy in a secularly oriented family will find his way into the religious field. A striking number of the students are blind, and depend in their studies on the help of their friends. 535 793

The traditional pattern is for the student to spend an unspecified number of years roaming from mosque to mosque, seeking out the teachers of high repute and remaining with each for whatever length of time he wishes (see Appendix III). In this period, as well as studying the Koran and the legal interpretation of the text, the student should become familiar with other religious writing, in Persian as well as in Arabic. Finally, when the student and whatever teacher he happens to be with at the time feels he is prepared, he is made to give a sermon, and after a circuit is given the white headdress of the mullah, as well as a diploma confirming his status.

During his studies, the future mullah is dependent on his family or on individual charity for his subsistence. Later, as a full-fledged mullah, he must make whatever arrangements he can. The positions in the mosques of the towns are now government supported, but in the village the office is supported by local resources only. The community expresses its wish to have a mullah and the extent of its ability to pay — generally by revenue on dedicated land and a 793 537

7: Earth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Rural MAII

minimal tax pr. head in the village, payable at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. This frequently must be augmented by agricultural work on the part of the mullah. It seems that the villagers are free to appoint any initiated mullah of their choice to office; once he is appointed, however, it is, at least in practice, impossible to dismiss him.

The actual role of the village mullah is evidently today in a state of rapid change, and considerably reduced as compared to Ottoman times. He has been relieved of a great number of his civil functions — e. g. marriages are not valid unless a license has been procured from the civil administration, and though the mullah still performs the ceremony, his importance is naturally reduced. The very dominant position as judge has also been greatly reduced by the secularization of the state and effective administration of Iraq's civil code.

A second role is that of the educator — the mullah will give rather intellectual lessons in the Koran to the sons of important villagers — the only schooling they will ever have — and he may also have advanced students visiting him for a period. Except for spreading a certain knowledge of the religion, however, this school of the mullah's does not seem to be of any great consequence, and the mullah himself remains the only literate person in the village.

His main role at present parallels that of the priest in Western society, in that it is concerned predominantly with religious questions in a largely secular world. The mullah calls to morning and evening prayer, gives a sermon on Friday, is especially active in the holy month of Ramadan. In all his activities, he should set an example to his villagers. The weight given to his opinions thus depends on his learning and personal piety, but at the same time, if they are developed to any appreciable degree, these same traits will tend to separate him physically and emotionally from the community and place him in the position of a spectator.

Consequently, he does not achieve the power position in the village that one might have expected. The mullah with low rating on the scale of learning and piety will be disregarded by the villagers — they may not even attend his services, as in the case of one village studied, where the sermons had been largely discontinued and the

.7: Barth E-S (1951) 1955 NA11 Kurd NA11

responsibility for religious education taken over by the leader of the local Shaikh family. On the other hand, an intelligent mullah, though often formalistic and introvert in his orientation, may play a considerable part in improving the intellectual and moistory standard of the village (the subject of chess and taichess having importance in a religious context), but does not seem to attempt to extend his influence any wider. His high intellectual standard and foreign values tend to alienate him from the epery squabbles of the village; and an ambitious attitude has no real place in the piously fatalistic Islamic world view. To the extent he does not convert his status and prestige into a de-facto power position, the mullah might be said not to be fully integrated into the social structure of the village. He is similarly in no sense an indispensible resident in the village community — very frequently, he is called in only for funerals, naming ceremonies etc., or these functions may even be performed by a local dervish or Shaikh. The pattern of training blind boys, necessarily marginal to village society, as mullahs, may in part be related to an appreciation of this marginal position which the mullah occupies.

Hadji. The *Hadji*, on the other hand, is an ordinary member of the village community. His position is related to the scale of piety, and derives simply from having completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. The title, however, is one of considerable respect — in part because it also implicitly indicates high rating on the scale of wealth.

The whole institution of the pilgrimage is the result of the command by the Prophet Mohammed, that any man who has the necessary means to make the pilgrimage *and* support his family at home, or whose family is able to support itself without him, should make at his lifetime journey to the holy city of Mecca. Thus the title of *Hadji* indicates (a) a pious eagerness to follow the command of Mohammed, and (b) moderately prosperous circumstances. One rarely finds more than 3—4 *Hadjis* in any one village; these will tend to be at least among the leading members of their community.

Formerly, the initiative was individual and the journey hazardous, often achieved by relatively greater physical exertion and low expenses, and the title of *Hadji* was thus less of a symbol of wealth [illegible] at present.

§§ 198 199 than as present. The route from the Sulaimani area went by caravan to Basra in the Persian Gulf, by ship to Jiddah (or even by caravan across the Arabian peninsula) and on foot from Jiddah to Mecca — involving often more than a full year of travel. Today, the time expended is in the neighborhood of two months, travel being by bus to Baghdad and across to Beirut, ship through the Suez to Jiddah, and bus up to the walls of Mecca. Total expenses average some £ 200. The pattern is generally one of group travel — in 1948, a group of approximately 40 persons from the Sulaimani area journeyed together.

§ 197 The moral-religious status connected with the title of *Hadji* is of negligible importance. There is some feeling that in situations of party conflict, a *Hadji* should attempt to mediate, and that higher moral standards are to be expected from him. More important is its connections with wealth as a type of conspicuous consumption, and in this is possible the widely distributed type of honorific title dependent on having gone through a «pre-Incke series of feasts»[1]. However, in the competitive and informal Kurdish village organization, the honorific title of *Hadji* is not by itself of any appreciable consequence in the de-facto power hierarchy, and must be supported by a continued position of relative wealth.

KINSHIP

§ 72 In addition to the formal hierarchies governing the political, the economic, and the religious fields, there remains the field of kinship. It might be pointed out that the household organization, and immediate kinship obligations, described above pp. 29 ff, represent a hierarchical organization of kinship the same type, but relating to a unit smaller than the village, in contrast with the other, more extensive organizations. Needless to say, the patriarch of a large household gains prestige and is vested with de-facto power by

[1] An example from a culturally and geographically parallel area is offered by the Kafirs of Afghanistan, where the whole social structure of the village community is based on a hierarchy of such honorific titles, attained by giving stipulated numbers of feasts (cf. G. S. Robertson, 1896, pp. xlvi ff.).

592 view of his position in the household — prestige and power that contribute very significantly to his total status in the village community.

SCALES

• 577 I have used the term office for an actual formal position in an organizational hierarchy; status and part-status for this position and the prestige that belongs with it. In a system where the rights and privileges connected with a political office are not clearly defined, and a separation of a person's private vs. official capacities is impossible, the power of a political official, or other person in a status hierarchy, will in large part depend on the particular person holding the position. In a sense, there is negligible prestige attached to the position itself; an individual must, in his private capacity, embody the prestige that is necessary to fill the position successfully. Thus the variegated sources of prestige outside the formal hierarchies become important to an understanding of how the formal structure functions in the village.

One may, as suggested above, profitably think in terms of certain scales by which persons are evaluated, high rating on these scales conferring prestige to the individual. Such scales are of several types, some connected with the life cycle of the individual, or related to the degree to which certain attributes are found in a person, others measuring the degree to which an individual approaches a certain ideal stereotype in his behavior. They may in part define conflicting or mutually exclusive ideals. — Put differently, this means that the prestige derived from high rating on one of these scales may be particularly relevant in a certain organization or role, as in the case of seniority and its relation to the khedrā status. Other scales are more universally applicable, as that of relative age. However, no matter what its sources may be, *the prestige of a person qualifies him for a certain relative power position in the village, potentially or actually formalized as a named status position.*

Obviously, any number of these scales may be constructed, and the present list pretends to do little more than enumerate certain

• 564 important Kurdish values relating to individual prestige. On the other hand, they are not pure constructs of the investigator, since they do represent verbalized ideals which the Kurdish villager is aware of as alternative modes of behavior in situations. The following are some important scales on which the prestige of a Kurdish villager may be measured.

Family: (a) prestige derived from descent from a person or persons with high prestige, or (b) membership in a large effective kinship unit.

Age: prestige derived from experience and maturity, increasing up to the onset of senility.

Sex: dichotomy favoring the male and relations in the male line.

Wealth: prestige from capital, real or movable property, and occupations tending to produce such.

Sacred powers: the extent of supernatural powers from Good Forces delegated to the person.

Sanctity: the actual embodyment of sacred powers, or sacred position achieved by personal suffering and renunciation of the world.

Learning and piety: prestige from knowledge of, and conformity to, Moslem religious and moral ideals.

Honor and Bravery: the degree of approach to the Kurdish ideals — physical prowess, valor, a certain nobleness, respect for women, kindness to the poor, unending hospitality, etc.

THE VILLAGE HIERARCHY

565 The formal political structures, and certain subsidiary hierarchies have been outlined, and it was pointed out how the actual power connected with positions in these hierarchies is dependent upon the prestige of the persons occupying them. The organization of the village thus becomes one of super- and sub-ordination of individuals, and universal relevance of status differences in the relations of these individuals.

However, because of the presence of several separable hierarchies of organization, the village relations of super- and sub-ordination do

ties that may be discerned. The village, in all its confusion, sets the 631
scene on which the competing factions act out their parts; ever
faintly glowing fires of unwilling individuals are discerned and
appraised in terms of the ideals espoused in the above outlined
codes; control is exaggerated and leadership emerges. All these activi-
ties take place at more or less standardized occasions — and it is
these occasions that will be described in the present chapter. In
effect, any type of community or group activity gives an oppor-
tunity for status and competition to express itself, and a descrip-
tion of these occasions thus becomes virtually a description of com-
munity life.

INFORMAL GROUP FORMATION

Clarence James Rich, visiting Baluchistan in the 1820's, was sur- 574
prised at the regularities of the patterns of visiting, as the large
groups that would congregate in the house of some noblemen or
in the open, and spend their time smoking and drinking tea, while
talking way into the small hours (Rich, op. cit.). This pattern is
also found strongly developed in Baluchistani today.

In the village, the formal hours of course keep rather different
hours, and he invariably rises with the sun; but the same pattern is
discernible. In the summer nights, visitors may be received on the
roof-tops; in the daytime, or when the weather is colder, any impor-
tant visitor is showed to a special room, and a more or less standard
group will quickly congregate. In the hot weather, other kinds of
groups will congregate during the day in any bit of shade — under
the trees by the pool, or on the roof-tops that are shaded by trees.
These informal groups seem essentially of two types, one the group
of village leaders in the unofficial sense to borrow an idiom
from American politics, the other a less clearly defined standing
category of persons of lower status.

The unofficial room. In the traditional tribal system, the 574
Agha of the village should keep a guesthouse, in which the heads of 574 •
families, all kinsmen of the *Agha*, and any visitor have a right to
sit. In the area around Kuwandun, this seems to be an institution of

considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for the hospitable *Agha* (Leach op. cit., pp. 28—33).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from the ideal — it would be a very important man who went to the expense of keeping an open house in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *Agha* among the Hamawands will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all persons who would have a right to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common centre of the village, to which all the important men repair, it has become in fact the centre of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance arranges to utilize a certain room as a guesthouse, playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

No matter what time of day a visitor arrives, he should at least be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a sitting. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige scale by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific titles to one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

The persons assembling normally in the embellished room are the policy makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest are discussed, the actions of the various members of the group co-ordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige is

community concerned, and rivalry between members is directed towards out-doing each other in the eyes of the group as a whole. 534 ●

Kinship society. An other immediately apparent type of informal group which is commonly formed is that of *kinship society*. The unskilled room houses a more polite and essentially closed society; kinship society includes more diverse persons, and emerges from practically any aggregation of individuals who are not engaged in productive pursuits. There is a tendency for the individuals of the highest prestige to stay away from such groups, since the joking and horse-play may be rather personal and quite free, and the rules of superior behavior easily forgotten. Thus, though formed from an open aggregation of individuals, which any male commoner as well as villager may join, it develops in practice into a gang of village youths and men, primarily the younger and more irresponsible, and the men of lower class status.

The same problems that are debated in the unskilled room may also be discussed here, but with less stress on policy forming and more stress on the anecdotal. Prestige differences in the group emerge very clearly from who is made fun of and who finds in a position to conform. At the same time, the group serves as a forum for complaints against abuses. Here the attitudes of the less privileged sections of the village to specific issues become coordinated; pressures are applied and excitements created that may lead to concerted action where persons feel they have been badly wronged.

Women's groups. Women are excluded from both these types of groups, as well as from *qahwah* activities in general. Though they prepare the food that may be consumed in the unskilled room, they should not show themselves there, and, for example, un-knowing, which should be done on the spot, is in the hands of a younger male kinsman of the host. In fact, when a visitor arrives in whom they take an interest, they may find domestic work to do within earshot though out of sight, or a small son of the house is dipped in as informant. The actual extent to which women contribute in shaping the opinions of their men is difficult to evaluate, and surely varies considerably, but is usually probably slight. On the other hand, they have access to information, especially gossip, 562, 573 [572]

which the head of the family has son, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in who unskilled women, (b) the men of low prestige get together in an informal coaching manner, and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complex status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above, and many village mullahs find it difficult to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — often men come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home. Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

[illegible] practised as a communal rite in case of need, and gives the company dervish an opportunity to reinforce his special position and demonstrate his control of power.

The actual rite is in rough outline quite simple. After an all-night session of prayer and purification on the part of the dervish, he is taken to a pool in the near-by, dwindling stream, and submerged in the water.

It is difficult to say just what degree of emotional intensity is involved in the rite so far as a majority of the participants is concerned. In the special case in question, they did not seem particularly impressed — the dervish involved was one who was frequently the object of mild horseplay, and the actual act of ducking him might have some appeal to the less serious minded. However this may be, the gravity of drought should not be underestimated, and would hardly be conducive to horseplay. The winter rain seemed to have stopped much too early, and the rite was a response to this serious situation. Considering this, the performance was probably more emotionally charged than some of the superficial comments might suggest, and certainly served to emphasize the unity and solidarity of the group. — It might incidentally be noted that this specific rite also was successful, in that fairly heavy rain followed shortly.

[illegible] Thus, this ritual of rainmaking is concerned with a very critical communal problem, and enables the dervish to assume a momentary position of dominant importance in his community. An interesting deviation from the usual norm was also observed in this case: the young son of the village Agha was submerged alongside with the dervish[1]). This equivalence may be significant in several respects. From the point of view of the dervish, it indicates the considerable extent of his momentary prestige — from a normal status of laborer he is elevated to temporary equivalence with the heir apparent of the village Agha. It may also illustrate something in the Kurdish conception of power: there is no really clear distinction made between the

1) The fact that the son rather than the Agha himself was chosen is less understandable, since of the slightly undesirable situation, and the rather malignified appearance of the actor following immersion.

sacred powers of the dervish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be severed best by the concept of personal charisma.

THE FEAST

The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain sacred obligations and submissive feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread.

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, [339] and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a man, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige.

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrence in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and economic and social status positions become crystallized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening feasts at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as host for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal, for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast

in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by given ideals of moderation.

To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the ox comes out of the host's one cauldron, individuals must commonly be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus commonly come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative place conscious. In seating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1] The usual daughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

leadership in war parties, and ruthless conquest, was a major path of status mobility.

Raiding parties, not aimed at conquest, but merely at the looting of caravans or hamlets, tended to be more open in composition. Companies ofHamam-adventurers from various villages would congregate under the command of some charismatic leader in the terminology of the external administration, and follow him as long as his luck lasted. Characteristically enough, the Hamawands form an exception to this usual pattern. Adapting their whole society to an economy based on war and looting, they also developed a singular form of professional ethics connected with these activities. Not only were even the incidental raiding parties apparently organized in the same pattern as village administration; rules of fair play were also developed. According to the accounts of their opponents as well as their own lore, women were never harmed or even searched in the raids on caravans — if you were able to slip your money-bag to a woman without the Hamawands noticing it, your money was safe — if the woman was looted! Moreover, if the hour for prayer found them in the middle of battle, they would each in turn get off their horse and go through the complete circuit, after which they would again charge into the turmoil!

The ordinary brigand, apart from this Hamawand development, qualified himself in the eyes of the villagers by a high rating on the scale of honor and bravery, as well as a fairly consistent run of good luch. In spite of persistent efforts on the part of the external administration, brigandage and raiding continues — though on a greatly reduced scale — and this must primarily be due to the positive value given to this type of bravery. The ideal which the brigand should approach is closely similar to our conception of Robin Hood. At the time of my visit, a certain bandit and murderer by the name Kulla Fitz was active in the area. For all practical purposes he seemed to regard himself as involved in a blood feud with the police — and the stories circulating about him had a familiar Robin Hood ring. They involved stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, miraculous feats such as visiting the police inspector's home and forcing him to serve up a luxurious dinner, being gallant to the ladies, etc. etc.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

A person exhibiting similar virtues to a lesser degree will naturally tend to lead the local «rooftop society» of his own village, and is the type of person who frequently makes his career as the retainer of a feudal lord, thereby attaining elusive but probably considerable powers. 701 554 •

An occasional legitimate expression for this type of leadership today is the «posse», organized on a village level e. g. when cattle is stolen, on a larger scale when cooperating with the police in tracking a brigand. It should be noted, incidentally, that such assistance on the part of a whole district or tribe is only extended to the police when the outlaw has made himself obnoxious to the villagers of the area in question. 628

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

Chapter VI

Integration of part-statuses

621 Such then is the «scene» on which most social activities take place,
• 359 and where control and organization emerge. This organization however, as has repeatedly been pointed out, is one of supra- and subordination of individuals, and not a formal hierarchy of offices, divorced from the persons filling them. The actual position of the individual thus derives from all of his part-statuses, from his prestige, as derived from his rating on the suggested scales, and from his ability to exploit the possibilities offered by these factors and by chance occasions.

The integration of all these analytically separable factors into a final position in the local group hierarchy poses a problem, and in this problem the familiar anthropological techniques and concepts can offer little help. In a traditional system, where individuals are permitted to make political demands on their followers, not by virtue of being vested with an abstract office, but as *individuals* by virtue of their higher status, there must be a single, unitary hierarchy of individuals. In Kurdish society, status is derived from a number of separate and in part mutually exclusive hierarchies and contexts; these elements of status, or part-statuses, must needs be added up somehow — some common denominator must exist by which the elements are given relative values. This common denominator is locally spoken of, and it has seemed analytically convenient to regard it as a wide concept of *power*. But it is fruitless to attempt to con-

7: Barth 8-5 (1951) 1955 WBII Kurd WBII

struct a formula for the addition of these part-statuses. Their relative weights are revealed only in very few contexts of real life, since such a tremendous number of variables combine in the relations between any two individuals. 621 539

At least in certain situations, some qualifications to leadership take precedence over others, and impediments in one field can be overcome or outweighed by advantages in other fields. With respect to the part-status positions, some of these seem to be mutually incompatible, in that they can not easily be occupied by the same individual; others are mutually exclusive to the extent of non-existing in the same local community. Finally, there are conflicts of loyalties: which units of reference take precedence over others in a situation of choice.

The culture of the Kurdish villager is not an integrated culture, in the sense that there are no discrepancies and conflicts between norms. Various rules and values may in certain situations come into clear opposition. Though for some such conflicts, standardized solutions or circumlocutions have been developed, this is most clearly not true of all. Such unresolved problems are the fields where change and adaptation take place. But by virtue of the lack of consistent logic and a minimum of agreement, these are fields that can not readily be described, much less analysed, by the anthropologist. The following section contains a discussion, based on my own and some secondary material, of some of the more crude and obvious aspects of this situation. All I can attempt to do is demonstrate a few clearer cases of precedence and incompatibility, and suggest certain systematic distinctions between questions of (a) impediments to leadership, (b) general incompatibility of part-statuses, and (c) precedence of loyalties to alternative groups and identifications.

IMPEDIMENTS AND QUALIFICATIONS TO LEADERSHIP

The order of importance of the various qualifications to high positions are most clearly revealed in the emergence of formally recognized leadership. In certain situations, impediments to leadership may be overcome by the possession of other qualifications that take precedence. Since autonomous Kurdish institutions are only partially 622

functioning in these fields, the data is incomplete; moreover, the relative importance of various qualifications seem to differ somewhat between the infra-village and supra-village levels, and between the tribal and feudal organizations.

The impediment of female sex. The chosen case, illustrating the type of problem I am concerned with, relates to the position of the woman who, except for her sex, fulfills all the requirements of a leader. I have previously stated that the woman plays an active part in political life in the widest sense. On the village level, that seems to be invariably true. But on the supra-village level, there are some exceptions. The problem, in the Kurdish system, amounts to what should take precedence, the impediment of female sex, or the qualifications of high family status, wealth, etc. In the village, the differences in family status and wealth are not great enough to counterbalance an obverse difference in sex; among the leading families of Southern Kurdistan, these differences in status and wealth as compared to the general population become great enough to override the impediment of female sex, and in several cases women have emerged as leaders of considerable consequence.

The most spectacular case was that of *Adela Khanum*, leader of the *Jaf* confederacy around the time of the First World War. She belonged to the ruling lineage of Ardalan princes in the southern provinces of Persian Kurdistan, and married Osman Pasha, the leader of the seliferany section of the *Jaf*. To him, she was of assistance in administration etc., and upon his death she retained or assumed the position as leader of the *Jaf Brigade*. Soane (*op. cit.*) after his visit with her before Osman Pasha's death, speaks very highly of her, both as a person and as a ruler. In 1919, she is described as «. . . about 40 years of age, but, thanks to the skillful, though liberal, use of artificial aids, she did not look a day over 40». (Lees, 1928, p. 217). In the conflicts following the war, she pursued an independent policy of cooperation with the British and opposition to Shaikh Mahmud.

A contemporary example is *Hafsakhan*, cousin and sister-in-law of Shaikh Mahmud. As a young girl, in the critical period of Shaikh Mahmud's rebellion, she assumed the responsibility for a handful of imprisoned British officers, in order to protect them from Kurdish

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 Mill Hurd Mill

irregular. The just resentment extended to these prisoners was later the official British grounds for concerning Shaikh Mahmud's death sentence to life-long exile (later compound further).

Habibahan has since retained a prominent position in Sulaimani, and today receives visitors of both sexes in her own garden, independent of her husband, Shaikh Kader. A small, dark-haired, attractive woman, she shows a social grace and intelligence that fully justifies her reputation.

Women who are active in the political field remain the exception, however, even among the most prominent families. It would seem that in addition to exceptional ability as well as interest — and the latter is probably fairly rare too — somewhat unusual circumstances are required to give a woman the opportunity to enter publicly into political life. Adela Khanum did so as the trusted representative and later widow of Osman Pasha, and surely gained popularity in Ottoman times from her Persian origin; Habibahan showed wise moderation in a situation for which there was no clear precedence. But the mere fact that such women are found at all in Modern Kurdistan indicates the very great prestige attached to their other qualifications, primarily the fact of membership in the prominent families to which they belong.

The impediment of low birth. A second impediment to leadership is that of low birth, or, in the tribal system, descent from a non-lineage member. This, just as female sex, does not seem ever to be an absolute impediment that can not be out-weighed by qualifications in other fields. Status in Kurdish society is certainly in part ascribed, and descent from prominent persons is a contributory qualification to leadership, but does not seem in any political context to be an absolute requirement.

Before external administration altered the formerly fluid feudal hierarchies of Southern Kurdistan, there were constant changes in personnel and organization of territories. Political power was roughly related to land ownership — obviously, since land was passed on in family lines, political hierarchies may be spoken of in terms of dynasties. But there were only practical, no fundamental, difficulties preventing a laborer's son from working his way up

through a feudal hierarchy, and eventually be rewarded with a feudal fief, or alternatively to become a leader of a war party large enough to conquer a domain. Both these paths of upward mobility were in fact in common use, and the problem facing the ambitious youth was simply that of how best to become qualified, in terms of wealth and prestige, to assume leadership. This wealth and prestige could be achieved through luck in small raids, bravery and adventure, ability to handle people, wide extension of ties of friendship, and the impediment of low birth could thus be out-weighed.

There is, however, an aristocratic undertone to much Kurdish political thinking, and especially members of the highest leading families of the area are ascribed charisma by virtue of their descent, on the same pattern as are the descendants of the Prophet. Thus, what is passed on in the families of high status is more than mere wealth; and the fact of low birth, quite apart from its disadvantage in terms of initial poverty, would create considerable difficulty if the person were pretending for the very highest status positions. This aspect is clearly expressed in several traditional accounts from Baban times, where the brave hero of modest birth in the critical moment, when he could have achieved the highest position, deserves his gloom and is later rewarded by the Baban Pasha. (E. g. a story of Salim Beg, who was offered the position as ruler of Southern Kurdistan by the Persian Nadir Shah). But the Baban family itself is said to be descended from Pakha Hamma Dezhnawa, who owned no more than one small village in Pushdir.

In the tribal system, there enters the additional factor that descent from the apical ancestor of the lineage is a theoretical prerequisite for membership in the group, and thus for political power in it. Even this basic principle of organization can be circumvented, however, if a person appears who by high status or de-facto power can control the group.

An obvious example is the Jaf confederacy, where the *Begzade* do not claim common descent with all the tribes in the confederacy, but none the less occupy a position of unquestioned authority. Other examples are found in the recent history of the Hamawands, who for a while followed the *Jaf Begzade*, later the Berzinja Shaikhs or

the time of Sheikh Said and Sheikh Mahmud. Thus, while no one who is not a member of the lineage can achieve a position within the segmentary lineage system, the lineage group as a whole, or even a section of it, temporarily broken away from the remainder of the descent group, can join a larger confederacy under a charismatic leader.

In summary, one might say that there are no absolute impediments, or, normally, necessary requirements, relating to leadership in any of the Southern Kurdish political systems; that persons theoretically may qualify for leadership by any combination of part-statuses, so long as they add up to a total status position sufficiently exhibited to correspond to, or identify, the political and other demands involved in leading the group in question.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF PART-STATUSES

Clearly, only ascribed status positions, based on sex and birth, could function as true impediments to leadership. Various achieved status positions may be incompatible with high political positions, but since such status positions can be changed, they are at most temporary impediments, and can hardly be discussed under the present heading.

Most of these incompatibilities have been suggested above. Of the part-statuses in the religious field, the *mullah* will tend to be rather separated from the general village community — he is frequently a tenant farmer, but rarely occupies any other part-status position, with the occasional exception of *Mullā*. Membership in a dervish brotherhood is clearly a badge of low class, and the dervish will not occupy any of the higher status positions. Conversely, the title of *Mullā* is a badge of high status, and is combined with any of the higher part-status positions, including that of the *mullah*. A woman can not be a *mullah*.

The hierarchy of class, as implied in the discussion, seems to divide the local community into separable categories that do not significantly overlap in terms of prestige or general position in the village and supra-village hierarchy.

[illegible] In summary, the following diagram (No. 9) suggests the relative [illegible] positions of various social categories in the village hierarchy, and [illegible] their approximate spread on an ordinate of class-height — obviously a very impressionistic diagram, for illustrative purposes only. Different part-statuses that do not overlap in their spread on the low-high

Diagram No. 9. Relative status of some social categories.

axis are incompatible; furthermore, the mullah often not being fully integrated in the community, there will be a lower frequency of combination of the status of mullah with the other, theoretically compatible, part-statuses.

PRECEDENCE IN LOYALTIES

87/ In some conflict situations, any specific individual may be faced with a choice as to which group or person he should support — primarily the alternatives of lineage group vs. land, lineage group

of the unquenchable savagery of both brothers, and their desperate efforts to resist. The account follows the development from Osman Bey dismissing his brother from abdicating in his favour, through his efforts later to resist Turkish pressures, when he shut a kind of determination and fierceness, like a man who has set his back against the walls (p. 113) till finally open conflict resulted between the brothers, and Osman Bey was reduced to a pawn in the hands of the Ottoman Pasha of Baghdad. Rich describes his last conversation with Mahmoud Pasha: al told him .... that nevertheless I prayed God for the prosperity and strength of his family and country. He said neither could ever be strong, while so many powerful members of the family existed. I insisted that it might be. 'Yes' said he, 'if God sent a plague among us and only left one alive's (p. 123).

Loyalty to leader. In spite of what has been said, loyalties may remain with a leader after his defeat, when the actual organization of which he is the head is greatly reduced in power, and he himself, as was frequently the case, in exile across the border. This relates to the distinction made between the *ideals* and *de-facto* hierarchy (p. 98 ff). For example in Bohtan times, one Pasha might be dethroned in favour of an other through the intervention of Ottoman or Persian armies. In such cases, the old leader would often retain his high prestige and status in the ideal hierarchy, though he controlled little de-facto power at the moment; once the external force were removed, he would then be able to regain ascendancy.

In a wider application, this means that the relative power by which competing leaders are evaluated, and which forms the basis for transfer of loyalties, is to considerable extent what I have called the person's *ability to rally supporters*, i. e. his individual status in the *ideal* hierarchy, not the de-facto power he controls qua *office-holder*. The apparent contradiction between the above pattern of transfer of loyalties, and the at times heroic loyalty to a leader in the face of great adversity, resound in Kurdish tales and chronicles, thus disappears. Such examples of stubborn loyalties indicate situations of wide discrepancy between the *ideals* and the *de-facto* power hierarchies.

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Chapter VII.

The distributive process.

In the same way as certain part-statuses are incompatible with others in combination in a single person, certain of these statuses are incompatible in a single village community. Where two part-status positions imply conflicting interests in the same field of activity, the part-status that controls most de-facto power will dominate the scene, and sooner or later replace the other or re-define its field of relevance. A unified discussion of these aspects of incompatibility should contribute to our understanding of social change in the South Kurdish countryside.

The mechanics of such redefinitions and replacements of part-status categories should be clear from the previous discussion. From the supra-village level, a new factor is introduced, modifying the power or prestige connected with a certain part-status position — e. g. the introduction of a civil code that robs the muallak of much of his power, a serious defeat reduces the prestige of a previously dominant tira, or land registration settles property disputes in the favour of certain persons. The individual occupying a relative position in the total hierarchy of super- and sub-ordination may then find one of two things to have happened: (a) his power, and thus his de-facto position in the hierarchy, has been modified, in which case a fluid adjustment and transfer of loyalties will tend to follow in the village community, or (b) his de-facto power, in itself unchanged, is in turn modified by changes in the relative prestige attached to his

Y: Kurds 8-5 (1951) 1953 Hall Kurd Hall

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pure-status — his ability to rally persons is improved or impaired, with direct results on his position in the power hierarchy. Either or both of these reactions may result — i. e. primary changes in either or both the de-facto (a) and the ideals (b) hierarchy may be produced. In consequence the change produced by the same factor in these two hierarchies may be in contradiction, and the final adjustment is then dependent on the degree of external interference.

The patterns of these reactions and changes are set by the precedence of loyalties in conflict situations, crudely sketched above. It should then be theoretically possible to correlate the nature and form of social change in Southern Kurdistan with the factors. The assumption is generally, and I think legitimately, made that all non-tribal groups of Kurds are ultimately to be derived from one or more tribal groups. At present, as may now, the direction of change between the two poles, from *tribal* to *non-tribal* or *feudal*, is very evident, and some of the factors resulting in such a destabilization process clearly follow from the above discussion. There is further considerable indication that only the two poles themselves, described as *tribal* and *feudal*, are moderately stable, and that change from the one to the other, once initiated, is a moderately rapid process. This is e. g. indicated by the numerical preponderance of villages of the polar types as compared to intermediary types. It also follows logically from the concept of incompatibility of certain pure-statuses in a single village: many of the tribal and non-tribal formal categories or pure-statuses overlap in their fields of relevance, and this results in competition, and elimination or re-definition, where they are combined in one local community. Once the process of re-crystalling is under way, the complete set of non-tribal categories will then tend to replace its tribal counterparts.

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Probably the most potent agency of social change, with a very direct relation to the power hierarchy in the village, are changes in the pattern of land tenure. Ottoman land codes and taxation policy, corrupt administration, and the increasing emphasis in Kurdish culture on leisure and real property have all encouraged the concentration of land in few hands, and the establishment of feudal patterns of delegation of indirect rights on land. The resulting class hierarchy

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[illegible] and I would draw the readers attention to the exceedingly many minor interdependences of kinship, political and economic factors in the [illegible] village studied.

Miscellaneous notes on Turkish names

The ordinary Kurd has a single name given to him on [illegible] which the following are typical - Ahmad, Ali, Hussein, Kamil [illegible], Rahim, Shamin. If it is necessary to be more specific he will give the names of his village also; thus we find that agricultural [illegible] chiefs often use the name of their village as a surname - eg Sheikh Ahmad Shaikh Hamad, - Hamad being the village of origin. Among the Turkish each village is [illegible]

The title Agha will be discussed in detail later - it is normally translated "chief" and is carried by the landlords of villages whose landlords were religious. As a title it follows the name - thus Ali Agha, Hamid Beis Agha. To be more specific the name of the village is added - thus Hamid Beis Agha i Bangarden.

Analogous to this is the title Beg. Normally speaking it is a Turkish title but is used by some Kurds. Thus the Kurdish people of Bangarden call themselves Begzadeh, by virtue of the fact that their leaders claim descent from the former princes of Bangarden, who established an independent principality in the 17th/18th Century. The use of Beg among the Kurds seems to be identical to Agha elsewhere, and to avoid confusion I refer to the chief of Bangarden, his Kurdish name, his Agha and not Bimen or Beg as he is normally called.

Bey [persian] is similarly a Turkish title which is carried by certain families. The Agha of Bart for instance is Bey Saidi Agha and the title appears correct since to the ancestry of the chiefs of Bartalla.

The title Sheikh does not, as in Arabia, imply tribal leadership. Normally it is reserved for religious leaders - e.g. Sheikh Ahmad of Barzan, a leader of the Nakshbandi sect of dervishes. The name is however sometimes carried on an ordinary name. Thus Sheikh Mahmud Agha of Rawandiz is not himself a religious leader. He was given the patronymic name Sheikh Mahmud on birth after a relative who had been a real sheikh.

The Mulla is the village priest, his precise functions are discussed later. As a title it comes before the name - thus Mulla Mahmud.

Hajji is the Moslemian title for those who have visited Mecca. As the Arabs welcome this, the bearer of such a title likes to be

"See C.J. Edmonds - A Bibliography of Southern Kurdish (Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol.XXIV, 49?).

• 554 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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administrative economy stopped the Turkish expedient of paying the tribal Aghas an annual subsidy provided they kept their tribe in order. This procedure substantially gave the tribal Aghs an hereditary administrative authority, and has had serious repercussions which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The salary awarded to Sheikh Mahmoud of Saluk was stopped some years ago and, as might be expected, his influence on tribal leaders declined rapidly. As is evidenced by the civil claims of the Aghas of Saqez and their tribal clients, the Saluk has currently only a little of the former time, though Sheikh Mahmoud with a wide sweep of his arm, will declare that all the land belongs to him and that the tribes of Saqez and Bana are only there as tribesmen. At the present moment (1950) his prestige is probably at the opposite stage to the assembly have appointed a "Centre of Settlement" and regularly attends the legislative assemblies in Tehran. The appointment carries with it a small salary, but its real importance so far as the tribes are concerned is that it demonstrates that the Saluk is in harmony with the Government and with the Tehran authorities.

Kinship Structure

While I have been shocked out the superficial political structure of the community the real nature of the relationship between the various Aghas and their followers can only be understood in terms of kinship.

The essentially contractual nature of the Aghas' authority was only vaguely understood by the earlier British administrators. Sir Harrison remarks (p. 67) "The Aghas are very oppressive to their tenants, more especially where the Government is close at hand and can assert its authority. In the mountain districts the tribesmen are accordingly poor, they have little to fear from the Government, and their chief finds it difficult to coerce them. A strong chief would probably soon oppear of be did". This statement brings out the fact, already well known from examples in the African field, that Government support for "the Chief" frequently gives that individual a tyrannical authority quite foreign to the ordinary tribal system of government, but it does not explain the Aghas normal relationship to his followers.

Marriage of Commoners

As we have seen already the tribe is essentially a patrilineal clan. It is moreover largely endogamous by virtue of the system of arbitrarily marriage common to most Mohammedan societies. Reference to the tables of Kinship Terminology at the end of this book

Notes on Analysis relating the Further Study

The foregoing analysis has three aspects to the fact that the Ashe is of the same kinship group as the majority of his followers and very closely related to many of them. It was interesting to note that to accommodate the Hadji class of Dongola differentiation between "Khan Sahibeen" (my relatives) and "Nawaab" (powerful), but I doubt whether there is any precise dividing line between the two classifications. I would like to include in the former term at least some of the second cousins. The practical distinction seemed to be that the Khans were allowed to sit in the guest house by right while the Nawaab could only do so by special invitation. Linguistically there appeared to be a confusion between the terms Nawaab and Sardaar both of which were translated to me as arabic Sultaan [Sheikh]. In this area however there is considerable overlapping between the two English distinctions of Kinship and Rank and the confusion is probably only due to my linguistic incompetence.

Another point that requires further examination is the precise significance of the title Ashe. We have seen that from the point of view of political organization each good Ashe of any tribe can, and only can, Ashe, in the sense of Leadership. The succession however does not necessarily follow the rule of primogeniture. As it happens both Sheikh Mohammed Ashe of Nalkab and all Ashe of Dagmit have living with them in the same village brothers who are older than themselves. In the former case the elder brother leads a retired life and takes no part in village affairs; in the latter Abdullah Ashe who lives in all Ashe's house in Dagmit throughout the winter seems off into the generation to the summer with the sheep and goats and a few of the followers and establishes his own home [settlement of Umsh there]. But though Abdullah is the elder brother there is never any suggestion that anyone but all Ashe is head of the group. In the other hand though the Ashe of Dagmit is quite definitely all Ashe the title is much more widely distributed as a form of address. Thus in Dagmit the old chief All, the brother, his two nephew's Sharia and All and presumably his wife's son also [who was away during my visit] are all given the title Ashe in ordinary speech. And this seems to be the normal usage. Thus Sheikh Ashe's brother in Kangarlua is known as Sheikh Ashe though he does not function as a landlord, and Sheikh Mohamed Ashe's four eldest sons all carry the title. What is not clear is how the title is inherited on the lineage agnatic, for instance will the sons of Sharia, who will in their time presumably be second cousins of the reigning Ashe of Dagmit also carry the title? Probably there is no definite rule.

In the remainder of this book where I refer to the Ashe or the Ashes of a particular group I shall imply only those individuals who FULFIL the sociological function of the Ashe, and not any sons or near relatives who happen to bear the same title. The sociological function of the good Ashe can be quite clearly defined. He is the

[illegible]

[illegible] 9

The Guest House

623. So far we have been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kachin village community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships on an institutional plane and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village lord in functional terms as (a) the individual who "owns" the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

624 It is a marked feature of Kachin custom that the strength, 622A. character and position, in addition to free land and lodging 622B. at the expense of the kin. The more lavish the kin's hospitality • 624 the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of reputation fully discount disadvantages of birth. Gumsi were kins of Sinpaw for example though only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. In all cases it was maintained that he was such more of a man (jinsa - the Kachin idiom is the same as our own) than his wealthier cousins Kachin esteemed kins of kinsh. If Gumsi were not as generous, in the argot, he also would be rich and powerful; "Kachin Ndawngdi was wisely not an old woman. It must be admitted that a more capitalistic concept in the form of economic advantage or potential influence. But the partners of the society in such that this form of reputation is estimated above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

344 The the Kachin country the Guest House is seldom actually a house. Visitor travellers are few and can be accommodated if 624 necessary somewhere in the kin's own residence; during the season on 344A the ridge host a shady pergola is erected somewhere close to the kin's house and floored with carpets, mats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

* This incidentally seems to have been Gumsi Ndawngdi's reputation throughout his life: see Map p. 253.

† In the plains villages however the great bulk of the common and the greatest frequency of visitor travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see Map 47 - 49.

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[illegible] 783 [illegible] 421.

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[illegible]

[illegible] the above before stepping onto the stage. Once the Bells overlap [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

000 wheat spots, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

439 277 Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by "dogs" of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq. But unfortunately little of the profits reach the growers.

295 Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlander never sees, with hillsides covered with grape-vines green the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs flows under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

[278] Were Mohammedan prejudice overcome, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

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and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are hard by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Xenophon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Rowanduz was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

lower classes enters upon a new and loftier status, becoming a gentleman. Never again is he allowed to engage in menial labor, nor the uses of his inferiors. Only certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and thus honor them, and they endure great sacrifices to this end, sometimes ill-repaid by the young official who scorns their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the bureaucracy is heavily overburdened with men whose training does not permit them to return to "degrading" toil, and every year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the province of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that some Muslim families who have interested themselves in this way have proven much more enterprising and ruthless than their rivals of other religions and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lesser government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with uneducated merchants and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the poorest

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[871]

peasant, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain can never wed a successful peasant.

It would be incorrect to assign the Muslim clergy, the mullas of the Sunnites and the imams of the Shiites, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amusing [522]

it has had a new class added to its society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an unfamiliar system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, as far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and men are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Rowanduz, then, that a new social structure is being realised as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Marsh Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the state of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterized by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially decided, but, failing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participants in the new regime.

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into

7: Barth I-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

misleading to speal of an inclusive church organization in the sense one knows it in the West. The actual qualifications of individual mullahs vary tremendously, and financial arrangements for the support of the Mosque are, as far as village mosques are concerned, entirely in the hands of the local community. Yet traditionalism and informal controls give a certain unity and enforce certain limits on deviations from a vague norm.

The position as mullah is an achieved status with completely open recruitment. Succesful application to the study of the Koran leads eventually to initiation. There is a tendency for *Sheikhs* and *Sayyids* to be over-represented, but this seems primarily due to a higher frequency of religious inclinations, resulting from their automatic bias in orientation. Frequently a derwish will be willing to support his son through some or all of the necessary years of reading and study, and thus achieve for the son what was beyond the reach of the father. At times, through an early interest in the teachings of the village mullah, a boy in a secularly oriented family will find his way into the religious field. A striking number of the students are blind, and dependin their studies on the help of their friends.

The traditional pattern is for the student to spend an unspecified number of years running from mosque to mosque, seeking out the teachers of high route and remaining with each for whatever length of time he wishes (see Appendix III). In this period, as well as studying the Koran and the legal interpretation of the text, the student should become familiar with other religious writing, in Persian as well as in Arabic. Finally, when the student and whatever teacher he happens to be with at the time feels he is prepared, he is made to give a sermon, and after a ritual is given the white headdress of the mullah, as well as a diploma confirming his status.

During his studies, the future mullah is dependent on his family or on individual charity for his subsistence. Later, as a full-fleged mullah, he must make whatever arrangements he can. The positions in the mosques of the towns are now government supported, but in the village the office is supported by local resources only. The community expresses its wish to have a mullah and the extent of its ability to pay — generally by revenue on dedicated land and a

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he [556] [574]
is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowandus itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, [554]
occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives [627]
in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the 175
present administration of the district with that of the 634
Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. 648
In that time Rowandus was the seat (a kaza) of a qaimmaqam under the Kirkuk sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does 463
there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who 464
cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it 467
is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen
more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far
from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, 554
and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which 463
are menial and those which are not. A successful kababchi
or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the
merchant's son would rarely become a kababchi. There is 166
also some exchange of persons between town and villages,
those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those,
successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but
migration from the town itself outside the district is
very limited. This does not apply to the area as a
whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern
Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to
the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as [482]
well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The per- [548]
manent population of Rowanduz, however, with its core of
older families from the days before the first World War,
seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute 556
the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some 565
are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so
choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts
of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but

they do not exercise the influence, economic as well as social, in the community of these of larger estates. Without exhausting the list of the "rich," the ten wealthiest persons in Rowandus, together with the types of their property, are given here:

As'ad Effendi: 1 house, 1 shop, money
Hajji Ibrahim: 2 houses, 1 shop, money
Hajji Muhammad Amin: 2 houses, 1 shop, money
Hajji Mustafa Shakir: 1 house, money
Lali Khan: 7 villages (including Dyana), land, many houses, about 30 shops, money
Muri Bawil Agha: 1 village, land, 1 house
Ra'uf Effendi: land, 6 houses
Sadiq Agha: 1 village, 1 house
Sayyid Hajji: 2 shops, 1 house, money
Shakir Effendi: 1 village, land, 1 house

"Money," of course, here represents cash capital, and a "village" includes not only houses, but agricultural lands. It would be difficult to form any estimate of the fortunes involved, because, among other reasons, a single large holding can have a greater value than a number of smaller plots totalling the same size. Similarly, a concentrated sum of money can be worth more in certain situations than its equivalent in agricultural lands, although most people in Iraq prefer to believe that this is not true. In any case, the holdings of such a person as Lali Khan, while they cannot compare with some of the immense estates of southern Iraq, represent many thousands of dinars. That these persons have their residence in Rowandus adds to the importance of the town, quite apart from its role as a marcantile center, and many people in the town gain their livelihood wholly or in part from their service.

storeroom, although sometimes lockedin a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the woman, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [957]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is no herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work o the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certainamount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296]

In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 443 556

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision.

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more

now fallen into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed men and divankhanag open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example of the manner in which the ghalebig and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose its distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

and weavers. Of slightly lower rank than these are the barbers and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-roasters. As had been seen, the meat-roaster or kababchi is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the atar or itinerant traders and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from effendi to the lowliest menial, is the question of relative wealth. A mason with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in conduct to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the grand cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality, judged

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse 611
of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is 853
the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune
in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been 582
nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a 834
youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his 608
wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, 611
one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be 853
subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some
woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of
these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through
"blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of
marriage between two generations. To amplify this state-
ment, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been
nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not
apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he 595
so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents
many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First,
he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry,
as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and
maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive under-
taking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the [556]
prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, [578]
the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or
more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the
Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and
in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such
a situation

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to pay the mu'akher, always a considerable sum, and the father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations of varying length are thus as common as divorce, during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed, one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in those matches in which he had little to do with his choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not countenance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not believe that because a woman has been childless in one marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rowandux, once the problem of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood, and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatranj, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin hid from a big petrol drum. This was the hammām, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather bathed himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived.

342 Later on the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two easternmost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *ḫeyāṭ* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that, rotated on a pivot stone hid out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[50] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed on the cooking pit. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

[351]

[352]

[352]

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[51] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taufiq's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of this veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

or drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms. There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only based on the

CHAPTER III

APPEARANCE

Women's dress. The appearance of Kurdish women is created by her dress, her jewellery and beauty culture. For the prosperous the dress materials are: silk, artificial silk, brocade, satin and velvet. Light colours for the young, dark for their elders. The predominant colours are: crimson, purple, turquoise, rose and green. Women's dress, *libâs*, consists of elements essentially Kurdish in form and composition, elements connected with Islam, and elements introduced from Western culture.

Kurdish elements. Trousers, *âwâl-â'wâl*, (E. 2333, E. 2339) are about 1 m. long and about 2.30 m. wide at the top. Here they are gathered with a casing and rest on the hips. At the extremities each trouser leg is 1.15 m. wide and gathered around the ankles[1] with a draw string. From the point of view of cut they are legging trousers[2] with an inserted square gusset 0.25 m. - 0.20 m. The upper part of the trousers is of white cotton material, the lower part of coloured cloth of, say, cotton, taffeta or brocade[3].

Shift or petticoat, *kin-â'wâh*, (E. 2334) is about 0.90 m. long with large arm openings and large, round neckline, identical front and back. The width above is 1.20 m., below 1.70 m. so that it does not tighten when the wearer sits tailor fashion. It comes down over the knees hiding the upper-most white section of the trousers. The material is shiny, coloured artificial silk.

The gown or kirtle, *kirâs*, (E. 2335, 2340, 2350), is 1.28 m. to 1.38 m. long and drags along the ground. In cut it is a poncho gown[4] with inserted side gores, small circular neck line with short vent[5]. The sleeves are 0.40 m. wide, attached to the body at right angles and ending in funnel-shaped cuffs, the length of which, is 0.85 m. to 1.10 m. These cuffs are pulled out through the sleeves of garments worn on top in cold weather (coat or cafian, or both) and wound around the wrist[6] arm. In warm weather, when there are no outer garments, the cuffs are tied in a knot at the points and thrown over the back, leaving the sleeves open and half-length[7]. During prayer the tied cuffs are undone so that they hang out over the hands, the tips reaching the ground. The material of the kirtle can be dark, flowered cotton or patterned chiffon. During work the kirtle may be shortened by being pushed down half-way under the casing of the trousers.

The waistcoat, *xemil*, (E. 2336, E. 2341) 0.36 m. to 0.40 m. long and 0.40 m. broad consists of two bodice fronts and one back, joined by slanting shoulder seams and straight side seams, or cut out of one piece of material bent in from each side so that it only has the slanting shoulder seams. It has big, enlarged armholes. The material is cotton or brocade in strong colours, lined with white cotton.

[P.65]
[Text continues top of P. 68--Analyst]

sleep in the same room as those with whom marriage was precluded. After the drawing up of the marriage settlement he was thus considered as already her brother-in-law. (That engagements are just as binding as marriage is mentioned by Blackman[557] in regard to the Egyptian fellahin). On the other hand, he will never shake with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the two young people were talking together, and he did not very often pay a visit. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the white veil over her head when speaking to him, but at the same time went about in a remarkably slovenly way, attired in old, dirty clothes. The two young people were to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with that part of the paid-up bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture items were to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedroom suit in polished wood and so forth. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 15 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed at an Iraqi-Arab hotel in the main thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all four shared a room in which they had both slept and eaten their meals, prepared food having been bought at shops in the town. As at home there was no undressing at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 20 year old brother at the same hotel. Here also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay at Baghdad the young couple were never alone but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them.

When the prospective bride was on an excursion by car with the women of the house and her elder brother, she (and the other women) were *abd* and veil, great care being taken that the veil was not lifted or shifted. It was explained that this was in order that nothing could be said about her either by her prospective husband or her future in-laws. There was no actual sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Granqvist[558] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people must not meet each other whilst they are engaged, and the prospective bride must hide herself when the young man pays a visit to the home. However, the young people in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their affianced state than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[559]*, its employment and sociological significance.*

The bride price mahr is mentioned in the Quran, Sura 4, verse 4 and Sura 5, verse 5, as the ordained morning-gift, for it expressly lays down that the Faithful are permitted to take in marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the peoples who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1778 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from Old Arabs in that greater pleasure was evinced at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could later be obtained for her, only a small remission being given her in return, whereas the Arabs and Turks expend the whole bride price on the bride's effects and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying: "many daughters are thus with them a source of wealth"[560].

In a humble village called, Bellisa, I was told that a 11-12 year old bride was acquired for a bride price of 20 Din., plus a dress for the bride. Whether the sum was paid out in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Bishop[561] says of the Bakhtiari that the bride price can be paid in the form of a

619 This whole framework of formal organization may be diagrammatically illustrated as below, Diagram 3.

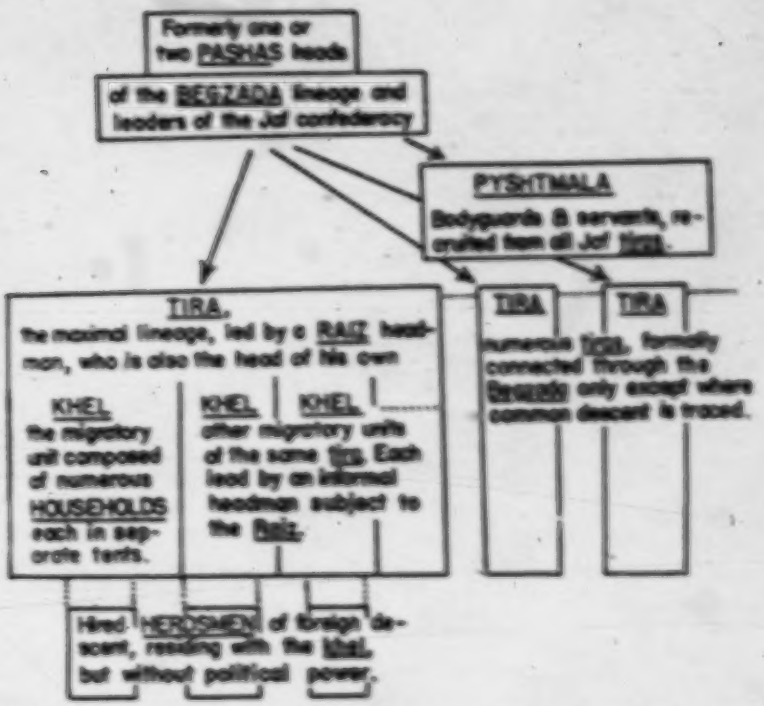

Diagram No. 3. Formal organization of the nomadic Jaf.

556 233 609 233 Within the *khel*, wealth, primarily in the form of herds, is the main source of power. Any member of the *tira* has unlimited grazing rights for his flocks, so there is no legal limit to the accumulation of wealth. The cattle are herded in flocks of 300 or so, with one herdsman for each flock. Herdsmen are preferably hired among the poor people of the *tira*, or they may be «foreigners» associated with the *khel* purely because of their economic functions. The typical pattern is to exploit poor relatives for this purpose, a practice familiar DOC from Central Asiatic nomads (e. g. Hudson, 1938, p. 57). Self-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Upon his succession to leadership in the Shaikh family, Shaikh Mahmud continued his father's policy with great force. Southern Kurdistan was at the time in a state of anarchy, large areas had been depopulated, the old trade and pilgrim routes were largely closed by brigands, especially by the Hamawands, who successfully challenged Ottoman supremacy in the face of large punitive expeditions.

Obviously in such a situation; conflicting stories are told about the part played by each faction in the struggle, and the various versions of Shaikh Mahmud's career form no exception. Any evaluation of the practical and moral virtues of his activities is outside the present scope, and must be based on much fuller evidence than is available at present. What is of interest in this context is merely the foundations of his power and the form of his control in the area.

Economic basis. From the modest beginnings in Baban times, the family's economic power was progressively enhanced. The possibilities inherent in the Ottoman practices of land registration seem to have been utilized. After closer relations had been established with the Sultan, the Shaikhs were able to gain control over numerous villages by buying the land at very low rates from the government. A major source of revenue that made this type of transaction possible was the ownership of the Bazaar (market district) of Suleimani (even today, 1/4 of the Bazaar belongs to the Shaikh family vs. 3/4 municipally owned). In addition to its economic importance, this also enabled the family in effect to control the city of Suleimani. The Shaikh family thus became one of the three major landowning groups in the area. It should however be pointed out that in spite of nearly continuous expansion of property, the whole Shaikh family today owns less land than *one* member of the Jaf *Beyzade* alone (Hassan Beg of Halabja). Thus Shaikh Mahmud's political supremacy did not derive directly from *ownership*; landed property merely offered the necessary economic foundation for his political activity.

Sown-sacred position. As descendants of the Prophet, the Shaikhs' family is considered to be vested with certain supernatural powers, derived secondarily from the sainted ancestor Kaka Hamasa. This gives Shaikh Mahmud the specific power to make amulets that

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shwtini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab bolemin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else depute one of his sons to do so. 342. 574 622.

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance. 574 421

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammad of Walash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Hamperdan. On average my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (36 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure 574 586 622.

30

574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants	
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

263 Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
272 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
177 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
435 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
574 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

177 668 they did once, in 1942, invite the leading aghas to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmieh, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, attached to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jafarov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man [578] dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.[1] This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

[1] Kurdish dress consists of a tasseled turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy grey pants of homespun wool, and a huge crimson kammerband, intricately knotted in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians forced to abandon their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied invasion, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are incorrigible dandies and a poor man among them would rather spend his last coins on a fine sash than on a good *kabab*. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

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is terms of the three questions just noted above. While 565
in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, 557
defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant 565
struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for 584
their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This
mobility, which has a moderate degree of realization, does
not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for
example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would
never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found
among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same 565
things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling 572
at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of
a company may visit each other and in other ways express
their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek
out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their
homes, just as in Rowanduz friends are to be found among
those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by
jesting. A man can always have a joke at the expense of [522]
an inferior, but never the reverse. "Anwar, you do business
like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a
gathering in a chaykhana, evoking general laughter. The
person in question could only shake his head, laughing at
himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to
taunt in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, 565
as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the 367
village where almost all belong to the same social stratum,
think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

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Rowanduz, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes [557] entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society of the town is disjointed, for the townsmen continue to [186] regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their [557] children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

movement as it evolved in the Medieval Islamic world, a development which corresponds to the rise of monasticism in the Christian states of Europe. Men were attracted to it for a variety of motives, some great in wealth or learning who dabbled in its esoteric lore, others sincerely devoted to the service of their faith and mankind, clever charlatans who lived off the bounty of the gullible, mystics, revolutionaries, and a host of others. In short, it offered many things to many persons. There are two darwish disciplines in Kurdish Iraq, the Qadiriya order (founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani who died in 1166 and whose tomb in Baghdad is the foremost Sunnite shrine in Iraq) and the Naqshbandiya order (originally begun in Central Asia in the fourteenth century). To illustrate the contrasting types of darwish, it might first be noted that the chief mulla of Rowanduz, 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, is a member of the Naqshbandiya order. Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in the judgment of the townspeople and the government elite, is an intelligent, realistic person whose interest seems to be purely intellectual. On the other hand, the most extravagant egotist in the lower ranks of the townspeople, Hajji Mustafa the barber, is a member of the Qadiriya order, and the reader will be able to appreciate something of his motives below.

In a district like that of Rowanduz, men can ascend in society only by dint of considerable personal ability along certain lines. It has been noticed how youths,

impatient with normal routine and anxious of prestige, attach themselves to the chieftains as gholam or body-guards. It follows, in addition, that among the commoners there are a number of men whose attainments have brought them little as far as wealth and social standing are concerned. With such dissatisfied persons are others, the usual aberrant members of any community whose eccentricities have been adjudged harmless to others. Such as these are absorbed into the darwish movement, because, on the one hand, it offers social status of an extraordinary sort and, on the other, a channelled expression for personal peculiarities which might otherwise prove dangerous. It would be unwise to typify a darwish of the lower classes without first having dealt with the individual in question, for he might prove to be a hard-working craftsman in one case and a person mentally deficient in another. To become a darwish is almost identical to joining an american fraternity or lodge. One is initiated into its "secrets" by the elder members, and becomes a party to its exclusiveness. Like the lodge member, the darwish believes himself to be set apart from the mass of men by virtue of the superior knowledge with which he has been invested. The secret of almost all darwish orders is the same, although differently phrased, a personal relationship to God which bypasses the usual conventions of the faith. This relationship, when translated into the combination of song and dance, can produce that form

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and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a chaykhana can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the chaykhanas, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The chaykhana, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the qaimaqam or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a diwankhana or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in chaykhanas will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (hatiw baz, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.) 265 554 [517] [574] [558] [701] [578] [838]

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grandfather prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect toward their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the mal, little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

by young men wearing European clothes. Only by reason of the rosary swinging between the fingers was it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans. 293

The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not well-shaved. [302]

Children's dress. A baby's clothes in the villages consisted of a small kirtle with extra long, pointed arms, a padded jacket, *čakat*, of flowered cotton material (E. 2329) or silk, and a cowl-shaped silk bonnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of sack-like trousers, but it was an exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the towns I saw a boy of about 4 months wearing a dress with a short yoke, a gown, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly copied from a European pattern (E. 2330a, c, d, e). The same infant I saw at a wedding clad (although mortally ill) in a dress of rose and light-blue nylon (E. 2330b). 291

As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short-armed, striped, 291 561

Fig. 83. Children's dress in the village. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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long shirts, without visible trousers up to the age of 6, whereafter they are given small men's costumes of home-woven goat's wool material, and conform generally to the men's clothing scheme (cf. figs. 10, 28, 65).

The somewhat larger girls wear long frocks with a high yoke of the type known from Afghanistan —velvet, dark-flowered cotton material, or silk. At the age of ten the little girl is clothed in adult woman's dress consisting of long, gathered trousers, kirtle and waistcoat. European children's dress could be seen in an urban milieu.

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In the villages a boy's hair is shaved at the neck and right over the crown, the hair on the front of the head being cut quite short. This may be done to avert evil?).

Girls wear their hair long and plait it into several plaits held together by a horizontal string running across the back of the neck.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

a tax of three kg. of grain to the mosque for each household member. This is done by each of the men in turn seating himself before the mullah, with a symbolic tray of grain between them. The men follow one another in a descending order of prestige, involving public acceptance and confirmation of the actual hierarchy of individuals in the village. At one or two points there was some hesitation, and very elusive momentary pressures were brought to bear by the group on the actors to assure the «right» sequence. This occasion also gave the *Hadji* an opportunity to affirm his leading position in the village by pledging 3.5 kg. pr. person to the mosque, and with a grand gesture paying for a poor widow in the village, not represented by any male, as well as for my interpreter, who, not being of the village, did not dispose of any grain.

At the completion of this, the group dispersed. Later in the day, the landowner appeared, and people also from the neighboring villages drifted in in informal groups and congregated in a large circle in the courtyard of the house in which he was staying. For the remaining period, celebrations involved only smaller, informal groups and individual visiting.

— I have chosen to describe this occasion in some detail, since it was observed under favorable conditions and illustrates the situation in which the hierarchy of individuals in the village is expressed, and how the individual's rating of himself is confirmed or contradicted by the group. Other religious festivals serve an essentially similar function, though they may in part be more amenable to manipulation and «social climbing». For example, two months ten days after Ramadan follows *Qorbani*, the feast of sacrifice, lasting four days, and centering around the killing of a large animal — sheep or preferably cow. Any person may volunteer to do Qorbani, and offer his cow up — though there are probably informal controls on who may in fact presume to that extent. *Maolud*, Mohammed's birthday, is similarly celebrated by a semi-communal feast and conspicuous consumption; the various other holidays are of a more private kind.

Rites de passage. The various rites marking transitions in the status position of individuals through their life cycle are less formally controlled. They are communal in a different sense from the ritual-

561 religious festivals; though such transitions are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is then determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

344 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons, [719] and the woman's fear of being barren: When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or onionleaf beside his crib. This is so that the *shaoa*, a form of *djinn* or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaoa is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaoa is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion-leaf may be placed beside her.

553 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the *naming ceremony*. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

852 *Circumcision* of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, it may in fact still be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Suleimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the baldness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form, but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the *tcharakkia*, or cloak, is of a darker shade of blue, with white stripes round the bottom, the corners being knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kûrdish women do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In large towns like Sulîemanieh the ladies wear a blue checked sheet, and a screen of black horsehair, like the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however, seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest rank, who may wish to pass through the streets *incognito*; and the lower class women generally go about with their faces uncovered. The village women veil themselves when they leave their homes; and the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Menservants are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors are freely received by the assembled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom of manners, Kûrdish women conduct themselves with the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the forwardness too often seen in the behaviour of the Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, exceptionally high among the races of the country,

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Not being sure of the day of his wife's return home, he had not been anxious at her non-arrival, but had been spending the evening with a party of friends. A question had arisen regarding his bravery; and, to vindicate it, he had accepted a wager to go alone at midnight to the Ilaz Khan, and leave there a token of his visit. He had been searching for a safe place in which to leave this token, unawed by the ghastly missiles hurled at him, as he supposed, by some bandits who had taken up their abode in the khan.

Mr. Rich, when travelling in Kûrdistan, met a girl of the Bulbassi tribe who had killed with a spear a Turk who insulted her. This young Amazon was dressed like a man, and served the chief, Farullah Effendi, as his faithful henchman, accompanying him on all his expeditions. The women of this tribe are particularly hardy and intrepid. They sometimes take to the road as brigands, and unlucky is the trader or traveller who falls into their hands. For not content with robbing him, they strip him, excite him to make proposals to them, and then punish him for so doing with every species of mild torture which their lively imaginations can suggest, such as pinching, scratching, and scourging with thorns.

In the domestic circle the women are treated as equals by the men, who are most affectionate in their relations with their parents, sisters, and children, and in the character of husbands most considerate, kind, and forbearing. As an illustration of this latter trait, and at the same time of manners generally among the sedentary Kûrds, I cannot do better than give the following charming story.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

that one can well do without gold and rich stuffs, but that without soldiers one cannot maintain one's power.

The Kûrdish women, of the nomad tribes more especially, take a lively interest in the social and political affairs of the tribe, are acquainted with all that concerns it—its feuds, plans, and conspiracies, in which they are indeed often moving spirits. As enterprising and indefatigable as the men of their race, they are ever on the alert, and ready to leap to the saddle, where, though not elegant riders, they are quite at home, and able to keep up with their husbands in their adventurous wanderings.

This participation in the political life of the tribe is a peculiarity of nomad life, and of a primitive state of society. Mr. Millingen relates two instances which came under his personal notice of the intervention of women in public affairs. After a skirmish with the Shikiah tribe, the beaten Kûrds retired to their encampment, with the loss of twenty-four of their warriors, and sent with all haste a deputation to the Pasha of Van imploring his mediation. A kind of commission being despatched on their behalf from this town, it was met at a distance of several miles from the Shikiah camp by a crowd of women, the pretty ones at the head wearing black veils, and shrieking as loudly and woefully as it was in their power to do. Their lively grief, backed by a bribe of the Kûrdish delicacy called *djadjik*,[1] was successful in bringing about a solution favourable to the tribe, which, through the mediation of the women, was allowed to escape further punishment.

[1] The onion-flavoured cheese above-mentioned (p. 120).

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The Kūrds, too, generally leave to the women the business of settling accounts with that regular, but unwelcome, visitor, the tax-gatherer. 562 651

On the arrival on one occasion of this functionary at the camp of the Haideränlis, a large and wealthy tribe established in the plains to the north-west of Van, he was politely received and treated with black coffee and tobacco in the tent of the chief, Ali Agha, who courteously informed him that he was at liberty to enter the different tents for the collection of the sheep tax. Once in the tents, however, the tax-gatherer soon perceived that while he was striving to get hold of everything he could detect, the object of the women was to conceal from him all they could. Out of interests so opposed a collision naturally soon arose, and a shower of vituperation, followed by an attack with sticks and stones, assailed the unlucky official, who was finally rescued from the hands of these fair furies by the men of the tribe, and carried for safety to the tent of the chief. Ali Agha now gave him the friendly advice to get from the women all they were willing to give and return at once to Van, thanking Allah that no worse had befallen him. "My good fellow," he concluded, "what can you do with women? They will have their way. Take the money and be off." [272]

In 1854 there passed through Constantinople on their way to the seat of war a band of Kūrdish cavalry led by a woman named Kara ("Black") Fatmé Hanūm. Save for the dauntless fire which blazed in her eyes there was, however, nothing Amazonian in the 562 701

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yazidis MH10

K 562 701 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as having been a little shrivelled up old woman.[1]

K 871 794 Among the nomad and peasant Kūrds, as might be expected, very little attention is paid to education. The sedentary Kūrds in Suliemanieh and other centres, are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.

K [212] The wives and daughters of the lettered Kūrds are also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kūrdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mollahs to publish works in that language. The Kūrdish tongue

K 197 is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of

K 538 Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feeling often manifests itself among Kūrdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y 871 743 562 The members of the Yezidi sect, who belong to eleven different tribes, and number between seven and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

[1] Mordtmann, *Die Amazonen*, p. 132.

are utilized for riding. One finds here a revealing comparison with the Arab South. In such a country as Egypt it is commonplace to see a man perched on a donkey while his wife shuffles along behind on foot. In the Rowanduz district, the man walks and the woman rides, a contrast which was several times pointed out by Kurds themselves as evidence of their loftier respect for their women. Almost every village possesses a large number of watchdogs, the typical animal large and fawn-coloured, not unlike an Eskimo husky. In many cases their ears have been cut off, and there are two stories to account for this practice. One holds that it enables the dog to hear prowlers more acutely, and the other claims that the severed ears should be fed to the puppies to make them more ferocious. The town of Rowanduz is more or less taken over by its dog population at night, packs of them running without the houses and environs, often raising a disturbing uproar with their quarrels. They sometimes appear dangerous, but have great respect for a thrown stone. A Kurd approaching a farmhouse will generally equip himself with a handful of pebbles. Dogs are usually ignored after they reach maturity, fending for themselves, but puppies are fondled and made much of by both children and adults. Cats are conspicuous in their absence. It might be mentioned here that, aside from chikaw kept for fighting and dogs, the only other animals kept for amusement are ground-squirrels, carried by some in a pocket and danced on the end of a cord in the chaykhana for the diversion of other customers.

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[825]

elicits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a chaykhana. The bus from Rowanduz to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them. 265 554 [562] [494]

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a chaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a chaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from transients in the town who could find no other place to eat. 265 [262]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is 253 [251]

information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women 574
and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children.
A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters
the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality [576] [562] [888]
of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the
house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with
the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Lali Khan [123]
and Bayin Amina, the Turkish wife of Shakir Effendi, both
unveiled and neither of European education or inclination.
Visiting women, almost always married and related in some
way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or
in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain
in the diwankhana if the house-owner and a male guest should
suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used
for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle,
in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the 351
gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive [574]
value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-
room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the
desire of every householder, as an American might plan a
study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to
have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to
beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded,
grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic
attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle
East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a senti-
ment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy.

open sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put on, although in the case of village women only one or two outer dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For a headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, townswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with a turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as embroidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together by the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the hemispherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of the men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark blue in colour, a single roll of cloth. 291

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a restriction which, of course, has no existence among the women themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish women of the upper class may only appear uncovered before the men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and dignity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, women of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their life, working in the fields and going to market, are always unveiled and a trip to the bazar crowded with men affords them no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially prominent or alien person may cause them to hide their heads. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears in a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save in the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the sustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural Kurdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to run. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also 291 562 [754] [576] [609]

a matter of social status, and many women, flattering themselves, will hide their faces although their station does not warrant it, to the amusement and sometimes the respect of others. One noticed from a distance that an elderly woman of the lower class turned against a wall and concealed her face from Mashid Agha of Jindian. "The old fool," he said, "she thinks herself still a girl." The townswomen of wealthier houses never appear in the streets unveiled; and the old, heavy covering of Ottoman times has been replaced completely by the lighter pacha, derived from the Arab cities. This garment is easily formed by knotting together two corners of a large piece of black cloth so as to make a tight circle at one end in the dimension of the head. This circle is placed around the skull with the knot at the nape of the neck and the whole cloth is tossed backwards, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. The forward edges can be controlled with the hands and drawn across the face whenever necessary. Within their homes, most women use a simple headcloth, usually of white gauze, which falls over the shoulders and hangs to the waist, and, just as the men, are infrequently without something on their heads. Among the Kurds, however, it is a much greater shame for a girl to have her legs observed by a stranger than her face.

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The rich garments of a wedding or the festival, particularly in wealthy houses, are of much the same type, with the addition of a few items and the better quality of

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the materials. Here bright colours are worn, typically deep reds and blues, and a number of chemises, skirts, and aprons make up the costume. A white blouse and a tight jacket with long sleeves are often seen. For a headdress, the headcloth in white and in coloured silks is found, as well as a cap to which a circular disk, the qurs, some five inches in diameter, of embossed gold or silver has been sewn and around which a turban of silk is affixed. This last is one of a woman's dearest possessions, and the qurs, refitted with cap and turban whenever necessary, is either bestowed on a favorite daughter or kept until death. Whether or not a woman "dresses up" each day depends very much on her own personality. In some houses of the wealthy, the mistress wears only a simple print frock and the white headcloth, while in others, sometimes of lower station, the wife is always resplendent in a multiplicity of garments and jewelry. The servants of Lali Khan, herself in perpetual mourning, are always "dressed for a wedding." In cold weather women of any class do not use a coat, but add undergarments and a shawl. 292

The wives of government personnel, who are for a large part Arabs, have the same social origins as their husbands, the educated middle and upper class families of Iraq. Some of the officials are unaccompanied by their spouses, and those of lower rank, the mudirs, the junior army officers, and the teachers, are usually unmarried. Nevertheless a number of these women are resident in the 554 562

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowandus the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in shapeless black, and in the ten or twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their footwear includes European models, some simple slippers, and the kabkabs. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

mentioned. Precious stones and pearls are little in 301
evidence, but coins, of almost any age and variety, are often drilled and included in the ensembles. The silver khizam or nose-ring, sometimes containing a piece of turquoise, is only affected by women of the villages. Many married couples wear rings, usually of silver and sometimes set with a piece of coloured glass, on the third or fourth finger of the right hand, but they are not a necessary part of engagement or marriage. Men wear little jewelry save a ring and a few sport a silver or imitation gold watch-fob hanging from a breast pocket. [562]
There is some aversion on the part of men to wearing gold, and this is said to have a background in Islamic tradition. The elegant seal-rings of Medieval and Ottoman [212]
times have almost completely disappeared, except in a few of the older families, such as that of Ra'uf Effendi, where they are preserved as heirlooms.

It has been seen that the townspeople have little 276
regard for intoxicants, nor do they make use of drugs such as the opium of Iran to the east or the hashish of Lebanon and Syria to the west. If there are excesses among the natives of Rowanduz, they are only tea-drinking and smoking, the first of which has been discussed. Cigarettes are the most popular mode of consuming tobacco, and have several varieties. From the merchants British cigarettes and those made in the factories of Baghdad may be obtained. The officials and officers habitually use these, and they are

of generosity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most sanguine of vendettas could follow. 622 628 584

The integrity of its women is perhaps the primary facet of a family's honor. If a Kurd insults anything other than the woman of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honor of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious enunciation cannot be taken lightly. The honor of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this second regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus sent to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or 577 562 554 [684] [585] 684 562

to the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence. 684 562 628 683 622

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Hence the aristocratic houses maintain diwankhanas which very considerably in size and form according to their estates. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the diwankhana of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion, 574 622 [342] [343]

any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an agha, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowanduz area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowanduz only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many usages of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males nakes[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

565 647 177 [183] [562] [834] [514] [192]

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

tempt God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

suffice until further investigation is able to furnish a more complete account. Save in the lowest classes of society, mature women, those of the officials and officers, the aristocrats, and the wealthier townmen, are generally restricted to the interior of their houses, and none can mix freely with society at large. It is more or less inevitable that such women have their friends and visitors among the female relatives of their fathers' and husbands' families, for only these can visit each other's houses without restriction. Because marriages are arranged between persons on a basis of comparable status, a woman's friends, like those of her husband, are close to her in rank. However, women of the upper classes are much more democratic in most respects in their demeanor toward inferiors of the same sex than their husbands are toward theirs, and spend long hours in intimate conversation with female servants, seamstresses and laundresses. The latter are, in fact, an important link with the outside world of the town, inasmuch as they are able to intermingle with others of the lower classes and hence provide the mistress of a wealthy household with welcome news and gossip. The lot of the wives of the officials and officers is much more difficult, because their friends and relatives have been left elsewhere in Iraq, and there is almost no means of making new acquaintances in the town. They, too, find pleasure in the conversation of their maids, Arab or Kurd, and, with the knowledge of the husbands concerned, may visit

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common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises. [946] [521]

If the society of adults in Rowanduz has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes. [572]

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowanduz not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

formulated in the presence of the judge and registered with a kâtib al-'adil or government notary, either of the serai or the court. If a person dies intestate, as in the case of most persons of the lower classes, and a quarrel ensues over the disposition of his property, this must also be settled by court action. In general, however, each of the sons of the deceased is entitled to one share and each of the daughters to a half-share, after the widow has received a stipulated eighth of the total property. In the absence of some of these heirs, certain relatives in a fixed order may present claims for varying percentages, a subject too complicated to be examined in detail here. If the heir is an orphan, the property is administered by a department of the government, the Amwal al-Gasarin, until he reaches maturity. A woman usually disposes of her property, her dowry, jewelry, and household goods, as she pleases, although this too can be brought to the bar. Thus the quarrels and complications which can arise in inheritance are settled by action of the judge, and the townspeople themselves, unless they have been engaged in such a suit, know little of the intricacies.

Two of the most striking features of Islamic inheritance are that a woman, although she is protected by certain specified percentages, does not receive a sum equal to that of a man, and that the estate of the deceased is not transferred intact to any one person, as in primogeniture, but is parcelled out among the several heirs,

his lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the 423
inexorable character of the civil code reinforced by 428
scripture, how one heir might be completely cut off in
favor of another, and no examples could be elicited. If 428
a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful
event, he could do this best by leaving his property to
the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest,
a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the
equality of the claims of sons.

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, 421
tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although 562
there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well.
Lali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprison-
ment of her closest male relatives, offers a case in
point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding
property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and
household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the 583
generality of Islamic society, and at Rowanduz, is paid in 421
money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the
girl. It consists of two parts, the muqaddam and the
mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The
first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid
in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to
the parent of the bride who is responsible for its admini-
stration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must [586]
be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will
or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
<u>khushki mard</u>, "sister of husband," rather than <u>mardkhushk</u>. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the <u>mal</u> or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562 ●
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
woman of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of man, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

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The second thing necessary to notice is the almost incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grandfather prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

842 558 [603]

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect toward their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the mal, little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

or guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574

The eldest brother occupies a position over his brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He shares to some extent in the parental authority and is responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger brothers their roxhana, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught [454] to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest brother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he takes their savings and purchases them something they desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all of his directions must be carried out by those junior to him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, the younger children are supposed to stand, although this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and the care of the younger children. In several families observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels 593 554 577

other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the maids are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the diwankhana with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

Turning now to the course of an individual of Rowanduz through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the diwankhana or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor.

dowry withheld until this time, and a new contract must be signed if the pair are to come together again. In the major separation, that of triple divorce, the woman also receives the mu'akhar and her personal possessions. A certain length of time, the idda, corresponding roughly to three menstrual periods, must elapse, and, if the woman becomes pregnant during it, her former husband is responsible for the maintenance of herself and the child. Children usually remain with the mother in divorce, but their father may claim them after they have reached a certain age. In addition to divorce, a husband may go to the court or the mulla with witnesses, and obtain a certificate that his wife has been "refractory," in which case he is entitled to "put her away." A woman can only initiate divorce proceedings with difficulty, and is usually forced to renounce her dowry. She also may obtain a certificate of "refractory" behavior for herself and by this means leave her husband, although the latter, from perversity, may later refuse to grant her a divorce. There are, as one might expect, a host of legal subtleties in these cases, and, as an extensive body of Islamic jurisprudence deals with them, there is no need to treat them in detail here. 586 [843] [851] [562]

The principal causes of divorce in Rowanduz are incompatability and barrenness. In the first case, the judge or mulla and the relatives of the pair attempt to reconcile them, because, for the relatives, financial transactions of a large scale, sometimes embarrassing, usually

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required, and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh distributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes must often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals of women and children, depending on the status of their husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said that these memorial parties of both men and women visited the grave "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rowandux occupies the flat crest of the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the next. Only a few have inscriptions, some etched and others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn. Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble wall, indicating the grave of a sayyid, a descendant of

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312] [515]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, [529]
it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [521]
one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [784]
smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513] [485]
sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346 562
of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521]
as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. 554
Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 346 771

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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the women's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men. 346 554 771 [562]

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowanduz serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowanduz have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowanduz in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf. 793 [693]

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen [874]

[1] Zwemer, 1946.

specialist and which can provide the material for broader analyses of the economics, society, or religion of the Middle East. The value of investigation undertaken in a particular town or locale is obvious. Too often the student of the ethnology of the Middle East is forced to glean his information from the chance remarks and anecdotes of administrators, missionaries, and travelers. If such a writer happens to comment on the wedding customs of one village, and, several pages later, notices the funeral rites of another, one cannot legitimately infer that marriage and burial are the same in both villages. A body of this type of material exists for the Kurds themselves, but it has not been thought necessary to have reference to it. One cannot take some engineer or missionary to task for an observation, seemingly incorrect, which cannot be identified with reference to a definite locale, nor does there appear to be much value in noticing their accuracies. The dangers of generalization are marked, for example, Driver, who notes:

> Kurdish women are comparatively free to come and go as they like; they are wooed and won by open courtship, for in almost all tribes they are unveiled.[1]

This statement, as has been seen for Rowanduz, is not valid. It has also been felt that a detailed comparison of life in Rowanduz with that of other groups in the Middle East would be worth little, for the student has at his disposal comprehensive, localized treatments only of the Arab Bedouin, the Egyptian peasantry, and certain peoples of North Africa.

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[1] Driver, 1922, p. 502.

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195 by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in
698 Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[5], which, however, was never ratified. At the final conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shattered, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Shereef of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Brussels or Branting line[6] by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. The justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had seen their dream of an independent Kurdistan born at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had aired their feelings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[7], Iran[8] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[9], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1861, d. 1956)[10] *hukmdar* in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed subsidies. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government, proclaiming himself *mdlik*, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[11], who as early as 1906 had accepted Islam and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[12] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1921 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the peace negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922-24, 1927 and in 1930-31, and under Achmad of Barzan in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrigg and Stoakes[13], and Edmonds[14].

184 My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I lived with in 1957 can be sum-
698 marized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan, look to the north, to Soviet Russia[15]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (about one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Hoybun Committee[16] still existed, the Kurds, whilst I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realised from that quarter.

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562 What has previously been written about Kurdish women comes from the pens of men. Having given
291 the following description of the Arab women in Baghad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which slip about in little yellow boots, and which you are told are women," adding: "... in fact no better disguise than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to scare away prying eyes and damp the spirit of libertinism ..."[17] Fraser, 1840, says concerning the Kurdish women that "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, the utmost practised in this way being to bring the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

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Fig. 1. Village aristocracy. Married women fetching vine leaves. Serkan.

and chins ..."[18]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"[19]. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[20], in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

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Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bleibtreu, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und geniessen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten andern morgenländischen Völkern"[21]. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947; "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[22]. Soane maintains that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds[23], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the bazaar"[24]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a manlier treatment ... than is seen among Musulman races"[25]. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chiefs

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keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qā'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Husain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).

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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 45).

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a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[32], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababaile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *malik* (king) of Kurdistan.

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Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

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175 562 565 responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fatima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities. [622]

562 114 The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 3. Persian woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

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Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

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Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Topzawa.

Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for so far as I could discover the
cigarettes, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the *sūq* in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2245).

Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an *Āgā*[64] or squire[65]. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sulaimani on the Surchina plain[66]. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adila's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sulaimani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Leach[67], a manager "kokha", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Topzawa, Rakawa, Sargalu and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, volute capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be ascribed a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built not over the lower-lying field—a latrine, subjacent, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

[364]

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean it or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who have closed rim, winded themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, goat-skin or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rare but flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose functions suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

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The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The main central room looking towards the court represented the wider-like, three-walled layout. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this sitting room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

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[TEXT CONTINUES TO P. 34 P. 34 -- ANALYSIS]

apparently more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven occupations: Baking of bread, manufacture of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing and washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, soft, of the thickness of paper, about 30 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[1]. The dough, kamir, is prepared from wheat flour, dird, sifted through a coarse sieve, water, dev, and salt, xwê. It is kept in a sack or bag, xêrdîn,[2] of knotted or woven material (S. 2207). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tîmsî on the ground, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (S. 2202) about 25 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, gumik, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways, the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 12. Baking. Dough about to placed upon baking pillow. Tergawer.
Fig. 13. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Tergawer.

The birth of a girl in Barzinja might cause a husband problem D

neighbours' presence, or various regulations about men with men[1], who would be able to hear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[2], by sewing triangular amulet pockets onto its clothes, and by fixing ornaments to its hair and glass beads and beans around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Jeyakar[3] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Gorge[4], circumcision is performed on the 6th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 3 days old.

Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mulla, sitting in a tailor's position, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Hawa (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kemal, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qâsim, Sa'id, Sardâr, Wahid, Wahîd*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Aliya, Galla, Mullâa, Nahid, Nahida, Sarâba.*

In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surnames[5]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Shaikh existed. My host at the village of Tegawra was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Shaikh" Taffik. In my experience the term shaikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were Shaikh Taffik and his brother, usually called "Mîrzâh-Gâlal", but whose real name was *Abdal Qâdir Shaikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Tegawra and Kalawa in common. There was also a third brother, *Kâkâ Abd* (Elder brother R.) or *Shaikh Abd*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Shaikh Taffik was likewise addressed as *Shaikh Sarâb*. Thus the word *shaikh* is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[6] and Lorch, both of whom confuse the term "Shaikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Shaikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[7] and also that, as maintained by Lorch: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[8]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[9].

Address like *Khan*, used in Arabia and Iran[10] "father to, slave of, son of ..... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Hanna, not Madame Hannah). In addition - a peculiarity of the Kurds - the male title "Khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[11]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Shaikh Taffik's wife Pia Ina Khan, and was herself referred to as Mullâa Khan.

The Kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child. As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

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accompanying us on our trips, without there being the slightest suspicion of difficulty with him. We literally scarcely realized his existence so well did he fit into the various situations. In the over-populated house at Sulaimani, however, I once saw my interpreter's mother, the elder of the two wives, run through the room with a glowing twig from the fire to hit him with it for some reason or other. My impression was that the woman unjustifiably had demanded some service or other from the lad, which he had refused, and that it was she who was in the wrong.

In another urban milieu, an absolutely unobserved one insofar as the women was concerned, I once came across what we should term a difficult and malicious girl of 6-7 years of age. She was the elder of two girls, two others having died, and the mother was clearly unbalanced because the husband, pressed by neighbours and possibly also by personal predilection, had several times been about to obtain another wife who would bear him the son refused to the present wife. The child was a visible manifestation of the mother's conflict situation, and one, in my opinion, only to be considered an exception among the Kurdish children I had an opportunity of observing.

By reviewing the activities of the children in and outside the home in the four different female environments I learned to know in Southern Kurdistan, an attempt will be made to give an impression of their misfortunes and upbringing.

Small girls of the village aristocracy took part in women's home work according to their age and ability. They assisted in rolling out the dough for baking from the age of three. They kept the sheep still when being milked in the courtyard, and kept the flies away when their elders were at meals. They helped to pick the vegetables in the field. They assisted adult men and women in the washing of hands, which took place in a squatting position whilst water from a jug was poured over the hands. They filled the samovar with charcoal and took part in washing-up. Last, but not least, they participated in the serving of tea, as it was the children, or, if none was present, the handiest in the company, who fetched the tea glasses from the samovar and returned with them when they were empty (cf. p. 48). This was done with seriousness and decorum, and with no little pride at having reached the stage where that was entrusted to them. They attended to the small brothers and sisters, helped them to eat, and lead small ones on their backs when they left the house. School attendance was not part of their life pattern. A male, however, told me that he had attended attending the village boy's school where he taught (Bekhir), but that was an exception[1].

Small girls of the village aristocracy were, when grown up, fully trained in the skills expected of them. They were well-acquainted with home work, the care of children, and with decorous behaviour.

In Sheikh Taiba's house at Topzawa most of the home work was done by a 15 year old daughter, who also stood in attendance if, for example, her mother wanted to take a bath in the hammam. It was said that until one of the sons—the eldest of whom was only 15—came home with a daughter-in-law, the mother did not wish to give away in marriage the indispensible working power represented by her daughter.

The boys within the village aristocracy were sent to school. As they reached a suitable age, the sons of the sheikh at Topzawa were sent to relatives' homes at Kirkuk or Sulaimani in order to attend school[2]. During these years they visited out of the village seldom, only returning to it during their

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summer holidays. During their stay at home in the village they led the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They used at night the iron beds, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the house was the waiting upon any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

The elder of these two sons, aged 18, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers at the Dokan Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in his pattern of behaviour, the structure of which lost its inner coherence. As the leading young man of the village, he left the sheikh's farm every morning on horseback. The other hands from Topzawa and Rikawa covered on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk, only trying in great summer heat). At the Dokan Dam Site he then was submerged among the other unskilled Kurdish labourers, a dirty little mechanic in overalls, resuming his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's home. Here his 12 year old half-sister took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash, if this was performed on the clay terrace outside the central room and not at the garden basin.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation at a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the selling of his hours, for he only received money which was of no interest whatever in the aristocratic village milieu, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the foreigners, a thing he had desperately hoped for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed scale of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the fetching of water, often from far away, and milking out in the mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and washed in the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages knew nothing of schools, but they grew up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

For that matter schooling did not enter into the life pattern of boys either among ordinary peasants in the villages. On the other hand the chief labour was much utilized in agriculture. They watched the sheep and goats. They fetched grass from the mountains as fodder, equipped with sacks and sickles. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

In the third and fourth environments, the educated and tendencied urban milieus, school-going was customary for both boys and girls.

An elementary school scheme exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 3 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 3 year intermediate and a 2 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1940 6 years primary schooling is obligatory where possible.

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In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Balkha, Serkan and Sargalu, but not by any means in all. In Topzawa and Rakawa there were no schools. Sometimes there could be a Coran school in connexion with a mosque or, for example, at Sargalu, which children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Longrigg and Stoakes[9]. I shall here deal with the reflection of the school in the homes where I stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out by Longrigg and Stoakes, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed"[10] in a community like the Kurdish. How decisive a watershed, can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Topzawa sheikh's 13 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unadaptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the house. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the wall niches, repositories for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in this dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, I faced examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a folk-school teacher at the Teachers' Training College at Baghdad[11]. During her studies she had lived there as a boarder. The training here lasted two years if the girl was to teach at one of the five 4 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Guizha School for Girls opened in Sulaimani in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible to the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 16 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete her 3 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her protractor and ruler, lay in the wall niches all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried in vain to concentrate on the circles and triangles she was describing or the calculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the house. With books and drawing instruments under her black *abā* she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with two uneducated women in the home, where all contact between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sulaimani's urban milieu, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training as wives and mothers is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were teachers, as was the case at my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 14 persons devolved, except for the holidays, on the two uneducated wives at home. In addition there was the cleaning of grain and the baking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an immense labour is

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absent of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman labour is involved for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Bishop[77] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stookes[78] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child became a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

Activities	I Village Community		II Peasants		III Educated urban		IV Uneducated urban	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	x		x		x		x	
Work outside home			x	x				x
Schooling		x			x	x	x	x
Street life		x		x		x		x

A common to girls in all four female environments is assistance in the home according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help to the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys training in the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urban/semi-urban village milieu the boys are sent away to school in towns like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

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family select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[92], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have as *wali* the right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[93].

In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities persisted in holding out as a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. Whilst in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[94]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Halabja I lived in a home where the then 25 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 25[95]. Her first child was born 6–7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around Tawella, to which many families moved *just* for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, that, failing the protection afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11–12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6–7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour expected of her in her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what Kaberry[96] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9–11 is fully trained in the pattern of behaviour expected of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her wifely duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

The marriage contract. A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

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Fig. 92. Wedding dance. Men dance in a row to the music of a drum and a clarinet. Rakawa.

harmonization, so, as Østrup[139] points out, this music to us sounds flat and false. Other instruments include a 20–30 cm. long shepherd's pipe, both single and double (E. 2280–81), referred to by Hay[140], one of which I acquired though I did not hear it played.

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To sum up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's rôle comprises fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there. (At the one wedding in Rakawa it was said that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a chain dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the villages, pay for the cars used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance.

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The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's cortège, including the bride's car, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the clay roof covering the entrance hall to the house,

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Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new home with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Sulaimani, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[146]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was partaken of by the women. This was carried in on large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

The women's rôle in the village milieu thus comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the fowl released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let is loose. In this connection it may be of interest that Granqvist reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[147] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's house.

Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, *jinns* and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[148]. In regard to Islamised Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Krohn calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the precautionary measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grenard, Krohn writes: "Es handelt sich sich danach nur um Massnahmen, die Frau aus ihrem Sippenkultverband auszulösen und in einen neuen, den der Sippe des Mannes, aufzunehmen"[149]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[150]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy stick.

The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost seriousness, an act that to the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull but which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Krohn's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Granqvist refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the hand which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Granqvist quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolic act that are to assure

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831 684 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the metre of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a named bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 562 684 831 Hay[154] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *namûs* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[155] says that is was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume consistant à mettre *sur* le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("pyalle"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 191 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Fellberg[156]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[157], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Niebuhr's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1763: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[158].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Koran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[159], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[160].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talâq*: "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the *'idda*-period[161] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[162]. By *talâq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

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ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[163]. Should he have pronounced *talāq* three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be renounced by this "straw husband" before the husband can take her back[164]. The Coran forbids the promise of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *ẓihār* (*ẓahr* = back)[165]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[166], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being renounced (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shāfi'i* rite to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four homes of the village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Bargalu, Shadala and Serkan. Soane[167] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[168]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shadala. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

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CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *hâwsal*, (E. 2254) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the a

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pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray.

The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's house, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a fuddleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

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in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3-4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself in the month of *ramadân* to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Bahlia, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily in the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

Underwear. During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieus in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

4: Hansen B-5 (1957) . 1961 MAIL Hard MAIL

CONCLUSION

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned (p. 68) numbers of male travellers[1] have made statements about the position of Kurdish women in society. With the exception of Fraser[2], who distinguishes between the urban upper class and the village dwellers, Kurdish women are referred to under one heading. However, even from the limited material available to me, it is evident that there are still events four different environments, each with its own pattern (and this division ignores the nomads). Some emphasize that Kurdish women are "...as free as in any European country"[3], and Rasbost declares that "... la femme est considérée chez les Kurdes comme l'égale de l'homme"[4]. Even though in the case of the Kurds we must consider ourselves faced by a variant of the Islamic cultural pattern less orthodox than in other Muslim areas, I would point out the risk of using the terms "the position" and "equality" as understood in the West when attempting an assessment of the position of Islamic, and in this case Kurdish, women. Freedom and equality are concepts that must be viewed on the background of the position of Western women when their struggle for changed conditions was in progress at the end of the previous century. These terms bear no relation to the status of Kurdish women at present.

In an attempt to explain the Kurdish women's position in the community I shall now deal with the various forms of veil and the use made of them, contact with the world around, women's possibility of movement, and the degree of seclusion. I shall discuss also the distribution of authority between man and woman in the home, and, finally, the degree of common life in the home. These elements will be investigated within the four female environments existing within the area visited in Southern Kurdistan.

ANALYSIS OF VEIL TYPES

The veil. Five different types of veils, each with its function but differently distributed in the four female environments, were found to be in use. These were as follows: The triangular neck-shoulder veil, *dawnê*, the head veil, *sharê*, the yellow ochre "bridal" veil, the white European bridal veil, and the black face veil, *pêçê*.

The first type, really a shoulder cloth fastened by means of a loop to a cap sewn onto the crown of the cap, is included among the veils because its material, cross bells, interwoven with metal thread, of a green, rose or light-blue colour entitles it to be called a veil, and because its function was to hide the neck and pigtails of the married woman. It was an indispensible constituent of a married Kurdish woman's dress were in its complete form. *The neck-shoulder veil* presupposed the presence of a cap, but not necessarily the use of a turban. At Halabja, for example, it was worn with a scale-covered cap

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

293 562 [184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban woman, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

The head veil of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Topzawa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[1]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village woman in Topzawa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women wore black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the new flooded ferry hamlet of Mirza Rostam all were black and in Sargala bright red. [554]

293 576 562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof at sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Serkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but she head still had to be covered.

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293 562 *The yellow-ochre "bridal" veil* I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal home, in the one case walking the last stretch (Topzawa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

turban, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured head veil. Nikitine refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil cast over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le visage de la fiancée est couvert avec une mouchoir rouge pour que ... les jours de sa vie familiale qui commencera soient rouges (c'est-à-dire heureux)"[6]. Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as is also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it must not be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[7], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that reach up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Granqvist in the case of Palestinian Arabs[8]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sack, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a cafton hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the ochre-coloured veil was used in the other feminine milieus.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent red-ochre "bridal" veil, used in the humble village milieu, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the escorting cars were closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[9].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's car is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficiency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil seen in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the woman's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Russia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an appurtenant over-garment, the *Arab abā* worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Russia in 1936 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the *abā*-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognized by it[10].

Sura 24, verses 30-31[11] of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

539 [591] 293 562

166 *Analysis of veil types* Sure 24, verses 30-31 of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendations contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognized as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allāh* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (*of women*), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allāh* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[1].

293 [591] 562 562 199

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Mohammed[2], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Suras of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a man's habit. Unknown and unrecognizable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[3] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still were, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil .... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral promotion; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand .... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ....".

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Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 76). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The name applied to women of the humble village milieu, "Many times in the city at Suleimani I have been addressed by shamefaced women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

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In residents of Taqueve, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sleeves of the costume to cover the face even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[9].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Bakimeni or the smaller trading centre, Nahlejo, could leave the house, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its exclusive in the form of the *abā'a* and *yāšmāk*. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13-14. One of the adolescent daughters in the house of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realized until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very shoddy European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the *sūq* to buy the necessary *abā'a* and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu uphold the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Taffir of Taqueve, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She clad herself in *abā'a* and veil in order to walk from Taqueve to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this crowding ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain track carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Taqueve closely veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Chrysoloras pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this pressed for us, in the dark, with a flask of sharp-steaming peat the logs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sargale nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her inseparable companion, back to to the Sheikh's house at Taqueve to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakeve, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear *abā'a* and veil after the first day in the village. Town women then took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

[882]

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Distribution of veil types inside the four villages.

Veil types	Village of Sargale		Nomadic village		Bakimeni urban		Nahlejo urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular cloth + shoulder veil cloth		+		+	+	(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cotton braided veil		+		+				+
Sumptuous white braided veil						+		
Plain veil cloth	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

WOMAN'S POSSIBILLITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

Possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion. In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Topzawa the wife and daughter in the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pluck fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained to themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the sons received my interpreter and me in the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled in through far an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Topzawa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sargalu, was bluntly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. Thus what we understand by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and some of them must allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

In the meantime the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brother-in-law,

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's emergency and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Tegguere this included the gardeners who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dolon Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to nuzzahs. The sheikh families at Sergala and Sefaw had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind *mullah*[1], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in no sheikh home that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Sheikh's first lady, Lady Adela, who after Crown Prince's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinates compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

Any impression was true, in the aristocratic foreign towns, seclusion was not so severe nor was an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The sheikh seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my home is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while eyewitnesses, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[2]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellahin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect .... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womenfolk"[3]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[4] Barton states something similar about conditions in India: "The Mohammedan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

way[1]". As early as 1901 Carsten remarks that: "The activities of Muslim women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[2]

In the Swahili village within the activities of women, fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting work, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their houses. Even in an Arabic town the maintenance of seclusion was then scrupulously impossible, but it is worthy noticing that no village women from the more villages of Tumbatu and Kizimkazi, from which the Chilean Class drew its Swahili labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any such would have been paid for obvious female help in their homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for weather, longer film about the dhow building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the district's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village environment, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with passers women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Wrenda [illegible] definitely the psychology of the veil". One single purdah home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dhow building, but in the office of the Dhow Dhow Bhs, where he learned was and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European settlers than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his house for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among Swahili purdah women: Within over-generous but still in town, the practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and their plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. Moreover, although ruthlessly secluded and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never see social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not concert. They ate apart, and at dhow I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced around evenings roaring, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from south in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village ladies, the women of the educated urban ladies have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Zanzibar: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated women in Sokomuni obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by Swahili village women. The same applied to those who chose the teaching profession and worked at Sokomuni's only girl school, the Girls School for Girls, established in 1906.

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in the "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of overgarment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or taxi driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials into the major of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the overgarment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn veil and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had dashed herself out to all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connection with the bad harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the city, for example in the cloth bazaar in the medical session, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently found men in a position subordinate to [illegible]

In the Bakhtiari districts, both the veiled and the unveiled, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience were not allowed a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the man's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal esteem and sentiment would result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 139). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In Isfahan hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Trips, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in the bazaars in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just so far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of shut and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village women, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

562 In some of the three Kurdish environments we considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the Kurdish and Iraki Kurdish environments, the unmarried urban ladies, the ruling men obligatorily appeared in their educated visions the unmarried also restricted seclusion. Working in their daily activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were bought from house to house by women. However, women's social-all world was not confined to the home, for all women's agencies in the town were in contact with each other. A concern of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of inexpressible seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban women's world. In consequence, unmarried women in town obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the more urban feminine milieu. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the unmarried feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the man's and woman's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the unmarried woman's milieu in a town like Sulaimaniyah, one friend whom [illegible] described as typical of a Turkish home: "For an Oriental the home is the [illegible] 595 home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the unmarried feminine environment in Sulaimaniyah as represented by my interpreter's home, 352 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the family area of another home. When baking a large supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the home of a neighbour. Here there was a modern, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the ovens two doors had over the fire that enlivened the daily meals.

572 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the 594 educated women in the home only made purchases in the city and then only of materials, cereal, of 443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were several, who in this way established contacts with their boss. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered in any form of opposition, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem women in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[16].

562 An investigation as to which area beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of 423 unmarried urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind rug-

Sulaimani, who had to make some sandwiches and pillows on the occasion of the wedding, arrived one morning at my interpreter's home. He hung up in the courtyard his sterling horse with which he would thoroughly beat the cotton, converting the thick grey lumps into white, airy bedding. Later in the afternoon this horse-musical action was put into the same mode by the women and the upholsterer then completed the sewing. This work, which took a whole day, was done in the women's section of the house. The upholsterer left twice during the day to have his meals in the town.

Very occasionally a lesser tailor, an old man, was admitted to the house to measure me for a quilted cotton. Certain goods, such as rugs, etc., were brought by traders to be viewed. However, these men never entered the women's precincts, never getting further than the front door, and when going out to see them the women tied a head cloth tightly round head and neck. The same thing happened when a man with three donkeys came up the three steps of the house into the tiled hall to unload the supply of wheat for the coming winter. This was brought in large, woven goatskin sacks (*gūnī*), and was unloaded behind the curb in the hall. I never saw the two wives in my interpreter's home go to a cinema. During garden parties, on the day devoted to family visits, they accompanied their common husband or went visiting alone.

The part of their daily activities brought them outside the home or into contact with the men's world. Their contacts with the women's world in the town were on the other hand unlimited. This fourth feminine environment thus maintained complete seclusion, that is to say those external ring and Western world unknowingly with a position of bondage.

COMMON DOMESTIC LIFE

The distribution of authority and men's position in the home. The family's economy among the village aristocracy was naturally attended to by the men. It was also he who decided whether or not a 10 year old son could go on a family visit from Tuqueve to Kirkuk or Baghdad. Equally, it obviously rested with the Shaikh of Tuqueve to say whether or not he would accept me, my interpreter and her young brother as paying guests.

Like all rural women, the women of the village aristocracy were completely illiterate, whereas their husbands and sons had been able to acquire at all events some book learning. Despite lack of schooling a woman could be extremely intelligent. This was evinced by the way she arranged her complicated daily tasks and ran the home, children, and husband. Besides, she knew her job, was highly qualified domestically, trained as housewife and mother from an early age. Within the home she was entirely man's equal. The family rooms were her domain where the husband was accepted and shown his correct place. In the cases where the wife's intelligence was greater than the husband's, it is a moot point whether she were could be said to possess an equal status in the home. Hay suggests as much when writing about conditions in Southern Kurdistan: "How much are to a greater or less extent under the thumbs of their womenfolk."[19]

In regard to freedom, that Western concept into which attempts are made to adapt features of an entirely different social pattern like the Islamic, it can be said the women of the village aristocracy were

not "free", being subjected to an absolutely practical seclusion. They were free to choose their partners, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

As mentioned earlier, women's tasks of active in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, as far as I could see, they were not as much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, walking in the countryside, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connection with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the home. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

During periods besides the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult escort, one of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Hulaija. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reprimanded for this by her husband. How would a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Canaan says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son foyer, et toutes celles des foyers voisins, et toutes celles de la ville .... conditions alléantoires, contraires et capricieuses", and goes on to say: "..... Ces affreux tyrans, le maître de leurs, avoid de pouvoir chasse et des droits les plus sevidents, n'ont probablement le nerf le plus tranquil qui soit au monde ....". As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women. 562 369 592

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his realm of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, frequented his fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimaniyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, wage, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the home. (This is to narrow a matter of essence, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Tuqawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the man spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or sheltered with groups in the village bazaar. Village men donned clean outer coverings before a wedding in order to utilize some conditions who had arrived. In the village milieu there was far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Muslim areas—was accentuated. 562 369 519 525

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men would be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home then belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. To give the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, existed out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way. 562 369 519

This division appeared to be purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure 562 593

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562 hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the streets. The division applied also to the adolescent sons, who in their latency years were sent out from the home to obtain a "street education" (see 593 p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 3 to 6 years of age still belonged in the home, that is to say, the 595 women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused 562 the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From the houses, besides, or on benches were 517 seen only anonymous, concealed figures known past. No woman's face or form was visible. When Obeyd[9] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home meet the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual content, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the men also meets in other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social conventions of Kurdish men entered at times a homosexual stage; they could be seen walking together with arms ringed waists, holding hands [838] and interlacing fingers.

Within the home there seemed to be remarkable little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for 593 his clothes, a place on the floor by the stove tray, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided 562 to sleep—that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A women's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 20 year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses and clumsy sofas, their black over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women [359] present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to mask simultaneously to obtain their shif and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but insurmountable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over white pants for the elder men and pyjamas for the youngest. Re-appearing, they once more stole past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

The way this house was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the 593 husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However, 595 there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, twin houses 562 in Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's house it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or retired to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a home possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate both a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home opposed to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dukan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit .... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there .... It is certainly a women's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Watelin[9] says of the Egyptian *fellahin* women: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practice they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands .... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between men and women, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieux within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of power between sexes in four milieux

Feature / division	Village community		Kurdish village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and shift	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	-	-	+	+
Seclusion	-	-					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				-	-

I *In the village community:* No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the Kurdish village milieu:* Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu:* Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu:* Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to women's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11
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middle of the last century. While her exclusion the Kurdish woman, like other Islamic women, is assured by the law and by the Coran of rights quite other than those accorded Western women prior to their emancipation[9]. Kurdish women were not suppressed. Even the humble village woman were no more suppressed than any woman in a peasant community could be when the biggest share of the work falls to her lot. It was a physically, not a legally, inferior status.

K 512

Nor are there any grounds for talking about lack of equal rights because men and women in Kurdistan each have their own pattern of life. One might as well say that a man had not the same rights as a woman because he was unable to follow her pattern of life. The world of men and women were simply divided, more or less (mostly more) from the cradle to the grave. One can therefore talk of an existing justification for this division, with a deviation in favour of the men within the humble village milieu, and in favour of the women in the educated urban milieu.

ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE KURDISH WOMAN'S CULTURAL PATTERN IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMING "EMANCIPATION"

K 1178

It is a fact that the Kurdish Muslim area, like other Muslim territories, is on the threshold of a transformation. The introduction of the necessary industrialization to improve the material side of this technically-underdeveloped country was, in 1957, practically on the doorstep. Even though these changes in the structure of society will last much the Kurds, that political necessity in immediate difficult of access, the years ahead will take bring this area into the melting pot.

K 114

In conclusion, therefore, a glance must be cast on the culture pattern of the Kurdish woman, a culture unmoved, if not to death, at all events to violent change, and some of the conditions existing in 1957 are judged in their relation to coming reconstruction. As mentioned in the introduction, I had in the picture of my interpreter, an example of the most "advanced" Sunnitic type among the Kurdish women studied. When placing the word "advanced" in inverted commas I do so advisedly.

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As a rule one overlooks the fact that cultures older than our own, despite the lack of our Western technical facilities, may in other directions represent a more advanced culture stage, and that a change caused by bitter economic necessity so far from representing progress may, on the contrary, well have to be paid for by retrogression in other spheres. At first sight the introduction of the Western woman's form of life is regarded as being of direct benefit to women with foreign culture patterns. It thus seems surprising that the abolition of the veil, the dropping of seclusion and so forth meets with opposition from women at some places. A few examples of this are quoted.

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In the Muslim areas of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the veil was abolished by Marshal Tito in 1952. Two years later, when visiting these provinces, I was told that it cost a woman three months' employment to retain the black veil and chaugarak over-garment which, only recently, I

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11
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He writes[1]: "As an excuse for the ban [of the wearing of veil and over-garments] the reformers stated that dangerous criminals and adherents of Turkish régime all too easily could hide themselves under the long, sombre "feradje", the black "yarchak", and the flimsy "yaschmak", transparent only from inside, which naturally afforded the best security against search, and it is an undoubted fact that many a spy and criminal has concealed himself under this woman's dress, that veils and hides all forms". Ryszard Sherwin-Gruzon[2] that "... the so-called emancipation of the Turkish woman is regarded with some justification by many Turks as being an abandonment of a natural protection, and that the Turkish desire to guard his women strictly in the home must be viewed as a symptom of modesty and not be confined to the very widespread, but erroneous, impression that he jealously wishes to hide entirely private existence in his home under the most humiliating conditions".

Should one wish to learn about conditions in these Turkish harems prior to Kemal Atatürk's day, one can hardly do better than to apply to the women themselves. We have an account of conditions under the Sultanate just before the first World War, written by an Arab Sherifa, Mashuk Hanim. As daughter of a brother of the Sherif of Mecca, who dwelt in a castle on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus as the "guest" of the Sultan of Turkey, and with an English mother, she grew in her memoirs (published 1949) a woman's assessment of life in an Arab-Turkish upper-class home. Mashuk Hanim[3] quotes elegy: "... those well-guarded, exclusive and dignified homes—the *harems*". Regarding the beginnings of the transformation of the Oriental woman's life in Turkey to a Western pattern, she writes: "With the rapid decline of old constraints, breaking until old customs, all that the women got in their place was the doubtful liberty of being able to go out when and where they liked, instead of being guarded and protected as they always have been, always attended and back in their homes by sunset". Incidentally, she strongly denounces the descriptions that have appeared in book form or in articles that purport to provide an authentic picture of the life of a Muslim woman in Turkey. "... in all the years which Mashuk spent in Turkey, never did she see European being either allowed or accepted into the Imperial circle, or those of other great homes. Great Eastern ladies were not in the habit of receiving inquisitive and curious foreigners. If occasionally an Ambassador's wife or that of a Consul-General was permitted to visit the Harem, it was done most ceremoniously, and no lady guests ever relaxed her polite and formal hospitality into intimate friendship. So those so-called intrepid travellers and globe-trotting journalists could only pick up their impressions and ideas from some waiter-maid Levantine, or from some self-styled and much-advertised "Hanoum"[4].

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It was symptomatic that in Iraqi Kurdistan it was among the young men[5] and not among the women that I met a definite wish for a change of existing conditions. It was among the young men who had studied at the University of Beirut, or who had been trained in Europe or America, that one found talk of, as an ideal for the future, "an educated wife" and monogamy. The right people in the West are many inclined to envy the Orient's institution of polygamy, one apparently not a right they wished to avail themselves of in the future. From what I saw of the men's position in the home, particularly within the modernized urban Kurdish milieu, it was understandable that a man could

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dream of not having to face a veiled woman's front of, say, mother, whose humility shown by the women of his family, plus sisters, daughters half and fully grown, who ordered his life from start to finish. In an "educated wife" he hoped to obtain compensation for the social and emotional contact he was now forced to seek during the hours of day with other men.

This leads us to a discussion of the Islamic and thus the Kurdish woman's marital position and the marriages arranged by the family. As already mentioned, the choice of a young man's married partner is practically always left to the women of his family, that is to say the mother or step-mother and sisters, whereafter the matter is laid before the father for approval. In regard to the fact that married couples in many cases have never seen each other before the marriage is to be consummated, the general Western idea is that it must be difficult for a young girl to be given to an unknown man. However, it must be equally trying for the young man. This is also pointed to by Granquist when she says[1]: "In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man".

It was characteristic that the brother of Sheikh Taffir in Tuparwa, who was thinking of going to Europe, asked me if it really was true that one could walk up to any woman in the street and offer her marriage. That was his first impression of liberty of choice in Europe. He had never envisaged any sentimental basis for marriage.

The young woman is thus selected by the women with whom she will have to live and work, as the young couple usually dwells in the bridegroom's home. She must beforehand feel highly-priced by the bride price paid out on the contraction of marriage, which is expended to a greater or lesser degree on the luxury with which she is to be surrounded. In most cases she knows the women who are to be her daily companions and fellow-workers. From her own home she is well trained in the domestic work that can be expected of her. She has been brought up with the quite natural idea that her most important destiny and greatest happiness is to be allowed to bear children. From the years spent in the home among other women she has heard and witnessed everything worth knowing about the difficulties of matrimonial relations. She is not expected to be her husband's comrade on a spiritual or intellectual level. The basis for the joint family idea, with several generations housed within the the same building is a married life of a different nature, less organized than in our culture pattern. During the day the husband, even among the village aristocracy, has little opportunity of companionship with his wife, as the great boundary between the form of life of men and women compelled him to seek the society of other men, whilst on her side the woman enters the feminine half of the community. On entering marriage, a young woman, in addition to her own personal qualities, is regarded as a representative of a whole family, with which it has been felt desirable to become allied. She arrives in an aura of her own family's glory. She herself had no personal expectations beyond the advantages to be derived from the married state and the fulfilment of a woman's natural desire to have children. As young people in good families had not seen much other before marriage, it was obvious that no sentimental basis existed on which to meet the union, but this did not mean that love on a high degree of sympathy might not develop between husband and wife and that this was quite

sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together, particularly because the sphere pattern more or less separated the couple during the day. The young woman was thus faced with demands she was able to fulfil, highly-valued beforehand, with a prospect of a gain if greater sympathy or love was built between herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparison with other women, for in his outside life the husband never met them; the wives of his friends he never saw. In the house he met only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were thus not the chances that at his place of work or in society her husband met and fell in love with another woman, but were far more logically justified. If life together proved impossible, both husband and wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage (see p. 121). Should she bear no children, or no sons, her extra wife was justified. This might mean that the family of the other wife stipulated that the first wife should be repudiated, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family assured the bride beforehand as adequately as was humanly possible.

The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps assisted by his family, for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should he not like his bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money in this disappointment, and secondly had to maintain his case against the women of his family, who had selected her. A new wife of the four mentioned by the Quran, depending upon one's economic circumstances, was another unknown ticket in the marriage lottery.

From the moment a man passed from the unmarried state, he was for the rest of his life the head of a family. As the bride price was paid when marriage was contracted, the husband had not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[1] in the event of divorce. Quite small children, as a rule, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father. In the event of a Arab marriage a man thus had no chance of leaving his children. The new wife, or wives, who entered his home took over the work of looking after the brood of children that might already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is not always the case in the West. The constant factors in the home were thus, theoretically, the father and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children a mutual status quite different from the position of these three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women when one more of the four wives mentioned by religion was acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when the home she entered had adolescent or adult children. Nor has much consideration been given to the possibility that the stationary children, whose [illegible] father is unable to marry off, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been remarried by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and sent back to her family, leaving behind her three children aged about 6, 7 and 8 (see p. 125). When these children reached the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

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With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[1] that the veil and seclusion, women's subordinate social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammad, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this related status obtained religious sanction from Sura 24, verse 31 of the Koran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a* goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Koran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[2]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and relegated to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Sometimes or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social connection between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the city, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that confinement with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising then the altered life of women in Turkey has led to personal bond in hand with a sweetened offensive on all things Arab and

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 148). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic posture in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpretation, a re-presentative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dramatics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyor band system outside the home, religion - and the peace of mind that goes with it - will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the women's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman - to be married and bear children - there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Western's movements in the West. Even today in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman - apart from the position she may personally have acquired - is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man - quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[1], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a living bride price.

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[1] The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside - in this case in Egypt - is stressed by Granqvist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the Arabian women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

4: Hainem E-5 (1957) 1961 MA 11 Hard MA 11

were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bri[illegible] price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that s[illegible] is bought. Now people among whom bride price is customary do not understand the Western idea that a woman is cheap when no bride price is thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered; shows how much people's judgement depends on customs, which is no certain or absolute measure / value"[illegible].

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various ways, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected, if valued position, she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the entrance whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state.

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West. In place of the clearly-accorded special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At times [illegible] her efforts in the sphere that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly re-prized.

As the industrialisation of the country progresses, a [illegible] of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to tradeable all its consequences, both good and bad. Her family-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by Islam, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

In the event of divorce and the adoption of monogamy, a stationary home that has to be created for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mum and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the economy structure, as it about to be the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has re-reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not have a place in the joint family, and the homes will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. [illegible] *is only logically justified provided a home exists* where the girl could, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself—arrange [illegible] her marriage.

The older members of the family are deprived of the rightful duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent [illegible] for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and when it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women

137 is being re-modelled to resemble our own, but the structure of the pattern being transformed is not
● 50 at all like the one that prevailed in the West when women's position was definitely improved.

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114 What has been said will, perhaps, explain why difficulties arise when governments in Islamic areas declare that women are to be "liberated" and the veil abolished. That certain advantages accrue to the sexes by these changes is obvious, but the difficulties that have arisen suggest that the Islamic woman has to abandon some rights and advantages that her sisters in the West made clear. Perhaps, then, this investigation into the life of the Kurdish women as it is to-day—or rather, as it was in 1957—on the threshold of transformation, but still representing, if not a typically Islamic cultural position, at least certain features that apply to other Islamic areas, may serve to cast light on the question.

The male finds most of his work in the fields; his 542
is also the privilege of looking after the horse. The other animals are tended by the women, who do the milking and preparing of food, and other household duties, including semi-plastering of the house interior every fall. The roof on the other hand is kept in repair by the men. In the busy season the women also assist in the fields, especially during the grain harvest and in tobacco picking. The smaller children share in these latter tasks, and, among less well-to-do people at least, serve as shepherds for the smaller flocks. There is also a series of smaller jobs, such as collecting dung for fuel about the parks and cow-cracks.

Table II.

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR KURDISH VILLAGES

[542 542]

	non-tribal		tribal		totals	
	Kurd Bard	Arabicum	Kurd Bard	Tergeh		
widow and children	3	10	3	3	19	
elementary family (and plural wives)	20	20	7	8	57	
" + husband's mother	3	1	1	1	6	93 = 71 %
" + husband's mother and unmarried siblings	1	1	—	—	2	
" + husband's unmarried siblings	—	3	1	1	5	
" + husband's father and unmarried siblings	1	—	—	—	1	
patrilineal extended family	3	4	1	1	13	13 = 10 %
other (incomplete families)	—	9	2	3	14	
Total number of families					130	

The general form of the Kurdish village households may be seen in Table II. Only 10 % of the households could be called patrilineal extended families, vs. 71 % consisting of an elementary family or a group of dependents maintained by an elementary family. Each household is an independent economic unit, except for a certain insurance in the form of the obligations to support survivors in

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7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

community concerned, and rivalry between members is directed towards out-doing each other in the eyes of the group as a whole. [537]

Roofless society. An other immediately apparent type of informal group which is commonly formed is that of roofless society. The unskilled room houses a more public and essentially closed society; roofless society includes more diverse persons, and emerges from practically any aggregation of individuals who are not engaged in productive pursuits. There is a tendency for the individuals of the highest prestige to stay away from such groups, since the joking and horse-play may be rather personal and quite free, and the rules of «proper» behavior easily forgotten. Thus, though formed from an open aggregation of individuals, which any male transient as well as villager may join, it develops in practice into a gang of village youths and men, primarily the younger and more irresponsible, and the men of lower class status.

The same problems that are debated in the unskilled room may also be discussed here, but with less stress on policy forming and more stress on the unskilled. Prestige differences in the group emerge very clearly from who is made fun of and who finds in a position to conform. At the same time, the group serves as a forum for complaints against abuses. Here the attitudes of the less privileged sections of the village to specific issues become coordinated; pressures are applied and excitements created that may lead to concerted action where persons feel they have been badly wronged.

Women's groups. Women are excluded from both these types of groups, as well as from ephitrich activities in general. Though they prepare the food that may be consumed in the unskilled room, they should not show themselves there, and, for example, tea-brewing, which should be done on the spot, is in the hands of a younger male kinsman of the host. In fact, when a visitor arrives to whom they take an interest, they may find domestic work to do within earshot (though out of sight, of a small part of the house is clipped in as informant. The actual extent to which women contribute in shaping the opinions of their men is difficult to evaluate, and surely varies considerably, but is usually probably slight. On the other hand, they have access to information, especially gossip, [542, 573] [372]

which the head of the family has not, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in «the smokefilled room», (b) the men of low prestige get together in an informal «coffee society», and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complete status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above; and many village mullahs find it difficult to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — «they come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home». Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

functioning in these fields, the data is incomplete; moreover, the relative importance of various qualifications seem to differ somewhat between the infra-village and supra-village levels, and between the tribal and feudal organizations.

The impediment of female sex. The clearest case, illustrating the type of problem I am concerned with, relates to the position of the women who, except for her sex, fulfills all the requirements of a leader. I have previously stated that the woman plays no active part in political life in the widest sense. On the village level, that seems to be invariably true. But on the supra-village level, there are some exceptions. The problem, in the Kurdish system, amounts to what should take precedence, the impediment of female sex, or the qualifications of high family status, wealth, etc. In the village, the differences in family status and wealth are not great enough to counterbalance an obverse difference in sex; among the leading families of Southern Kurdistan, these differences in status and wealth as compared to the general population become great enough to override the impediment of female sex, and in several cases women have emerged as leaders of considerable consequence.

The most spectacular case was that of *Adela Khanum*, leader of the Jaf confederacy around the time of the First World War. She belonged to the ruling lineage of Ardalan princes in the southern provinces of Persian Kurdistan, and married Osman Pasha, the leader of the sedentary section of the Jaf. To him, she was of assistance in administration etc., and upon his death she retained or assumed the position as leader of the Jaf *Begzada*. Soane (op. cit.) after his visit with her before Osman Pasha's death, speaks very highly of her, both as a person and as a ruler. In 1919, she is described as «. . . about 40 years of age, but, thanks to the skillful, though liberal, use of artificial aids, she did not look a day over 40». (Lees, 1928, p. 257). In the conflicts following the war, she pursued an independent policy of cooperation with the British and opposition to Shaikh Mahmud.

A contemporary example is *Hafsakhan*, cousin and sister-in-law of Shaikh Mahmud. As a young girl, in the critical period of Shaikh Mahmud's rebellion, she assumed the responsibility for a handful of imprisoned British officers, in order to protect them from Kurdish

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

irregulars. The just treatment extended to these prisoners was later the official British grounds for commuting Shaikh Mahmud's death sentence to life-long exile (later commuted further).

Hafsukhan has since retained a prominent position in Sulaimani, and today receives visitors of both sexes in her own gardens, independent of her husband, Shaikh Kader. A small, dark-haired, attractive woman, she shows a social grace and intelligence that fully justifies her reputation.

Women who are active in the political field remain the exception, however, even among the most prominent families. It would seem that in addition to exceptional ability as well as interest — and the latter is probably fairly rare too — somewhat unusual circumstances are required to give a woman the opportunity to enter publicly into political life. Adela Khanem did so as the trusted representative and later widow of Osman Pasha, and surely gained popularity in Ottoman times from her Persian origin; Hafsukhan showed wise resolution in a situation for which there was no clear precedence. But the mere fact that such women are found at all in Modern Kurdistan indicates the very great prestige attached to their other qualifications, primarily the fact of membership in the prominent families to which they belong.

The impediment of low birth. A second impediment to leadership is that of low birth, or, in the tribal system, descent from a non-lineage member. This, just as female sex, does not seem ever to be an absolute impediment that can not be out-weighed by qualifications in other fields. Status in Kurdish society is certainly in part inherited, and descent from prominent persons is a contributory qualification to leadership, but does not seem in any political context to be an absolute *requirement*.

Before external administration «from» the formerly fluid feudal hierarchies of Southern Kurdistan, there were constant changes in personnel and organization of territories. Political power was roughly related to land ownership — obviously, since land was passed on in family lines, political hierarchies may be spoken of in terms of «dynasties». But there were only practical, no fundamental, difficulties preventing a laborer's son from working his way up

the sons of Sheikh Said and Sheikh Mahmud. Thus, while no one who is not a member of the lineage can achieve a position within the segmentary lineage system, the lineage group as a whole, or even a section of it, temporarily broken away from the remainder of the descent group, can join a larger confederacy under a foreign leader.

In summary, one might say that there are no absolute impediments, or, inversely, necessary requirements, relating to leadership in any of the Southern Kurdish political systems; that persons theoretically may qualify for leadership by any combination of part-statuses, so long as they add up to a total status position sufficiently exalted to correspond to, or qualify, the political and other demands involved in leading the group in question.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF PART-STATUSES

Clearly, only ascribed status positions, based on sex and birth, could function as true impediments to leadership. Various achieved status positions may be incompatible with high political positions, but since such status positions can be changed, they are at most temporary impediments, and can better be discussed under the process heading.

Most of these incompatibilities have been suggested above. Of the part-statuses in the religious field, the mullah will tend to be rather separated from the general village community — he is frequently a tenant farmer, but rarely occupies any other part-status position, with the occasional exception of *Hadji*. Membership in a dervish brotherhood is clearly a badge of low class, and the dervish will not occupy any of the higher status positions. Conversely, the title of *Hadji* is a badge of high status, and is combined with any of the higher part-status positions, including that of the mullah. A woman can not be a mullah.

The hierarchy of class, as implied in the discussion, seems to divide the local community into separable categories that do not significantly overlap in terms of prestige or general position in the village and supra-village hierarchy.

not be characteristic. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to be a large extent confined to the Kurd Dasht and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. In the simple fruits, wheat, rice, meat, fowls, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Kurd Dasht which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how clearly linked from the Kurdish standpoint is the upkeep of the Kurd Dasht and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not an inconsistent one as it first appears. Although the essentials never appear in the Kurd Dasht, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the curd (a milk product similar to yoghourt), it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Kurd Dasht involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygamous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males here their clothes made from locally woven cloths over the Aghas and their sons, though enjoying better quality materials than the commoners, which mainly by Kurdish cloth and wear the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their economic position rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Sapni was seen wearing a suit of ordinary Scottish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired, but on the same time a trader from Rowanduz, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of that Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Similarly, as the accessories are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes, but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple clothes produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are learning eager for "Stylish and Suitable" - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by "pacification" and the building of the road, but the tendency was substantially accelerated by the [illegible]

* The more important Aghas often import entire supplies of cloth so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior cloth obtainable near [illegible].

[p. 091 (c)]

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about forty and one hundred pounds. Her value will depend on her utility—her physical strength for manual labour, and her ability to make carpets, rugs, clothes and other things.

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Contrary to the practice in most Mohammedan countries the Kurdish women goes about openly and unveiled. She carries herself with a quiet dignity rivalling that of her menfolk. Although women are still regarded as chattels, the women in a Kurdish family have an appreciable influence over their spouses. The noblest of triumphant womanhood in Kurdistan was the famous Adela Khanum, who on the death of her husband took over the reins of chieftainship of the Jaf tribe when it was at the height of its wealth and power. She ruled it with a wisdom and firmness rivalling that of Queen Elizabeth.

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When education in a foreign tongue, 'European' clothes, and ruling type-writers are forced upon the Kurd by the threat of rattling machine-guns in the way

[56 B]

K 534 535

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive air. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of inner drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

K [562]

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Sheikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Sheikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Moslems in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Taj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Sheikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Sheikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Sheikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

K [313] K 793 739 692 764 661 671 K [126] K 781 [797] 678 K 617

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Unlike many Kurdish and Nestorian villagers, as well as the people of Rowanduz itself, the Jerahig all belong to one or another "tribe" (Kurdish, 'ashiret, from Arabic, 'ashira), a matter which also demands clarification. The typical Kurdish tribe contains several elements of a different character. Membership usually depends upon descent, but individual families or much larger groups can keep their tribal allegiance, and either join another group, or form an individual tribe of their own. While some of the larger confederations appear to be of considerable antiquity, the smaller groups come and go with the vicissitudes of war, wealth, and leadership. Nor are the tribes made up exclusively of nomads, for, while the nomad may play a dominant role in furnishing pugnacious leadership and armed men, the wealth and numerical strength of such a group come largely from its villagers. Because many of the chieftains are landowners, persons living in villages owned by them, whether Muslim Kurds or Nestorian Christians, are said to "belong" to the chieftain's tribe. Nestorians often dress in the typical garb of their "tribe," taking part in many of its common affairs, although there is almost no possibility of intermarriage between them and their Muslim fellows. While there seems to be little historical evidence to support or refute such a view, the Kurdish tribe appears to represent an intermediate stage between groups whose membership was actually based on descent and those whose character is purely feudal, a situation which may have

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perform in its formal administration in the area. It would be ungrateful to speculate on the character or strength of strategic installations throughout the district, as these constitute an important link in the chain of defenses which guard the northern frontier of Iraq. It is possible, however, to make some cogent general remarks concerning the unit which has its training headquarters near Rowandiz, and whose commandant, a colonel, has prestige and power equivalent to that of the pirmmam. On the southeastern bank of the Rowandiz river, between Rowandiz and Zindian, is located the garrison, quartered in a huge rectangular barracks enclosing an interior parade ground, constructed some years ago by the British. This building houses barracks, stores, offices, mess-rooms, and, with a few exceptions, everything necessary to the operation of the unit. Near it other parade and training grounds have been set up. Slightly closer to Rowandiz, below the road by the river, is a motley aggregate of small mud-brick dwellings which are used as married quarters for the non-commissioned officers. Most of the officers as are accompanied by their wives have their homes in Rowandiz.

The unit includes a large number of officers and enlisted men, and the ethnic origins of both groups are somewhat varied. The colonel was a Muslim Kurd, a major was a Nestorian Christian, one captain was a "Turcoman,"[3] and

[3] "Turcoman" in English usage; referred to as Ta'rabeg, they prefer the term Turkmen, "Turkmen," themselves.

another one of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Kurds Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowandus, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have known there, are not permitted in Rowandus save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaikhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowandus, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much fewer excuses to Rowandus, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowandus beneath the bluff, and there is a

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the shiny symbol of chore, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rwanda, to the fearful epithelia of dogs and hyenaeers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Rwandan Christians seem to push horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their counterparts in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time was, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (*khali*), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Khaki! watch out! You surely looks like that sheep. Come along, uncle, you will have an allied one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowanduz has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its money or its illegitimate treasure. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the struggling mercantile competitor of Rowanduz, arose on lands owned by Lali Khas near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowanduz, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often reconstructed. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowanduz, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also center of access from the new main road than Rowanduz, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. However, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowanduz and they continued in those numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. They were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a
smile in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in
Rawandiz freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople.
A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold
jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil.

It must be admitted that the strength of the town
as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much
of the commercial activity with importance in district
economy has been replaced by service to the government
personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside
within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the
first World War have changed the bases of the size and
importance of Rawandiz. Once these were primarily com-
mercial, and only secondarily political, while today a
reversal of this position has taken place. The increased
influence of the government, which is a matter of concern,
into everyday life has introduced into the town a new
income without whose supplement Rawandiz might have ex-
perienced certain decline.

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suffered. Of the non-Muslim, the Jews might be mentioned first, and their own custom of marriage is like that of Islam. By long tradition, heightened by the recent Israeli war, the Jews are greatly despised, but most of them have already migrated to their new country. The departure of the Jewish craftsmen and shopkeepers from Rowanduz has already been noticed. Of the Christians, an unconscious distinction is made in the Muslim mind between those who come from the Western world, and those who are native to the area of the Eastern Mediterranean. The military prowess and advanced culture of Europe or America are recognised, and almost any male from these countries is *ipso facto* an *effendi* or gentleman. The Briton, because of the part of his country's imperialism in the Middle East, may be disliked, but he is usually respected. On the other hand, Christians such as the Armenians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Easterians, who have been Islamic subjects in the past, are looked upon with some contempt. The Armenians and Greeks are largely urban minorities, engaged in commerce, and are generally vilified, as are Jews and certain Syrians in the cities, as cheats but thieves. The Chaldeans and the Easterians, most of the latter displaced from their homeland in Turkey after the First World War, were once exclusively engaged in agriculture, and, as a peaceful folk, were not considered particularly different from Muslim peasants. Turkish chieftains and their men have been invited to Easterian festivals and there has been

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considerable social intercourse between the two groups. Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing the Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Kawandoz area, at Ainkawa, Dere Harir and Qasre, and, while outwardly amicable, the Nestorians feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One may find Muslims in England with American, British, or German wives, but never armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. Native girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the English press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of them assume Christian names, often of a classic favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be swayed by a worthwhile to a certain point,

Iraq the Sunna is represented by most of the Arab groups, the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict between the two, often with violent political expressions, is not the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of religious contact. The governing class in Iraq, dating from Ottoman times, is almost half Sunnite, and the discussion is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as circling the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they ascribe alliteration, in the Shiite host purely Arabic and implicit, as Persian, "Persian," despite the fact that the Persians seem to have no record in that country. One might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. As a criterion in determining the investigation, on being informed by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces, humorously inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and officials, a setting of an ironic embarrassment. Here on the highest levels of society, there are few marriages between Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

Arab, Kurds, Turkomans, and Turks. There are Persian 5638
minorities in the cities of central and southern Iraq, but they fall under the religious classification of Shi'ah and there seems to be no conflict between them and Arabs of their own persuasion. The Turks are few in number and are concentrated in the middle and upper classes. In the days before the liberation of Iraq, there was bitter enmity toward the Turks as the representatives of Ottoman rule, but this has disappeared in recent years and there is no restriction, as, indeed, there never was, on marriage between members of this class and Sunnite Muslims, Arabs and Kurds, of comparable status. A survey of the lists of officials and army officers reveals the remarkable extent to which the survivors of Ottoman rule have retained their position in the government service. The Turkomans are centered in central and northeastern Iraq, mainly about Alton Kaupri and Kal Kaajaq, and have been unrepresented in national affairs, largely farmers and shepherds, a remnant of the famous Kurds of the White Sheep. Again, there appears to be no restriction on marriage with Sunnite Muslims, but there is little reason for an Arab, Kurd, or Turk of the upper classes to take an illiterate, impoverished bride from among them.

The matter of Arab and Kurd is quite otherwise, for in the case of the latter there is a well-armed minority population, Muslim, and hence free of the susceptibilities of religious attack, with a strong base in agriculture and tribal leadership. They are estimated at 400,000 persons,

In treating the class made up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Failing to mind the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rwanda, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at once disadvantaged among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissible between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the distinction between Hamite and Bantu in this class has been noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its members, made up of Arabs, Hausa, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or

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behavior. The ethnic barrier between the Arab officials and the local inhabitants is by far the most striking. Divisions along lines of locale or tribe have little or no significance for members of the official class, although many of them, especially the Arabs, may belong to the latter type of group, in addition to their local origin. There is a certain amount of banter between natives of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, or other cities, just as in America much is heard of the rivalry of various cities and states, but it does not operate in any serious way to divide the group. The furor connected with tribal affiliations in Iraq appears to be only appropriate in its proper setting, and a pair of officials, members of two tribes engaged in a deadly feud in some rural area, seem to make nothing of it divorced from the actual scene.

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Something of the relations of the official class to the aristocracy and the townspeople has already been indicated. While a number of the Kurds may regard the government in a poor light, it would be a mistake to assume that they do not have admiration or fondness for certain of the officials. Conversely, it would be equally erroneous to think that many of the officials do not have a paternal affection for their charges. Nevertheless, the whole theory of personal relations between officials and townspeople is based on the thesis that "familiarity breeds contempt," which has a certain amount of validity. An over-friendly mutir might be looked upon with more suspicion and distrust than one who was comfortably distant. Thus the more

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private house in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwakhana, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No women is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Kawandus, it is unnecessary to describe in detail those of the official class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Kawandus a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

gradual increase of their holdings, have reached a position of dominance over their neighbours. In Kurdish feudalism the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants and levies a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Nestorian Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and wear its traditional garb. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are interwined in the Rowandiz district. There are men who are the leaders of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and still others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesman or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to arrange them. The commoners identify their honor with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural deterrent, the mixture of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is normally decentralized, segmented into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Nestorian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

with respect to culture. Feudalism, while it may not be "primitive," is here mixed with a primitive, tribal system and uses its terminology.

In civilized society, in contrast to primitive, membership is not held to be based on descent but on residence and property relations, and this form of society is represented by the state. This does not mean that the state does not use the primitive terminology, for, out of numerous examples, one might remember the insistence of the National Socialist government of Germany prior to the second World War on "blood" and "race." Of greater importance, the state has a different system of economy, because, depending on its constitution, it defines its resources as its own, as the personal property of its citizens, or both. The state in this sense is not a newcomer to Iraq, inasmuch as some of the earliest examples known in history were developed there, but, at least for some centuries, it has been a stranger to Kurdistan. It has been seen here, in the Rwandan area, it has taken a large part in the administration of life. Youths are recruited to the army, not to the following of a chieftain, and the military forces and the police have the task of regulating public order. Matters of civil and criminal law are decided in its courts, and the important matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce require its authorization. Students may, if they are able, study in its schools and the sick can avail themselves of its medical facilities. Perhaps more importantly, it has insisted on the classification of land, holdings belonging

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

I.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any conventional frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal colonial boundary line approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four *liwas* which in Ottoman times constituted the *vilayet* of Mosul: Mosul (31% of the rural population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (32%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas* of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Christian Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians completely settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Kupri, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil-worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1940 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim: the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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1. [Territorial-administrative units, with capitals sub-divided into districts which are subdivided into qadhas.—Analyst]

ing his form of rule to that of the feudal sovereign in Europe, Persia: «You are not the lord of a tribe, nor are your sons your tribesmen. You may clothe them, feed them, and make them rich, but they are not your cousins, they are but your servants» (Ibid, p. 84).

When Bakos rule was broken in 1851, Ottoman legal practice as well as personal ambition achieved a footing in the area. This contributed further to the breakdown of traditional principles, since it offered individuals the opportunity to manipulate the two different systems, traditional usage and Ottoman legal code, to their own advantage. The most profoundly affected land tenure. All land, unless otherwise registered, was deemed to belong to the Ottoman Sultan. Though the rule existed that no whole village should be registered as the property of any single person, this and other rules were generally overlooked. Thus leaders of clans, Begs, or in fact any other person who could bribe a few witnesses, registered large tracts of land as their personal property. Although armed power was of course necessary to make these formal transactions effective so far as the collecting of tax was concerned, the result was that a category of landowner emerged for which there was no clear traditional precedents, and their claims, when supported by power and supported Ottoman land code, could not truly be disputed. As a result, the field was left open to individual exploitation on a much larger scale than in Bakos times, and the only effective checks were the above mentioned threats to the personal safety of the exploiter.

COMPOSITE COMMUNITIES

In the Hamawand area, some local groups are found today where tribally organized Hamawand exploit a non-tribal peasant population (Mardjin) as a serf group. Such structures have come about by recent military conquest, and show incipient developments of a caste system. Certain aspects of organization have been developed by the Hamawand as an adjustment to this situation.

The Hamawand formal political structure already outlined was also a military hierarchy of command. Each village was expected to muster a group of horsemen, usually 10—11, led by the village Agha, as a fighting unit in the Hamawand army. Each of these soldiers,

• 636 In summary, the following diagram (No. 9) suggests the relative
637 positions of various social categories in the village hierarchy, and
638 their approximate spread on an ordinate of class-height — obviously
a very impressionistic diagram, for illustrative purposes only. Differ-
ent parts-systems that do not overlap in their spread on the low-high

Diagram No. 9. Relative status of some social categories.

axis are incompatible; furthermore, the mullah class are being fully integrated in the community, there will be a lower frequency of combination of the status of mullah with the other, theoretically compatible, part-systems.

PRECEDENCE IN LOYALTIES

637 In some conflict situations, any specific individual may be faced with a choice as to which group or person he should support — primarily the alternatives of lineage group vs. land, lineage group

B: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 Hill Kurd Hill Kurds

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• 548 The migrations and shiftings of the nomadic (Christian) population complicate even the various economic and permanent ties that have been given since the far have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The nomadic groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mainly in a region North East from area A. I Despite special grazing by Nigrim and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there are formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between nomadic and Kurd. Other present conditions the differentiation is both more subtle. Pacification and the patronage of evangelistic European Christians has led the Nestor effect that those nomadics who are now left in the region are on the one hand engaged into highly lucrative relations, and on the other are rapidly showing a high degree of western sophistication with the accompanying technical advantages. One such nomadic colony exists at Nerim, and appears to be attaining considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This seems to likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

[n4] The distinguish area B therefore by the wildness of its climate, the comparative fertility and the isolation of the tribal organization as one ecology.

[m3] A. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and crossed either by the four or five months of every year it would seem to be no place for the villager. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. In these part of the great "fertile crescent" an island of archaeological importance, and has yielded a rich annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years. [n12] Historically the area formed part of the great empires and Middle empires and the centre of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of the economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the [n.1] population consists of two distinct cultural groups, nomadic and semi-[n2] nomadic Arabs intruders from the South and permanently settled Arabs with dominant Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to [n4] map (p. 77) the penetration of the Arabs southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. So holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Kurd groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Jiaui tribe. The evidence for this [n5] does seem to be doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts, the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Arabs are differ [n6] so markedly from the hill groups that in such respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organization tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this was a very recent development but similar conditions are described by Hay writing in 1909.

[See map, col. title, p. 71 -- illegible]

B: Leach E-S (1950) 1960 Will Hard Will
Rowanduz

Apart from these two territorial villages, all the groups in the Balik and Dargala areas are at least 100 years Rowanduz. The primitive element is provided by a few Jews and sometime Christians who are a main cause on some special trade such as weaving or carpentry and are then tolerated as useful members of the community.

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Method of Analysis

As in almost Iraq what has already been said, the tribal organisations of the various groups throughout the area under review have all to a greater or less degree been affected by outside ideas and interference by the external administrative authorities. If we go so far as to assume that at one time there was a form of social organisation which could be regarded as the typical norm for all the hill tribes of this region, it is certain that such a norm can nowhere now be found functioning in its complete state. Kurdish society as it exists today is a society undergoing extremely rapid and at times violent social change. As we shall see there are powerful and perhaps irresistible forces at work tending not at once to the annihilation as to the total destruction and disintegration of existing forms of tribal organisation. In such circumstances, in order to make the description intelligible at all, some degree of simplification seems essential. In the main therefore I shall seek to describe Kurdish society as if it were a functioning whole and then go on to describe circumstances or institutions from this idealised norm. I am aware that such a method makes the resulting description to some extent subjective and that at many points I have not the objective data to check the validity of my hypothetical norm. In the circumstances however it appears to be the most reasonable procedure to adopt.

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The External Administration

The previous form of the external administration has so very direct bearing on the Kurdish social system as described in this monograph. But at various points in the argument especially in the section dealing with economic problems reference will have to be made to elements in the administrative organisation, and it seems desirable therefore to give first a brief description of the functions and relationships of the various members of this external organisation.

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The administrative system of Iraq has been developed out of that of the old Ottoman Empire. The terminology remains in many respects unchanged. The whole of the Kurdish area have under

suppose that the same equivalent facts can sometimes subsist as
opposite representations of the ontological significance of kinship. The
following generations misunderstand the position of the ruler as subservient
to him.

The Kurd is reasonable enough:-

(p. 48) A tribe is a community or federation of communities which
exists for the protection of the members against external
aggression and for the maintenance of the old social customs
and standards of life. Some tribes have an exaggerated
sense of their importance.

The second is more hypothetical:-

(p. 49/50) The position of the chief varies greatly in different
tribes. In the remoter mountains, though granted the most
sweeping obedience, he is distinctly one of the tribesmen,
the leading member of a family which has won its leadership
through military prowess. Lower down he often belongs to an
entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to
the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections,
and in different tribes we find many sections with the same
name. This points to the fact that the sections represent
the original owners of the soil, while the present chiefs
belong to powerful families who have invaded their districts
and crushed their lands. This is probably the case with the
Bradost where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful
family, against which a few old tribal Agha and headmen
still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a
landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than
tribal.

The statement that in the foothills and plains were the Aghas
are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has
already been commented upon in Chapter I. The idea that the Aghas
"represent the original owners of the soil", while the permanent tribal
Aghas are conquering creatures is more fantasy, while as for the Kurd
the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" [which]
while the land is mostly held by tree dwelling landlords who have no
kinship affiliations with the Kurd at all. While this lineage
distinction between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it
does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is
quite simple:-

(Hay, p. 47) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have
for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual
labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

1: Germ B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kikuyu.*

§ 15 The two above described classes of Kikuyu are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Kiregeki*).

§ 16 The present Kikuyu are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom ten thousand are nomad, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages. All these warrior Kikuyu are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *mbiri* (great tribes), *gwikiri* (medium tribes), and *thiqiki* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *gwikiri* and *thiqiki*, or merely into *thiqiki*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *mbiri* are called isolated *thiqiki*.

§ 17 The tribe, or clan, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it. In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised. Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people. The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voice of the

§ 18 [illegible]

§ 19 [illegible]

§ 20 [illegible]

§ 21 [illegible]

§ 22 [illegible]

* Hinde, *An Expedition to Mount Kenia*, &c., p. 110.

there are many refinements. The legal remedy for evasion, [207]
whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of [207]
duty. There are, to be sure, many Sons of Nobles and [206]
upper-class families who, on the completion of their
secondary schooling, select the set employment and honorable
career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the corps, with the [209]
important employment of officials, the bustling crowd during [46]
hours of business, the guards, and its four-colored ensign [208]
fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of
governmental authority. "The corps produce this," or "the
corps would arrest people that," is heard in popular speech.
But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet
of oppression, but of sorrow, for in barrios dowse up
before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and
prisoners bound for Krell, and the people know that many
will never return. There is always a number of women to [211]
be found outside the corps, old and young, mothers and wives,
dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside,
and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament
or fall into tears. An enterprising Bostonian has set up [205]
an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and
recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the
poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the
long months of separation.

To one side of the corps, on one of the two streets 344
leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building 232
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getting that ownership a formal agreement, one does 463
there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who 464
comes to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it 467
is true, tend to remain ethnic families, as has been even
more particularly in the case of the peasants, but it is for
from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in towns, 559
and an uniformly defined distinction between villages which 563
are market and those which are not. A successful peasant
or sheep-owner might well become a merchant, but the
merchant's son would rarely become a peasant. There is 166
also some exchange of persons between town and villages,
those seeking their fortunes in Sharazor and there,
successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but
migration from the town itself outside the district is
very limited. This does not apply to the army as a
whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern
Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to
the cities. The Kurdish jundi or porter in Baghdad, as [582]
well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The per- [548]
manent population of Sharazor, however, with its core of
older families from the days before the First World War,
seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute 556
the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some 565
are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so
choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts
of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Allah, but

they do not constitute the influence, economic as well as social, in the community of towns of larger extent. Without enumerating the list of the "rich," the ten wealthiest persons in Rawandiz, together with the types of their property, are given here:

Ra'ūf Effendi: 1 house, 1 shop, money
Ma'ūf Ibrahim: 2 houses, 1 shop, money
Ma'ūf Mohammed Amin: 2 houses, 1 shop, money
Ibrahim Khalīl: 1 house, money
Isā Khan: 9 villages (including Spindl, Inat, many houses, about 20 shops, money
Mirī Ismā'īl Agha: 2 villages, land, 1 house
Ra'ūf Effendi: land, 8 houses
Jalāl Agha: 1 village, 1 house
Sayyid Ma'rūf: 2 shops, 1 house, money
Shakir Effendi: 1 village, land, 1 house

"Money," of course, here represents cash capital, and a "village" includes not only houses, but agricultural lands. It would be difficult to form any estimate of the fortunes involved, because, among other reasons, a single large building may have a greater value than a number of smaller plots totalling the same size. Similarly, a concentrated sum of money can be worth more in certain situations than its equivalent in agricultural lands, although most people in Iraq prefer to believe that this is not true. In any case, the holdings of such a person as Isā Khan, while they cannot compare with some of the immense estates of southern Iraq, represent many thousands of dinars. That these persons have their residence in Rawandiz adds to the importance of the town, quite apart from its role as a mercantile center, and many people in the town gain their livelihood wholly or in part from their service.

example, an Arab of Basra and one of Baghdad, but it does also appear to be of a serious nature. Among the Berbs, one can often hear the satire of a certain tribe pointing to the weaknesses of others. "The peculiarities of that of Sidi-Hamadiya is the best," a Rwet of this city proclaims in a discussion of academy, but feelings of this type do not operate to separate the people in any important way, because religious and ethnic divisions have much greater weight. On the other hand, tribal allegiance in certain rural areas has great importance, although increased government control in matters such as the residents has obligated their character to some extent. It is difficult to formulate any general rules for tribal conquest or conquest, because the distribution after intermarry with aristocratic houses of the same standing, regardless of tribe. The tendency among most tribesmen, Sharif or Arab, is toward marriage within their own group, because the endogamical match is between equals.

In the other divisions of society, two parallel systems, at many points interdigited, are to be found. In the first of these there is a single division between a hereditary aristocracy and a mass of commoners and this system is primitive or quasi-primitive. Here few families and certain areas held by groups such as the Thaleseans, the Shadeseans, or the Tenilla, most of Iraq has been partitioned for centuries among Arab tribes. The chieftains of these tribes and their subchieftains are aristocrats who inherit their position in the paternal

sion, usually with the common consent of the tribesmen. Amongst these are commoners, shepherds and peasants, and, in the villages, a number of merchants, craftsmen and planters. Some of these chieftains own little more than their own tracts of land, while others have immense fortunes and relations. Such leaders of this type are invariably associated with tribes, but some of the Kandish chiefs are feudal landlords without tribal affiliation, although their rights and duties are inherited in the same way. Generally speaking, men belonging to this hereditary group may marry beneath their station, but daughters are never allowed to do so. The chieftains themselves may be illiterate and wear the costume of their people, dark or light, but, insofar as they are powerful or wealthy, they move freely in the highest echelons of society. There is no vertical mobility in this system, and it is normally impossible for a commoner, no matter what his power and wealth, to become a chieftain, although one suspects that this has happened in the past.

The second system, paralleling the first, is of a different character and is the civilized society of the state. At its base are again shepherds and peasants, with the addition of the urban proletariat, labourers, servants, soldiers, and the like. The great cleavage in this group is the difference between literacy and illiteracy, judged in terms of matriculation in the secondary schools. It is difficult for us to appreciate the overpowering importance of education in this society. An educated man from the

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lower classes obtain upon a low and inferior status, be- 545
coming a gentleman. Never again is he allowed to engage 3.12
in menial labor, nor the name of his inferiors. Only 871
certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is 555
the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower 545
classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and rise higher them, and they endure great sacrifices to this [871]
end, sometimes ill-regard by the young officials who scorn their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the aristocracy is hastily overburdened with new risen training does not permit them to return to "begetting" toil, and every year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the province of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that some Muslim families do have interested themselves in this way have proven much more enterprising and ruthless than their rivals of other religious and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lower government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with uneducated artisans and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the poorest

peasant, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain can never wed a successful peasant.

It would be incorrect to assign the Muslim clergy, the mullas of the Sunnites and the imams of the Shiites, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amusing [522]

beggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the shaythanag, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community. 792 735

Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the 565 622 619 423

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tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the noble family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 565

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is _xwillya_, puzzling in its similarity to the Latin _familia_. The same noun is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and _sayyids_, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (_sajara_, from Arabic _shajara_, "tree"). In the case of the _sayyid_ the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowanduz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include _beg_, _agha_, and _sir_, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times _pasha_ was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic _shaykh_, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, 565 596 [173] 64 565 85 554

noted for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jindian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amira, "princess," or khan, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations.

The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of hedelkhwin or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

to let Mahmud eg know of their presence and visit his diwanhana, orhe will think they look down on his hospitality, or, worse do not know him or recognise him as a chieftain." 622 574

Save fr the question of hospitality, it may be seen from the sectio on administration that the government takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, amirya, which includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory, and would prefr to collect taxes directly from the producers, thus otting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, abreast of the times, hav attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to the governmen, either the civil code of the judge or the tribal code of the qaimmaqam. Vengeance is also of the state, and hoicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rther than the vendetta. Safeguard and sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and such titles a agha, beg, or shaykh, while they are widely used, do notenjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabularyare thought adequate to handle military exigencies, nd the arming of a populace, particularly parties of bdyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of its importan functions and perogatives. They are no longer leaders in war or administrators, and much of their 423 649 648 642 [692] [554] 565 178

economic wealth has been cut from beneath them. In an ideal situation, they may survive only as landowners and as they are able to obtain positions in the government. The situation, however, is far from ideal, and in practice many continue as their forebears, side by side with the new competitors. It cannot be denied that they accord the government considerable aid in the maintenance of order, and, at the same time, provide it with great anxiety in their private warfare and political thought. 565 [178]

This Kurdish aristocracy is by no means feeble in the face of such competition, and has the advantage of popular support and sympathy, particularly, as has been seen, because it represents a highly idealized group. It has been said that the Kurds are easy prey to doctrinaire philosophies, specifically Communism, but among them, save in certain of the well-educated, there is no knowledge or sign of what may be called a "class struggle," or, in older terms, the rich or privileged against the poor. The struggle is strictly between Kurdish society as a whole and what they consider an alien system. The investigator has talked at length with a number of dissatisfied Kurdish youths, as well as others in whom such sentiments might be expected, and has heard much of "good" chieftains and "bad" chieftains, but never the aristocracy condemned as such. It must not be thought that the speech of this aristocratic group is "reactionary," in the sense of opposition to modern innovations and the desire to return to older ways. Such things as automobiles, modern firearms, wirelesses, and 565 668 177 196

any technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an 186 "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, 186 comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to 562 their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish 565 aristocracy represents an extremely active class, un- 178 troubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in 622 which the only significant division is between aristocrat 565 and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowanduz area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it [291] has been described in the preceding section. Only a [871] moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. [212] Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of [191] Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowanduz only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

Beg, Nuri Bawil Agha, and Sadiq Agha. Because that of Nuri Bawil Agha has suffered adverse fortunes, the House of Isma'il Beg, headed by Lali Khan, has the greatest interest in the town, owning considerable property therein. Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Muhammad 'Ali Agha might be mentioned, for it is nearby at Jindian, and its sons, such as Rashid Agha, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, not only of these families but of the district at large, enter into daily life to a large extent. They provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, revenue, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. One might inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Agha, the son of Nuri Bawil Agha, or Rashid Agha of Jindian, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the government personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmad of Betas and the army officer, Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, who had captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor, Sayyid Ahmad,

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In contrast to the government, treating such affairs more 622
as apart rather than anything else. Sayyid Ahmad sub- 648
sequently recounted with some pleasure his experiences in exile, for he did not speak Arabic at the time. He heard the official in charge of him, for example, called "stupid" behind his back by subordinates, and concluded that this was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer as "Stupid Beg" until he was finally corrected. In order [522]
to designate the type of meat he desired for his meals, he was forced to resort to imitations of the animals in question, and thought his own picture, that of a Kurdish aristocrat, a son of the great Shaykh Taha, flapping his arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, most amusing.

Toward the townspeople, the chieftains are much more 622
friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours 565
talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy merchants. They are not fond of either the chaykhana or the mosque, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar [582]
as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer the daughters of the wealthy merchants and landowners of the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and hence to have greater prestige, than any village maiden. The daughter of Ra'uf Effendi, for example, is married to an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, Agha Rashid 565
Agha (the first agha here used as a proper name). Among 622
themselves, there is extensive community of interest and 572

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social exchange, extending beyond the district itself, according to certain alignments. Lali Khan always has a number of visitors, such as Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers, and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of Sadiq Agha. These alignments, spoken of above, are formed on the basis of old feuds, family friendships, political sentiments, and the like. Normally the guests of Sadiq Agha are not to be seen at the House of Isma'il Beg, and the reverse is true, although there need be no ill-feeling between the two groups. To draw up a chart of these matters would be complex and of little value, inasmuch as they are perpetually changing and are vast in number. To give some examples, Karim Agha never visits the House of Isma'il Beg because of a feud, nor those of Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers because the latter are friends of Lali Khan. His own friend, a Hashid Agha (not of Jindian) calls on Sadiq Agha, but does not visit Lali Khan or Sayyid Ahmad because of his friendship with Karim Agha. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost is friendly with Sayyid Ahmad, but has nothing to do with Sadiq Agha, and hence Karim Agha and his friend, because he does not sympathize with a feud in which Sadiq Agha was involved. To extend the matter further, Karim Agha does not patronize merchants in the bazar who are friends or clients of Lali Khan. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad, whenever he visits the town, has no traffic with those who favor Karim Agha. This network of friendships and alliances among the aristocracy is an important feature of their life, but it need not extend to the

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townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, 622
although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages 565
between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, 572
although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join [582]
two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A
chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth
and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system
of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can
be done with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system 565
constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social
hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible
for this, the first of which is that it is considered de-
grading for men of the "upper" class to work with their [461]
hands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in
addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus
includes among the people of the town the clerks, land-
owners, mullas or priests, and businessmen, such as the
wealthier merchants and the owners of the chaykhanas and
the hotel. Such a person is termed effendi or "gentleman," [554]
and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two
examples are provided by Shakir Effendi and Ra'uf Effendi,
both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shakir
Effendi is the clerk of the judg's court and Ra'uf Effendi [693]
is the mukhtar or representative of the townspeople. The
chief mulla of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-
Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the [212]

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upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The basis of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mulla can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, no matter how poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system. [582] [875]

Rowandus is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Persons of the lower classes, transients or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowandus enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called chelebis, another Turkish term for "gentlemen," [619] [621] 565 175

now fallen into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed men and diwankhanas open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example of the manner in which the chalabis and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose its distinction.

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The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

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and weavers. Of slightly lower rank than these are the barbers and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-roasters. As has been seen, the meat-roaster or kababchi is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the atar or itinerant traders and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from effendi to the lowliest menial, is the question of relative wealth. A mason with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in conduct to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the grand cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality, judged

in terms of the three questions just noted above. While 565
in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, 557
defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant 565
struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for 584
their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This
mobility, which has a moderate degree of realization, does
not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for
example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would
never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found
among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same 565
things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling 572
at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of
a company may visit each other and in other ways express
their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek
out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their
homes, just as in Rowanduz friends are to be found among
those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by
jesting. A man can always have a joke at the expense of [522]
an inferior, but never the reverse. "Anwar, you do business
like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a
gathering in a chaykhana, evoking general laughter. The
person in question could only shake his head, laughing at
himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to
taunt in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, 565
as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the 367
village where almost all belong to the same social stratum,
think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

advise or scold their employers. 565 [367]

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

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Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

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In treating the class made up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Calling to mind the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rowanduz, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissable between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the distinction between Sunnite and Shiite in this class has been noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its members, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or

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behavior.

behavior. The ethnic barrier between the Arab officials and the local inhabitants is by far the most striking. Divisions along lines of locale or tribe have little or no significance for members of the official class, although many of them, especially the Arabs, may belong to the latter type of group, in addition to their local origin. There is a certain amount of banter between natives of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, or other cities, just as in America much is heard of the rivalry of various cities and states, but it does not operate in any serious way to divide the group. The force connected with tribal affiliations in Iraq appears to be only appropriate in its proper setting, and a pair of officials, members of two tribes engaged in a deadly feud in some rural area, seem to make nothing of it divorced from the actual scene.

Something of the relations of the official class to the aristocracy and the townspeople has already been indicated. While a number of the Kurds may regard the government in a poor light, it would be a mistake to assume that they do not have admiration or fondness for certain of the officials. Conversely, it would be equally erroneous to think that many of the officials do not have a paternal affection for their charges. Nevertheless, the whole theory of personal relations between officials and townspeople is based on the thesis that "familiarity breeds contempt," which has a certain amount of validity. An over-friendly mudir might be looked upon with more suspicion and distrust than one who was comfortably distant. Thus the more

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the shorbhaneg or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowanduz fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an scandalous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive" not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many usages of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males nake[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwakhane, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of cards. The game itself is unvarying, as well as its particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the qadi or in the home of the qaimmaqam, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikaw, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

[1] The salary of a typical mudir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars ($56.00 per month and 240 dinars ($672.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah, mentioned above. The mudir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a qaimmaqam. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

first in the matter of hospitality. For both aristocrats and commoners of the first system, the doors of the house are theoretically always open to guests or travelers, no matter what the station in society of either host or visitor. Thus, a peasant or a shepherd is unashamed to have someone of higher rank in his home, and what little he possesses in the way of food, drink, and shelter is willingly offered. Conversely, no person of the lower classes is disturbed by availing himself of the hospitality of a chieftain, although, of course, he does not expect the ceremony expended on a superior. This is by no means unique in Kurdistan, but can be discovered in almost any rural area of the Middle East. For officials and officers the situation is somewhat different, because they are forcefully governed by a principle of reciprocation, a matter of personal honor, in effect that a man cannot accept the hospitality of another unless he can return it in kind. To give one of a large number of illustrations, a party was given by the governor of Nasariya, attended only by five other men of the town who were possessed of the means to entertain the governor in a similar fashion. The governor had asked a minor official, and, when this person failed to appear, went to the extent of sending his automobile after him. When the official in question finally arrived, he made a hurried excuse, "the illness of his wife," and again departed. The reason, clear to all those present, was that his meager salary did not permit him to accept the governor's

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invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rowanduz this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the qaimmaqam. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The qaimmaqam and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

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Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

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the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

If the society of adults in Rowanduz has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowanduz not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

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Rowandus, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes [557] entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society [186] of the town in disjointed, for the townsmen continue to regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their [557] children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 . MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

as in the case of Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who rules as did his forebears, and must be counted as a factor in everyday life. It is thus that one finds a duality of thought and behavior as far as the two aristocracies are concerned. A landowner in Rowanduz spoke of the chieftains as though they were the only important element in society and, at the same time, alternately praised and castigated two of his sons for their respective success and failure in school. The youth who had failed was regarded as a great disappointment, a condemnation which would not have occurred fifty years ago when the upper echelons of society were either inaccessible or unconnected with the prestige and power of the new servants of the state.

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a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
xushki mard, "sister of husband," rather than mardxushk. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaqte prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 193 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

attend school, but none has yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the chaykhanas or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or certain vagrants, they can be exposed to influence of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family. Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that se coitum cum asinis per noctes fecisse, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

next to the sarcophagus, is a wooden stand on which are to be found bowls of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mausoleum, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Kurdistan, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East.

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to confine the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the familiya and in the size and splendor of its celebrations. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowanduz, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance

or marriage, have their focus in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this class, which regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should reinforce things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a radically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in Baghdad or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Ra'uf Effendi, like so many elders, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Rowanduz is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
of the government elite, not those of the town, but others
encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
can break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
the official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
commoners or aristocrats of Rowanduz, that alcoholism and [565]
suicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowanduz at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowanduz is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowanduz, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowanduz district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1908.

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla 874
who already has a position, and, when judged to have 793
shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the
mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad,
Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque
of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can
ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter
may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an
exchange of information of this type between the religious
leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists
in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and
committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory.
These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual
gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able 793
to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise
which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, [537]
is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice [538]
rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of
it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the
imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery
can elicit the strongest emotional response in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks [565]●
of the commoners, and no one in Rowanduz could think of a
case in which a member of the aristocracy had embraced such
a career. A pious chieftain, as his age and reputation for 792
sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh (Arabic, "old 756
man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

gradual increase of their holdings, have reached a position 174
of dominance over their neighbors. In Kurdish feudalism 423
the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants and levies 566
a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Nestorian Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and wear its traditional garb. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character 423
and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of 566
land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are intermixed in the Rowanduz district. There are men who are the leaders of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and still others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated [565]
in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesman or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to avenge them. The commoners identify their honor with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural deterrent, the mixture of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is normally decentralized, segmented into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Nestorian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong [563]
to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

it has had a new class added to its society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an unfamiliar system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, as far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and men are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Rowanduz, then, that a new social structure is being realized as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Marsh Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the state of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterized by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially decided, but, failing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participants in the new regime.

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into

4: Hansen E-5 (1937) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian [595] sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other [834] Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] [581] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted con- 175 cerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the 562 prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan 565 Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzade family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qa'im maqam* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Husain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Surkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 10).

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 45).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[12], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababeile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *malik* (king) of Kurdistan.

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Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 3. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

Fig. 4. Urban milieu. Uneducated married women and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh houses in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargala and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out water-courses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

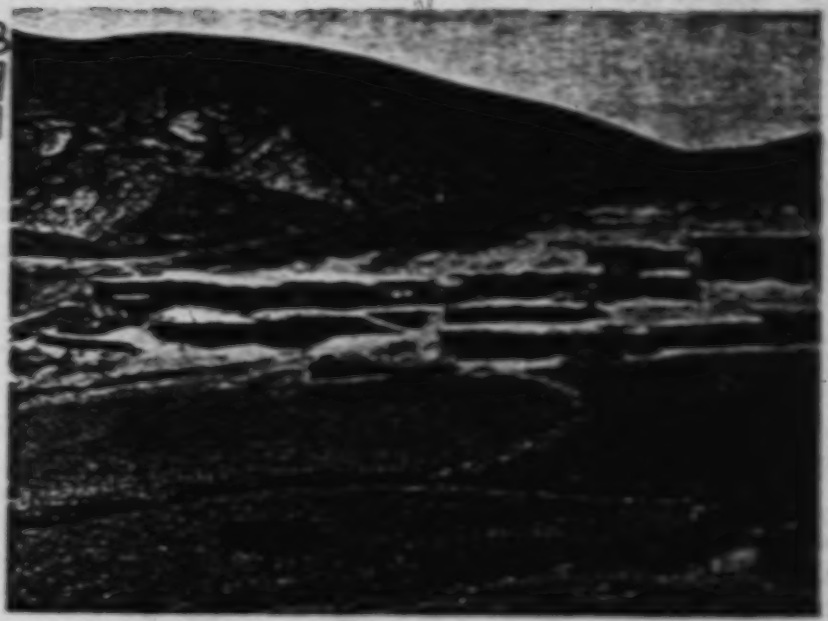

Fig. 12. The tobacco field in ploughed with oxen. Tegnere.

Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for cigarettes, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes rolling in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the city in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2345).

Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an Ajiff or myself. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sokkomai on the Sandbian plateau. Ceremonially the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adda's daughter-in-law, who at the time I was her was living at Sokkomai. It was said that she owned "many villages and watermeads". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Lambi, a manager "Lokko", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tegnere, Bakoma, Bergalo and Sorkan the shebbe were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope, Tepecene.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and some could sell, move away or starve to without his sanction[49]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 30% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[50]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[51] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[52] states 30% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, 1918-1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established to "a point of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive programme" of surveying for the purpose of ascertaining systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietary rights"[53]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

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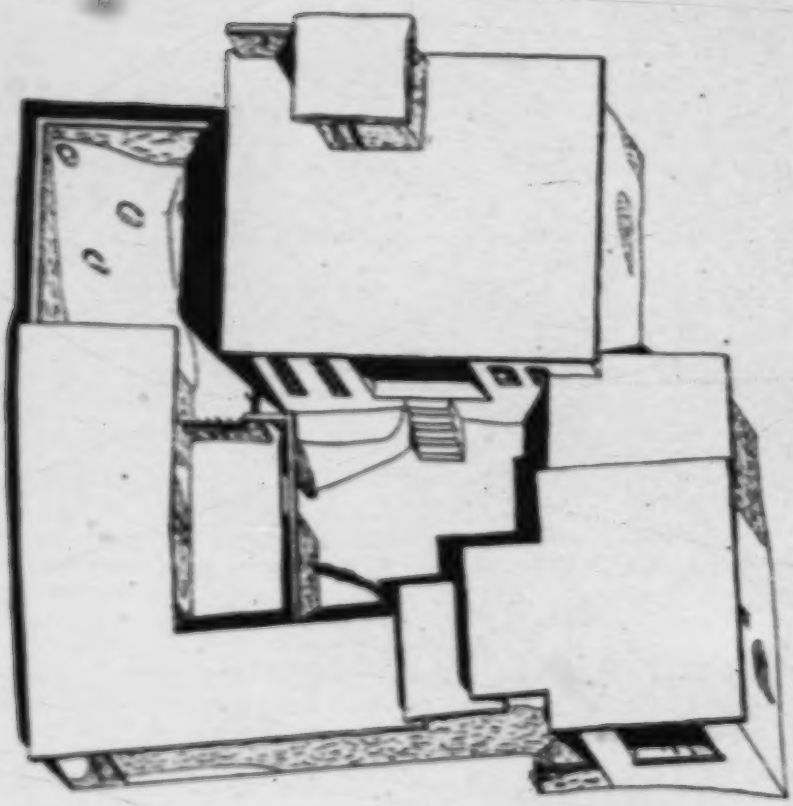

Fig. 22. Bird's-eye view of Sheikh Salih's property, Tepe

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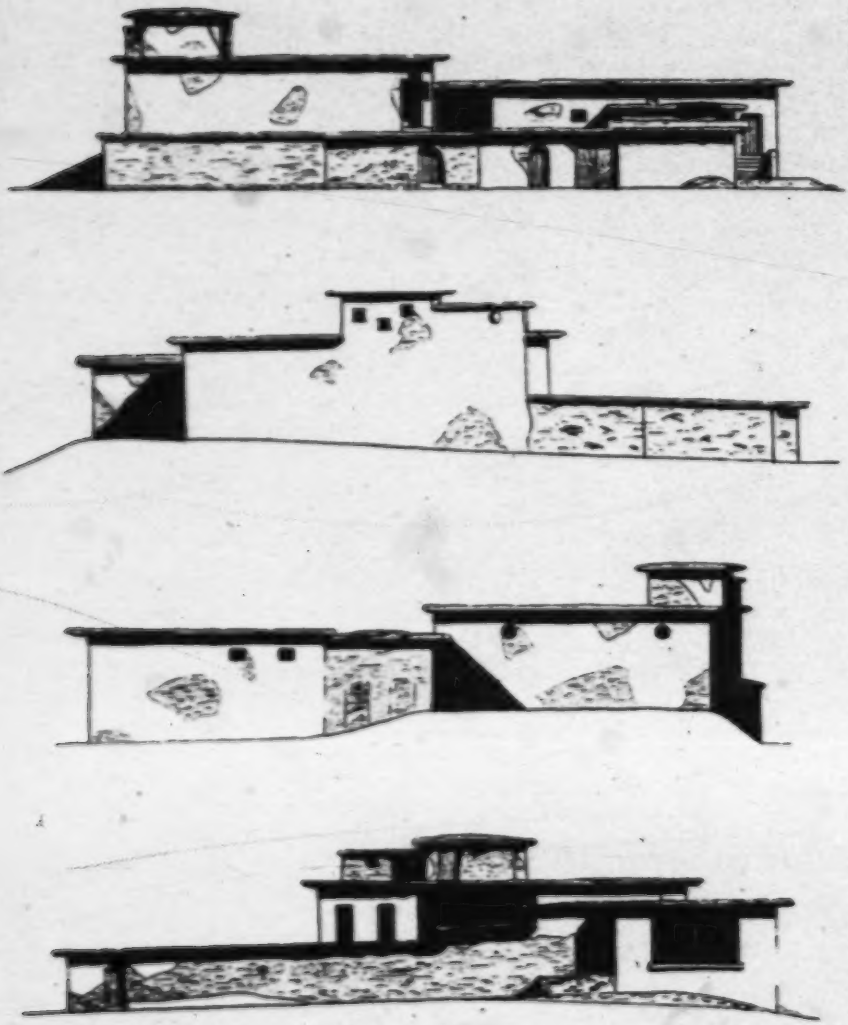

Fig. 23. Elevations of Shaikh Taffar's property, Tepsawa. From above: west, north, east, and south side.

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HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

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The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dog sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to feet, completely hiding the dress below it.

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with puffed sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dresses or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad.

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan.

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather.

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Fig. 62. Village aristocracy. Married woman's dress, front and back. Topzawa.

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The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black face veil and the black *abā*, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Sulaimani or places further distant like Kirkuk and Mosul.

The ordinary peasant environment. Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried woman and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja *no* turban, but the whole skull cap covered with silver coins (E. 2352) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant woman did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of flowered cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Topzawa and Rakawa are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Serkan is vermilion, and in Mirza Rustam black, *rang nīl*, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheet[21]. During work at Topzawa the lower

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Turkish women and the Armenian costume with apron, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most closely paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1474). According to Bishop (1891, I, 216) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1800. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "holler" shirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2233).

The Lurs in Iran, visited and described by Fellberg, have the same type of trousers-kirtel-caftan costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Fellberg 1952, 119, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Peasant women		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and caftan	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and brow cloth		×		×		(×)		×
III	Head cloth	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
IV	Sash or belt	(×)	(×)	(×)	(×)	×	×	(×)	(×)
V	Footwear	(×)	×			×	×	(×)	(×)
VI	Face veil *abd*	(×)	(×)	(×)	(×)	×	×	×	×
VII	Cotton material			×	×			×	×
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	×	×		(×)	×	×		
IX	Dress changes					×	×		
X	European garments					×	×		

×: The element appears constantly everywhere.
(×): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not constant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married woman in all environments. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married woman and constitutes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European frocks.

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593 178 effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman labour is involved for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

858 Bishop[77] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stoakes[78] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child became a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

080 In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialised society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

871 182 Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

[857] [369] [565] [562]

Activities	I Village Aristocracy		II Peasants		III Educated milieu		IV Uneducated milieu	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	×		×		×		×	
Work outside home			×	×				
Schooling		×			×	×	×	×
Street life		×		×		×		×

Common to girls in all four female environments is assistance in the house according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help to the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys training is the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an aristocratic village milieu the boys are sent away to school in towns like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

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ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[163]. Should he have pronounced *talâq* three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be renounced by this "straw husband" before the husband can take her back[164]. The Coran forbids the promise of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *zihâr* (*zahr* = back)[165]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[166], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being renounced (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shafi'i* rite to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four homes of the village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Sargalu, Shadala and Serkan. Soane[167] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[168]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shadala. There appears here to have been a *succession* of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

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565 595 [586] children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[169] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[170]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 595 Two half-grown 13–14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 369 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children —a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[171] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 [586] In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 565 [963] There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bycycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Coran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes— when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Coran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

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the highest and richest in the present Arab countries and Turkey, until Kemal Atatürk and the revolution in the 1920s.

In the home I stayed in at Kirkuk the order that both wives should be treated in the same way: was punctually fulfilled. The wives lived in two dwellings[172] which were the reflection of each other, each consisting of bedroom and a reception room divided by a corridor that led from the entrance door to the vine-covered courtyard. In each house this courtyard was surrounded by cookhouse, latrine, bathroom, etc. Cement steps led up to a flat roof. The two dwellings were built together, into one house, but with separate entrances from the street. There was no connexion within between the two women's domains. The women were of about the same age, about 35, and childless (abortion, operations etc.). Both had been sent separately on a pilgrimage. Their house furniture was identical. The husband attended to the daily household purchases, and took it in turn to spend a day and a night with each, that is to say as much of that period as a man spends in his home, which in this case meant the morning and evening meal, plus the night. The women visited each other, but led, or at all events could lead, an existence quite independent of each other. My main impression was that it was two women's houses I visited, where a man alternately paid a visit—not what one imagines in connexion with a man's house with two wives.

The other home also with two wives was that of my interpreter in Sulaimani. Here there was a divorce history, with complete information concerning the acquisition of a new wife. The elder wife in 1957 was in the middle fifties. It was difficult to obtain accurate particulars about age, as women only reckoned with before or after the change of life. She had passed her climacteric. The eldest living child was 26. The younger wife was in the end of the thirties; her eldest child was 19. The father had been out in a village as a trader, seen the young woman and asked her family if he might have her to wife. However, this was not done until he had conferred with his first wife, whom he had promised that the new wife would help in the house where the two women were to live together with the small children of the first wife. However, the two women had not got on well together. The first or elder wife had been returned to her home with all her effects, but leaving behind three children who were over 6–7 years of age. When they had reached maturity they had demanded that the father should take back their mother. This had been done after she had, as the law demands, gone through a pro forma marriage with another man and been repudiated by him. My interpreter told me, however, that her father did not live with her mother, but as at the time I was there she was in the mid fifties this was not of immediate importance. How was daily life between the two wives now? On family visits during *qurbān bairām* the husband took both his wives. Wife No. 2 conducted the marriage negotiations for the son of No. 1 wife. Wife No. 1 rocked the cradle and looked after No. 2's last-born child, an infant 4 months old. The newly-married daughter of No. 1 paid a visit to the home in mourning clothes (that is to say devoid of ornaments) when the baby of No. 2 died. My interpreter, who was a daughter of No. 1 treated her small half-sisters with the same care, both sentimentally and economically (in regard to the purchase of footwear, gifts and children's clothing in Baghdad), as she showed to her adult brother and sister. When the daughter of No. 1 was to be married and the women of the family were planning the future life of the young couple as a pair of teachers in one of the villages, it was suggested that the bride's mother, that is the elder wife, should move out and give her daughter

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

595 565 a hand with the housework, look after her future children, and keep her company when the husband, as is the custom in Islamic areas, spent a large part of the day in company with other men. This arrangement, I was told, was purely due to practical considerations. The presence of the second, younger wife in the home in Sulaimani with her nine children (one, a daughter, was married), who with the three adult children of the elder wife, plus the husband, brought the size of the family up to 14. All the girls over a certain age had, as opposed to their mothers, gone over to an educated milieu away from the home, and left behind a colossal burden of work, particularly in the winter, in the form of cooking, baking, washing, etc., for the two wives at home. This burden was equally divided between the two wives, which was too much for the elder. By moving out to the village with her newly-married daughter she would obtain a far easier life. In the home in Sulaimani it was apparently not possible for the one wife to leave an undue amount of work to the other; on the contrary they appeared to share it all loyally. The one making tea made it for the whole family, the one cooking or washing clothes did the same. Similarly, the two wives certainly seemed to share the daily work in the house, and their children showed equal affection for both mother and stepmother.

595 586 In this case, then, the husband had seen in a village a beautiful, stronglimbed girl with whom, to use a European term, he fell in love; showing due consideration for his first wife he had made her his second. The divorce here was due to the fact that the two women could not agree.

A young wife with two quite small children, who was returned to her family by the husband, was quoted as an example of incompatibility of temperaments. The husband was much older and very wealthy, but, it was said, incredibly miserly, and the wife refused to submit to this. Before I left I heard that the man had regretted his repudiation which apparently had not been triple and final. He now wanted her to return before the expiration of her *'idda*-period.

A man of my interpreter's family, a half-brother of her stepmother, was married to a woman of about 25, who since she was married to him (at the age of 11), had borne him four daughters, two of whom (7 and 2) had survived. As all the children had been female, and under pressure from friends and neighbours, he was seeking a second wife who would, he hoped, be able to bear him sons. Three times marriage negotiations had been initiated on his behalf but for various reasons had broken down. The man was now at the end of the thirties. His wife appeared to be reduced to despair by the situation; and it would be difficult for the new wife to cooperate with her; furthermore she faced the prospect of the new woman demanding her divorce before consenting to matrimony, or that, cooperation failing between the two wives, she would later be cast out.

595 565 369 To sum up: Polygamy exists among Kurds in the uneducated urban milieu, but the number of wives does not exceed two. Successive marriages, with children of earlier marriages as members of the family, exist among the village aristocracy. Monogamy prevailed in the humble village milieu, perhaps mainly for economic reasons. Monogamy also prevailed in the educated urban milieu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Admal*, (E. 2254) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the sa

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feebleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5–6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

795 831 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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791 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye.

789 They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 A chain of large blue glass-beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topzawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil [822] influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 789 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue 858 button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In 301 addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

nerated ... the credulous ... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "être sans couture" is mentioned by Massé[62].

Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[63] writes: "... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Feilberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunsell[64], Østrup[65], Feilberg[66] and Soane[67], Østrup[68], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

Items:	Village elsewhere	Hamlet Village	Educated urban	Uneducated urban
Visible amulets	+-	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy bread	+	+		
Saints' grave			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

4: Rhineen B-5 (1957) . 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CONCLUSION

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned (p. 60) members of male travellers[1] have made statements about the position of Kurdish women in society. With the exception of Fraser[2], who distinguishes between the urban upper class and the village dwellers, Kurdish women are referred to under one heading. However, even from the limited material available to me, it is evident that there are at all events four different environments, each with its own pattern (and this division ignores the nomads). Soane emphasizes that Kurdish women are "...as free as in any European country"[3], and Rambout declares that "... la femme est considérée chez les Kurdes comme l'égale de l'homme"[4]. Even though in the case of the Kurds we must consider ourselves faced by a variant of the Islamic cultural pattern less orthodox than in other Muslim areas, I would point out the risk of using the terms "free position" and "equality" as understood in the West when attempting an assessment of the position of Islamic, and in this case Kurdish, women. Freedom and equality are concepts that must be viewed on the background of the position of Western women when their struggle for changed conditions was in progress at the end of the previous century. These terms bear no relation to the status of Kurdish women at present.

In an attempt to explain the Kurdish women's position in the community I shall now deal with the various forms of veil and the use made of them, contact with the world around, women's possibility of movement, and the degree of seclusion. I shall discuss also the distribution of authority between man and woman in the home, and, finally, the degree of common life in the home. These elements will be investigated within the four female environments existing within the area visited in Southern Kurdistan.

ANALYSIS OF VEIL TYPES

The veil. Five different types of veils, each with its function, but differently distributed in the four female environments, were found to be in use. These were as follows: The triangular neck-shoulder veil, *dawnê*, the head veil, *sîrpê*, the yellow ochre "bridal" veil, the white European bridal veil, and the black face veil, *pêçê*.

The first type, really a shoulder cloth fastened by means of a loop to a coin sewn onto the crown of the cap, is included among the veils because its material, coarse tulle, interwoven with metal thread, of a green, rose or light-blue colour entitles it to be called a veil, and because its function was to hide the neck and pigtails of the married woman. It was an indispensable constituent of a married Kurdish woman's dress worn in its complete form. *The neck-shoulder veil* presupposed the presence of a cap, but not necessarily the use of a turban. At Halabja, for example, it was worn with a coin-covered cap

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Sure 24, verses 30-31 [11]. of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognised as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allah* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allah* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[12].

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Muhammed[13], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Sures of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a nun's habit. Unknown and unrecognisable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[14] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil ... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand ... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ...".

Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 76). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu. 'Many times in the city of Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

he residents of Tajsawa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sheets of the costume to cover the face even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[9].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Sebastiyeh or the smaller trading centre, Nablûs, could leave the home, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its extension in the form of the abra-cyllî. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13–14. One of the adolescent daughters in the home of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realized until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very obviously European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the city to buy the necessary shirt and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu upheld the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Taffir of Tajsawa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She clad herself in shirt and veil in order to walk from Tajsawa to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this crowding ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain's path carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Tajsawa clearly veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Chermahmoud pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this around her, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sarpeh nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her invariable companion, back to the Sheikh's house at Tajsawa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakawa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear shirt and veil after the first day in the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four villages.

Veil types	Village endogamic		Exogamic village		Nomadic tribe		Cosmopolitan milieu	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular mask + shoulder veil falls		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ochre bridal veil		?		+				?
European white bridal veil						+		
Face veil black	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

WOMAN'S POSSIBILITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion. In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Tegucwa the wife and daughter of the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pluck fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained to themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the men received my interpreter and me on the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Tegucwa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sergalu, was bluntly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. This what we understood by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of these even allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

In the transition the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brothers-in-law,

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and some thoroughly distrust seclusion for their unmarried daughters. In addition the family's unmarried and 562
three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically 554
dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Tepasawa this included the pea- 565
sants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his
brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house 369
was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sargalu and Serkan had both men
and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind mullā[9], who occupied
the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid
by the sheikh and was thus a dependent. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement
Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men [609]
were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion
is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men,
dependents in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain
the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British
officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Hekmja's first lady, Lady Ajdela, who after Osman
Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with
her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also
considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of
the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or
step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of 562
an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers. 369
The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea 609
of "my home is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male
investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the
Kabyle consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their women-
folk when strangers are present while countrymen, if they bother at all, are lax and genial"[10]. In my
view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian 191
fellahin: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it 562
is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men 114
put upon their womenfolk"[11]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion.
Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women
of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with
the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary,
an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that
he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched
with greater strictness."[12] Barnes points another similar aspect of conditions in India: "The Moham-
medan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a
mark of respectful men, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not concort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated women in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who chose for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Guiphs School for Girls, established in 1926.

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As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sāq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the *Interval*. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 592 not "free", being subjected to an elastically-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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555 562 462 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milking in the mountains, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the man, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 369 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 369 592 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

574 593 562 During *qurbān bairām* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Gautier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... coalition silencieuse, souriante et implacable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maître du harem, armé de pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus révoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ..."[27]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

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THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

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The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women.

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his radius of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, inspected his fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimani on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, urge, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the house. (This to us seems a matter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

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In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the man spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or chatted with groups in the village booth. Village men danced alone some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some musicians who had arrived. In the village milieu there were far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Muslim areas—was encountered.

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At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home thus belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, existing out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way.

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This division appeared in its purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate how a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dokan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit ... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there ... it is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[29] says of the Egyptian *fellāhīn*-woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practise they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands ... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of culture elements inside the four milieus.

Culture elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and *abā*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

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5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

Insofar as these grievances had some foundation in fact enough has already been said to show that the prevailing state of affairs was due, in part at any rate, to political circumstances beyond the control of the government, and in part to the restlessness of the Kurds themselves which for long periods had brought the administration in a large part of Kurdistan to a standstill. Some of the neglect, too, was undoubtedly due not to malice but to a tendency, not unknown elsewhere, for the higher authorities to take more thought for the parts of the country near the center than for the distant outposts.

However that may be, the result was that just when the earlier agitators were developing into elder statesmen who, sobered by experience, no longer regarded separation as feasible or desirable there was growing up a new generation nurtured on a sense of grievance and frustration. Resentment was further embittered by insulting references to the minorities not infrequently made by pan-Arab orators in moments of fanatical exaltation. In all the countries of the Middle East the western Powers are regarded as the supporters of the old reactionary Beys and Pashas who have retained most of the political power in their own hands (the charge is unfair but it would prolong this paper unduly to examine it here). It is only to be expected, then, that disgruntled youth (and especially young Kurds with a racial added to a social grievance) should look to Russia for its inspiration. The Russians have long been the neighbours of the Kurds through the Caucasian provinces, and, as we have seen, a small part of Kurdistan lies within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Even before 1918 Kurdish malcontents in Turkey and Persia were accustomed to seek support from the Russians. For the Russians exploitation of Kurdish unrest would be nothing new, indeed something of the kind has been seen comparatively recently at the time of the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in Persian Kurdistan, and again in 1947 when Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a fugitive rebel from Iraq, was welcomed in Soviet Armenia, given high military rank, and encouraged to broadcast in Kurdish from Erivan.

But with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable. The mercantile classes, realizing as they do that economically the Kurdish north is bound hand and foot to Baghdad, have never shown any enthusiasm for anything but the mildest form of nationalism, and the programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before. The old loyalties to religious Shaykhs and tribal Aghas have been too deeply undermined for any self-appointed leader to command a serious measure of support in any violent adventure. The complexity of modern weapons has given the government an overwhelming advantage

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old stormy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the tenant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiensy in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from laborer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hours. The value of this tresher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 mules working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a mule with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The laborer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the laborer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such «investment» for the intermediary or the landowner. Conceiv-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

ably, the laborer might save or borrow enough money to procure a thresher, and then be in a position to take on more work and thus increase his income. What the laborer with access to such capital in fact does, however, is to become a tenant farmer by obtaining the minimal equipment necessary for farming. He then rises one notch in the class hierarchy, and may employ laborers in the peak season of the harvest!

A class distinction is thus constantly reinforced within each village by these dispositions of capital and labor, dividing it into the distinct groups of tenant farmers and laborers — *sapani* (harvestmen) in Kurdish terms. Prerequisite to being a tenant farmer is a minimum capital (1951) of ca. £ 50: 2 oxen at £ 10-15, plowing equipment £ 10, seed pr. donum of land ca. £ 1. In addition comes the normal stock of productive animals for household use, of which the harvestmen also generally have a certain number.

The frequency of tenant farmers doing all or a major part of the agricultural work themselves was not ascertained, but it is certainly quite high. Thus the daily routine of field labor, and similarly the organization of household units, is essentially similar for the two classes, the tenant farmers and the laborers.

This two-class distinction is sufficient as far as the tenant village is concerned. The landowner and his family, occupying a third class position, are usually residents of a nearby larger town. In the tribal village, a similar two-class distinction tends to grow up between freeholding tribal farmers and conquered non-tribal tenants, though often the situation becomes more complex (see below).

HOUSEHOLDS.

The division of labor in the village is thus to a certain extent regulated by a two-class system. But the main division of economic roles and responsibilities is found within each household unit. The household is economically independent, and consists typically of one elementary family: husband, wife, and their children. Among these, the economic roles are distributed along the same lines that will be familiar from rural Europe. It should be unnecessary to enumerate these in detail. The male finds most of his work in the fields; his

Self-

565 461 554 respecting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 500, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, *mam*, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 50, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

621 614 With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the *tira* itself, usually identified with separate *khels*. But since the *khel* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *khel* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *khel*, to which a more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not, are connected by economic ties.

622 614 581 These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of the *Raiz*. The position as *Raiz* is inherited, and the family of the *Raiz* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble class or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the «noble» lineage segments of other tiras. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Raiz* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous as far as the *Raiz* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Raiz* and wealthy lineage segments among the «commoners» within the *tira* itself. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Raiz* within the *tira* itself, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To reify a distinction between «nobleman» and «commoner» within the *tira* would thus be an error, since the separa-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

554 621 previous discussion, and are indeed implicit in the systems of status hierarchies. An attempt will be made to relate the various status positions to ideals expressed on such scales, and in the final paragraphs of the section to outline the main scales on which individuals may be rated.

ECONOMIC CLASSES

• 565 621 The village hierarchy of class differences, based on division of labor and attendant differences in wealth, has been discussed above, pp. 20 ff. This hierarchy is, as we saw, produced primarily by the feudal principle of delegation of work on the land, and is conceptualized in terms of distinct social classes, each with traditionally defined rights and privileges in their relations to each other. Each class is thus a status category, and they are arranged in a hierarchy leading from *laborer* through *tenant farmer*, occasionally an *intermediary capitalist*, and culminating in the *landowner*. This is in itself a power hierarchy, since each superior status directly gives opportunity for control over persons of inferior status positions, within the traditional limits. The *freeholding farmer* class, on the other hand, occupies a status partly divorced from this immediate power hierarchy. Characteristically, where such freeholding farmers are found in a village partly controlled by a large landowner, every effort seems to be made on the part of the landowner to secure property rights also to the remaining fraction of land, and thus place all members of the community in the unambiguous hierarchy of control and power. Consequently freeholding farmers with property of any significance are generally found in tribally organized communities, and a dichotomy between only freeholding vs. only tenant communities generally holds true. *Freeholding farmers* as a class tend to be on a par with the *tenant farmer* class in the larger class system, and frequently control a small group of *laborers*, and in certain areas also the serf class, the *Meskjin*. The main features of the reciprocal relations between these classes have been sketched previously.

565 621 243 609 The special position of the *shepherd* remains to be discussed. He is essentially a laborer, working for a stipulated annual payment in kind (grain), but also receives a sheet of unleavened bread daily

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small tenant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
tenant farmers (incl. one mullah)	25	123
laborers	5	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Derwish, *Shaikh*, *Sayyid*, Mullah, and *Hadji*.

Derwishes. The derwish religious fraternities illustrate, in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

irregulars. The just treatment extended to these prisoners was later the official British grounds for commuting Shaikh Mahmud's death sentence to life-long exile (later commuted further).

Hafsakhan has since retained a prominent position in Suleimani, and today receives visitors of both sexes in her own gardens, independent of her husband, Shaikh Kader. A small, darkhaired, attractive woman, she shows a social grace and intelligence that fully justifies her reputation.

Women who are active in the political field remain the exceptions, however, even among the most prominent families. It would seem that in addition to exceptional ability as well as interest — and the latter is probably fairly rare too — somewhat unusual circumstances are required to give a woman the opportunity to enter publicly into political life. Adela Khanem did so as the trusted representative and later widow of Osman Pasha, and surely gained popularity in Ottoman times from her Persian origin; Hafsakhan showed wise resolution in a situation for which there was no clear precedence. But the mere fact that such women are found at all in Moslem Kurdistan indicates the very great prestige attached to their other qualifications, primarily the fact of membership in the prominent families to which they belong.

The impediment of low birth. A second impediment to leadership is that of low birth, or, in the tribal system, descent from a non-lineage member. This, just as female sex, does not seem ever to be an absolute impediment that can not be out-weighed by qualifications in other fields. Status in Kurdish society is certainly in part inherited, and descent from prominent persons is a contributary qualification to leadership, but does not seem in any political context to be an absolute *requirement*.

Before external administration «froze» the formerly fluid feudal hierarchies of Southern Kurdistan, there were constant changes in personnel and organization of territories. Political power was roughly related to land ownership — obviously, since land was passed on in family lines, political hierarchies may be spoken of in terms of «dynasties». But there were only practical, no fundamental, difficulties preventing a laborer's son from working his way up

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

through a feudal hierarchy, and eventually be rewarded with a feudal fief, or alternatively to become a leader of a war party large enough to conquer a domain. Both these paths of upward mobility were in fact in constant use, and the problem facing the ambitious youth was simply that of how best to become qualified, in terms of wealth and prestige, to assume leadership. This wealth and prestige could be achieved through luck in small raids, bravery and self-assertion, ability to handle people, wide extension of ties of friendship, and the impediment of low birth could thus be out-weighed.

There is, however, an aristocratic undertone to much Kurdish political thinking, and especially members of the highest leading families of the area are ascribed charisma by virtue of their descent, on the same pattern as are the descendants of the Prophet. Thus, what is passed on in the families of high status is more than mere wealth; and the fact of low birth, quite apart from its disadvantage in terms of initial poverty, would create considerable difficulty if the person were pretending for the very highest status positions. This aspect is clearly expressed in several traditional accounts from Baban times, where the brave hero of modest birth in the critical moment, when he could have achieved the highest position, «knows his place» and is later rewarded by the Baban Pasha. (E. g. a story of Salim Beg, who was offered the position as ruler of Southern Kurdistan by the Persian Nadir Shah). But the Baban family itself is said to be descended from Fakka Hamma Derishman, who owned no more than one small village in Pushdir.

In the tribal system, there enters the additional factor that descent from the apical ancestor of the lineage is a theoretical prerequisite for membership in the group, and thus for political power in it. Even this basic principle of organization can be circumvented, however, if a person appears who by high status or de-facto power can control the group.

An obvious example is the Jaf confederacy, where the *Begzada* do not claim common descent with all the *tiras* in the confederacy, but none the less occupy a position of unquestioned authority. Other examples are found in the recent history of the Hamawands, who for a while followed the Jaf *Begzada*, later the Berezinje Shaikhs at

the time of Shaikh Said and Shaikh Mahmud. Thus, while no one who is not a member of the lineage can achieve a position *within* the segmentary lineage system, the lineage group as a whole, or even a section of it, temporarily broken away from the remainder of the descent group, can join a larger confederacy under a «foreign» leader.

In summary, one might say that there are no *absolute* impediments, or, inversely, necessary requirements, relating to leadership in any of the Southern Kurdish political systems; that persons theoretically may qualify for leadership by any combination of part-statuses, so long as they add up to a total status position sufficiently exhalted to correspond to, or «justify», the political and other demands involved in leading the group in question.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF PART-STATUSES

Clearly, only ascribed status positions, based on sex and birth, could function as true impediments to leadership. Various achieved status positions may be incompatible with high political positions, but since such status positions can be changed, they are at most temporary impediments, and can better be discussed under the present heading.

Most of these incompatibilities have been suggested above. Of the part-statuses in the religious field, the *mullah* will tend to be rather separated from the general village commuity — he is frequently a tenant-farmer, but rarely occupies any other part-status position, with the occasional exception of *Hadji*. Membership in a *derwish* brotherhood is clearly a badge of low class, and the derwish will not occupy any of the higher status positions. Conversely, the title of *Hadji* is a badge of high status, and is combined with any of the higher part-status positions, including that of the mullah. A *woman* can not be a mullah.

The hierarchy of class, as implied in the discussion, seems to divide the local community into separable categories that do not significantly overlap in terms of prestige or general position in the village and supra-village hierarchy.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

178 554 part-status — his ability to *rally* persons is improved or impaired, with direct results on his position in the power hierarchy. Either or both of these reactions may result — i. e. primary changes in either or both the de-facto (a) and the «ideal» (b) hierarchy may be produced. In certain cases the change produced by the same factor in these two hierarchies may be in contradiction, and the final adjustment is then dependent on the degree of external interference.

The patterns of these reactions and changes are set by the precedence of loyalties in conflict situations, crudely sketched above. It should then be theoretically possible to correlate the nature and form of social change in Southern Kurdistan with the factors. The assumption is generally, and I think legitimately, made that all non-tribal groups of Kurds are ultimately to be derived from one or more tribal groups. At present, at any rate, the direction of change between the two poles, from *tribal* to non-tribal or *feudal*, is very evident, and some of the factors resulting in such a detribalization process clearly follow from the above discussion. There is further considerable indication that only the two poles themselves, described as *tribal* and *feudal*, are moderately stable, and that change from the one to the other, once initiated, is a moderately rapid process. This is e. g. indicated by the numerical preponderance of villages of the polar types as compared to intermediary types. It also follows logically from the concept of incompatibilty of certain part-statuses in a single village: many of the tribal and non-tribal formal categories or part-statuses overlap in their fields of relevance, and this results in competition, and elimination or re-definition, where they are combined in one local community. Once the process of un-ravelling is under way, the complete set of non-tribal categories will thus tend to replace its tribal counterparts.

178 423 • 565 Probably the most potent agents of social change, with a very direct relation to the power hierarchy in the village, are changes in the pattern of land tenure. Ottoman land codes and taxation policy, corrupt administration, and the increasing emphasis in Kurdish culture on leisure and real property have all encouraged the concentration of land in few hands, and the establishment of feudal patterns of delegation of usifruct rights on land. The resulting class hierarchy

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

laborer-tenant-intermediary-absentee landowner, differs radically from that generally associated with tribal organization, which includes relatively few laborers and/or *Meskjin*, and a majority of freeholding farmers.

The incompatibility of categories from these two class hierarchies is evident, as is the tendency for the hierarchy embodying most power — i. e. the more highly centralized organization headed by the landowner — to replace the other. The absentee landowner who owns only part of the land of a village, will find his powers greatly impaired by the co-existance of freeholding farmers with his tenants in the local community. The sanctions by which he disciplines his tenants are reduced in effect — eviction from land is less serious, eviction from the village dependent on the vote of villagers outside his control. Similarly, he would be limited in his freedom to settle new farmers on the land by a veto on the part of the freeholding farmers, who could refuse the newcomer village membership. The village headman would almost certainly be elected from among the freeholding farmers, and serve as a coordinator of opposition to the landowner, etc. etc. The landowner, occupying the part-status that embodies most power in this situation of conflicting interests will tend to apply his powers to eliminate the incompatible status category — in this case by buying or forcibly taking over the proprietary rights on the remaining land, and giving the formerly freeholding farmers tenant status.

Where the right to eviction, and in fact the final powers of decision in all village matters, are taken away from the formerly freeholding farmer group, it becomes impossible for it to control a class of *Meskjin* serfs, and this status group is similarly eliminated, and presumably assimilated as tenant farmers of lower status, following from their lower wealth.

A second major agent of change, or at times a concomitant of these economic changes, is the factor of modification of the administrative system by external administration. The tribal administrative mechanism, based on «unquestioned» kinship-patterned loyalties, has been discussed above (pp. 69 ff). Where external administration — large absentee landowner or central government alike — enters and

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MRU Kurd MRU
Iraq

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful aghā, whose armed retainers guarded the rāiā (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannize the village. In return for this the aghā exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An aghā used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from his powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghās and the rāiās, but the aghās are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *sayyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not concerned themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p 392 (e)]

Stephenson G-9 (no date) 1940 MAII Rimé MAII
Iraq

793 ughan. But on account of the veneration
• 794 in which they are held they can usually
command influence in circumstances
where that of an ughe has begun to wane.

794 One day when I was sitting under a
795 lofty lawee on the roof of a well-known
chaikh's house a terrific squall of wind and
rain suddenly arose. For a moment it
seemed as if the thick tree-trunks which
formed the framework of the shelter would
be torn from their foundations. A chaikhly
relative, seeing the fear on the faces of his
wife, smiled benevolently, saying:

"Hasid sun! I will place my hands upon
the tree, and lo, it will not fall."

Suiting the action to the word, he
leaned his weight against the tree, and
indeed it did remain standing.

For a moment the overwhelming reli-
gious tension in the atmosphere was such
that I could scarcely refrain from echoing
the expression of veneration which rose
from the lips of the men around. I could

[p 893(A)]

and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part [121] [423] [422] [428] [174] [423] [566] ● [619]
such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the democratic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Rowanduz district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the nomad, because of his mobility and firepower, has a military advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

gradual increase of their holdings, have reached a position of dominance over their neighbors. In Kurdish feudalism the chieftain "owns" the lands of his tenants and levies a yearly tax. The terminology of feudalism, however, is that of the tribe, and, as has been noticed, a Nestorian Christian tenant may be spoken of as "belonging" to this or that chieftain's tribe and wear its traditional garb. The two systems, the tribal which is primitive in character and the feudal which is based on individual ownership of land but which is also pseudo-primitive, are interwined in the Rowanduz district. There are men who are the leaders of tribes, others who are feudal landlords, and still others who are both. The aristocracy is undifferentiated in terms of the tribal or feudal systems, using the same titles, and is based on noble descent. The relationship between the chieftain and the tribesman or tenant is always in personal terms. Just as in the case of the tribe, the feudal landlord is expected to direct the life of his tenants and to avenge them. The commoners identify their honor with that of their chieftains and are glad to give up a share of their produce, for they partake of the prestige of their superiors. Although there is no structural deterrent, the mixture of tribal and feudal systems in Kurdish Iraq is normally decentralized, segmented into hundreds of groups whose relations with one another are not always amicable. Lastly, with the exception of the Nestorian Christians, the chieftains and commoners belong to the same ethnic unit and are qualitatively undifferentiated

with respect to culture. Feudalism, while it may not be "primitive," is here mixed with a primitive, tribal system and uses its terminology. 423 566 [563]

In civilized society, in contrast to primitive, membership is not held to be based on descent but on residence and property relations, and this form of society is represented by the state. This does not mean that the state does not use the primitive terminology, for, out of numerous examples, one might remember the insistence of the National Socialist government of Germany prior to the second World War on "blood" and "race." Of greater importance, the state has a different system of economy, because, depending on its constitution, it defines its resources as its own, as the personal property of its citizens, or both. The state in this sense is not a newcomer to Iraq, inasmuch as some of the earliest examples known in history were developed there, but, at least for some centuries, it has been a stranger to Kurdistan. It has been seen how, in the Rowanduz area, it has taken a large part in the administration of life. Youths are recruited to the army, not to the following of a chieftain, and the military forces and the police have the task of regulating public order. Matters of civil and criminal law are decided in its courts, and the important matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce require its authorization. Students may, if they are able, study in its schools and the sick can avail themselves of its medical facilities. Perhaps more importantly, it has insisted on the classification of land, holdings belonging [423] 121 65

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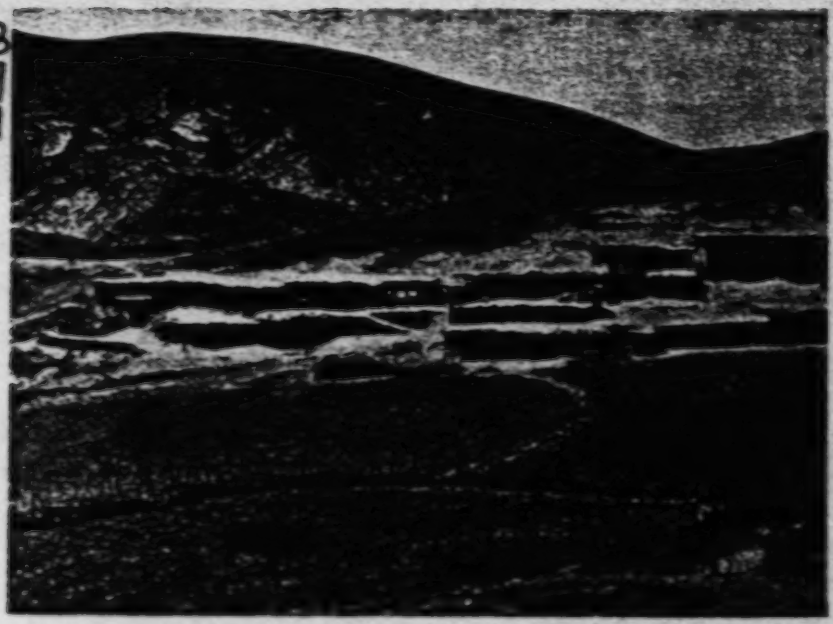

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Topuzawa.

So far as I could discover the
Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized Tobacco cannot be used for
276 cigarettes, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the *dîş* in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is women's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2245).

562 Women's world, like men's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an *āgā*[tr] or *aşiret*[tr]. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sulaimani on the Iranian plain[tr]. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adile's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sulaimani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watermills". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Leach[tr], a manager "kokha", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Topuzawa, Rakawa, Bargalo and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

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[540]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Tepeuren.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and some could sell, move away or move in without his sanction[9]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[10]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 30% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[10] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[11] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply them.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established to "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connection with a "comprehensive program" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietary rights"[12]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Berkan during my stay there.

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful agha, whose armed retainers guarded the *miskin* (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannize the village. In return for this the agha exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An agha used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from less powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghas and the miskēn, but the aghas are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *sayyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not contented themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p 392 (c)]

esteem demands that her price should be a high one. It would need a very intimate knowledge of all concerned to find out what real transactions take place within the village on the occasion of a marriage. Where the marriage is to someone outside the village the position is more clear, especially in the case of the Aghas, though here again there is a tendency to exaggerate the figures involved. A point of some interest is the frequency with which Aghas or their sons marry the daughters of townspeople. For instance a son of Sheikh Mohammad of Walash was married to a daughter of Mustafa Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz, and one of the wives of Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala was also a townswoman. Such marriages are socially approved of as it is considered that townswomen bring with them an air of culture and sophistication. The reciprocal marriage of Aghas daughter to townsman's son is however most unusual, mainly because the townsman considers the tribal girl raw and uncivilised. The one sided nature of the transaction thus represents a further periodic cash loss to the tribal group without any compensating return.* It is not to be supposed that the bride price payment is the only economic transaction taking place on the occasion of a marriage. Near relatives on both sides send presents to the bridegroom; these may be in kind or cash and in the case of marriages between important Agha families may amount to substantial sums.

Death. Compared with normal Moslem usage the mourning ceremonies of the Kurds, at any rate for Aghas, are unusually prolonged. While I was staying at Walash the wife of Mustafa Agha, second son of Sheikh Mohammad, died. As Mustafa was the Agha of a neighbouring village I did not see the ceremonies involved. I was told that the proceedings consisted principally of the bereaved sitting at home in his Guest House and providing food and drink for all those friends and relatives who may think fit to come and condole with him. This would go on for a month. Moreover it was reckoned that as Mustafa had only a small Guest House all his less immediate kin would have to be accommodated at Walash. I gathered that the mourners would bring with them gifts which would at least approximately compensate for the cost of entertaining them, but the immediate economic strain occasioned by a death such as this may be considerable. As soon as Sheikh Mohammad heard the news he sent off riders to Rowanduz to fetch four sacks of sugar (36 kilos each), two bags of rice and a big roll

* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to sell their unwanted girl children to townsfolk. The girls were known as Kurdiya. During adolescence she was a slave servant of the purchaser but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the mui tsai system of South China.

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

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enforced. Of the non-Muslims, the Jews might be mentioned first, and their own custom of marriage is like that of Islam. By long tradition, heightened by the recent Israeli war, the Jews are greatly despised, but most of them have already migrated to their new country. The departure of the Jewish craftsmen and shopkeepers from Rowanduz has already been noticed. Of the Christians, an unconscious distinction is made in the Muslim mind between those who come from the Western world, and those who are native to the area or the Eastern Mediterranean. The military prowess and advanced culture of Europe or America are recognized, and almost any male from these countries is ipso facto an effendi or gentleman. The Briton, because of the part of his country's imperialism in the Middle East, may be disliked, but he is usually respected. On the other hand, Christians such as the Armenians, Chaldaeans, Greeks, and Nestorians, who have been Islamic subjects in the past, are looked upon with some contempt. The Armenians and Greeks are largely urban minorities, engaged in commerce, and are generally vilified, as are Jews and certain Syrians in the cities, as cheats and thieves. The Chaldaeans and the Nestorians, most of the latter displaced from their homeland in Turkey after the first World War, were once exclusively engaged in agriculture, and, as a peaceful folk, were not considered particularly different from Muslim peasants. Kurdish chieftains and their men have been invited to Nestorian festivals and there has been

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nsiderable social intercourse between the two groups. 186 563 571
fortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq,
ok service with the British, particularly in the infantry
vy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in
ushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled
the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and,
ile outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a
rtain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance
th the British, especially in the lucrative occupations
the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167]
e Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as
e able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582]
oup are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of
eir daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them.
e can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or
rman wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627 937 548
uslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim
oman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent
anger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad
ress is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553]
hem assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite,
nd wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing
utwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771 578
ommands tremendous respect from its followers and is a
"proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A
uslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

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social exchange, extending beyond the district itself, according to certain alignments. Lali Khan always has a number of visitors, such as Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers, and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of Sadiq Agha. These alignments, spoken of above, are formed on the basis of old feuds, family friendships, political sentiments, and the like. Normally the guests of Sadiq Agha are not to be seen at the House of Isma'il Beg, and the reverse is true, although there need be no ill-feeling between the two groups. To draw up a chart of these matters would be complex and of little value, inasmuch as they are perpetually changing and are vast in number. To give some examples, Karim Agha never visits the House of Isma'il Beg because of a feud, nor those of Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers because the latter are friends of Lali Khan. His own friend, a Hashid Agha (not of Jiadian) calls on Sadiq Agha, but does not visit Lali Khan or Sayyid Ahmad because of his friendship with Karim Agha. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost is friendly with Sayyid Ahmad, but has nothing to do with Sadiq Agha, and hence Karim Agha and his friend, because he does not sympathize with a feud in which Sadiq Agha was involved. To extend the matter further, Karim Agha does not patronize merchants in the bazar who are friends or clients of Lali Khan. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad, whenever he visits the town, has no traffic with those who favor Karim Agha. The network of friendships and alliances among the aristocracy is an important feature of their life, but it need not extend to the

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advise or scold their employers. 565 [367]

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the "government tribe." [162] [191] [29] 565 571

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in 632 571 571 621 [476]

government, and no civic or charitable organizations, guilds, or clubs. The diwankhana of the aristocrat, as noted, is often used as a man's clubhouse and a sort of village center, but that of Isma'il Beg in the town is rarely so used, and the mosque or the shaykhanas offer little as substitutes. In Rowandus there is thus an aggregate of separate households whose relationships with the government and with each other are largely on an individual basis, and for social life a man depends to a great extent on his relatives and friends. This should not be taken to mean that there is no force to public opinion or community interest. A mutual concern is much in evidence in the public conduct of individuals and in festivals, and a large part of this is furnished by the Muslim faith. In the summer of 1951 a collection was taken up among the townspeople as a pious work for a poor Arab, arrested by the police as a suspected deserter from the army and subsequently released penniless. The effect of public opinion in such matters as the wearing of the veil or smoking on the streets during Ramadan has already been noticed. The distribution of food and clothing to the poor of the town on certain occasions, and other examples of a similar nature, will be encountered in later sections. However, there is no structural bond or concrete rules of membership which cause the townspeople to act as a whole, although such behavior can often be observed.

behavior. The ethnic barrier between the Arab officials and the local inhabitants is by far the most striking. Divisions along lines of locale or tribe have little or no significance for members of the official class, although many of them, especially the Arabs, may belong to the latter type of group, in addition to their local origin. There is a certain amount of banter between natives of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, or other cities, just as in America much is heard of the rivalry of various cities and states, but it does not operate in any serious way to divide the group. The force connected with tribal affiliations in Iraq appears to be only appropriate in its proper setting, and a pair of officials, members of two tribes engaged in a deadly feud in some rural area, seem to make nothing of it divorced from the actual scene.

Something of the relations of the official class to the aristocracy and the townspeople has already been indicated. While a number of the Kurds may regard the government in a poor light, it would be a mistake to assume that they do not have admiration or fondness for certain of the officials. Conversely, it would be equally erroneous to think that many of the officials do not have a paternal affection for their charges. Nevertheless, the whole theory of personal relations between officials and townspeople is based on the thesis that "familiarity breeds contempt," which has a certain amount of validity. An over-friendly mudir might be looked upon with more suspicion and distrust than one who was comfortably distant. Thus the more

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the shaykhanas or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowandus fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an anomalous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive" not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large. Judged, to a large extent, in terms

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks. 565 647 177 [192]

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwakhana, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and, 571 565 647 563 529 517 [795] [352]

taept God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a wrangle usually ensues over ---- -- an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

office until further investigation is able to furnish a more complete account. Here in the lowest classes of society, mature women, those of the officials and officers, the aristocrats, and the wealthier townsmen, are generally restricted to the interior of their houses, and seem ons ids freely with society at large. It is more or less inevitable that such women have their friends and visitors among the female relatives of their fathers' and husbands' families, for only these can visit each other's houses without restriction. Because marriages are arranged between persons on a basis of comparable status, a woman's friends, like those of her husband, are close to her in age. However, women of the upper classes are much more reserved in most respects in their demeanor toward inferiors of the same sex than their husbands are toward theirs, and spend long hours in intimate conversation with female servants, seamstresses and laundresses. The latter are, in fact, an important link with the outside world of the town, inasmuch as they are able to intermingle with others of the lower classes and hence provide the mistress of a wealthy household with welcome news and gossip. The lot of the wives of the officials and officers is much more difficult, because their friends and relatives have been left elsewhere in Iraq, and there is almost no means of making new acquaintances in the town. They, too, find pleasure in the conversation of their maids, Arab or Kurd, and, with the knowledge of the husbands concerned, may visit

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the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Commoners of the lower classes suffer no such inconvenience, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a morgue for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for plain carnalness.

If the society of adults in Rwanda has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all officials, aristocrats, commoners, pay [illegible] without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' clans. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rwandese not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 586
the patrilineage, expressed in the mal or "house," strongly
governs the lateral calculation of relations to extend or
bounds the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rowanduz was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
first world War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popula-
tion had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 621
villages of the district, as one sees, somewhat artificially, 602
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriage characteristically
causes divergence in forming new family or mal-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Rowanduz, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1. [illegible]	["Old Father"]	Grandfather
2. [illegible]	["Old Mother"]	Grandmother
3. [illegible]	["Father"]	Father
4. [illegible]	["Mother"]	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

the [illegible] exclusiveness of ownership as well as exclusive use. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Hamawands, an independent tribe of population ca. 1800-1900, which became exclusive users over a three generation span.

The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defense and offense in war. Property rights in land and grazing area are held jointly by the tribe as a whole; exclusive exclusive rights are vested in its localized segments, subdividing compact villages with a population of 30 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have traditional rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as communal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degree of kinship (in any one level of segmentation, "brothers" exclude "cousins" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1932, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in case if a segment were attacked, from [illegible] according to the segmentary chamber when conflicts were within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were only dangerous within, where they led to fission, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

There is a close contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the manner with which the problems of fusion and fission are solved. A man's rights to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as hired farm help ("naqarî") of degraded status. The territorial exclusiveness of lineage segments does tends to be maximized to high degree, and there are no kinship mechanisms for developing "stretched" lineages with land ownership and political rights.[1] The segmentary nature of the territorial lineage segments itself directly in geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited nearly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map or clearly seen when one has a view of the valley bottoms. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the tribe as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. No religious or ritual

[1] A prominent scholarship may occasionally be established between a competing lineage group and a weakened, non-tribal peasant population, who needs certain rights as serfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a new kinship is set up, presenting knowledge between the two groups. This relationship, observed on the southern margins of Hamawand territory, does not seem to be very stable.

3: Barth K-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

No religious ceremonial 571

exchanges exist for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no symbiotic relations of a practical or ritual nature have been developed.

This organizational form is associated with a strong emphasis on the father's 582
brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marital residency to close family re-
degrees. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) rela-
tive brideprice, and (3) actual statistical occurrence.

(1) Informants agree that parental cousins have first rights to a girl, and 583
where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the 579
parental cousin must first release her by renouncing his claim. Cases of violation 583
resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected
in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[1] Giving one's
daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the
father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control
over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals,
and no one is closer in access and sentiments than a parental cousin. Small chil-
dren are pleasantly entertained when teased for being "in love" with their paren-
tal cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also 582
recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where Koran 583
rules favor of inheritance, giving stipulated fractions of the estate to female
descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case.

(2) It is an agreed privilege for parental cousins, in low estate also other near 585
kin, to receive the girl at a reduced bridepriice. The normal bridepriice for village 582
girls ranges between $50-150. Parental cousins generally pay only wedding
expenses.

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter, and other cousin, 582
marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relation-
ship between all living spouses in two normal sized Hamawand villages fell into
the following categories:

Fa and Ma						
FaBrDa (cousin)	MaBrDa (kinless)	SiDa (cousin)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	3	2	4	21

Taking the normal fluctuations in size and sex distribution of sibling groups
into account, this probably approximates the maximal frequency that marriage
with actual, non-classificatory parental cousin can reasonably attain.

1 Eg. W. R. Hay, Two Years in Kurdistan (London, 1921), p. 71.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

Where the cost of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the economic preference for cross-kin clear, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men make the "right" choice though they appear subjectively to feel, and invariably express the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem in this situation centers around what the motivation of the girl's father is, that he should forego his right to a bridegiven which, to the Kurdish farmer, constitutes a minor fortune. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem is: what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a brother's son which compensate one for the loss of the bridegiven.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, counterbalanced by the interlocking circles of identification normally operational with segmentary descent systems (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups; cross-cutting age-grades; among Tallensi, further the close collaboration between lineages, etc.). This pressure is painfully evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all four-level descriptions of Kurdish life.* Kurdish villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, at times even women. Such political power is proportional to the number of alliances one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-sections; and the factions in the village tend to be alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an elder leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The solution to the latter is most critical: it crosses the first potential line of cleavage between collateral branches. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of his brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the bridegiven. No other son-in-law can, in the lineage system, fill this role as political supporter, consequently they must invariably pay bridegiven. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the payment of preferential father's brother's

* Eg. C. J. Rich, Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan (London, 1836); E. B. Soane, Through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise (London, 1926); Hay, op. cit.

Another marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edge of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn veil and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmoud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connection with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the city, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held veil.

In the Bakhtiari closets, both the vaulted and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary oasis. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment would result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village women, the educated urban women practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *chādr* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village women, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
591 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by
the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were bartered from house to house by
women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apart-
[594] ments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the
women of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was
considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns
obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying
to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally
applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the
homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive
barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated woman's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ubergi[1] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his home is the
place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night .... his real
home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes
his spiritual content ....".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
352 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of
work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger
supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the
two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the home of a neighbour.
Here there was a modern, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously.
This was more effective than the convex iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the home only made purchases in the city and then only of material, sweet, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and
delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep.
That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression,
in fact my impression was precisely the same as Wiedemann's, who writes: "... as a rule the conser-
vative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping .... For the women of the past, their
lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty
[or] a [inconvenience][2]".

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
423 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ice-

4c Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only got rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[1] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Mohammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sura 24, verse 31 of the Koran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Koran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[2]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the home. There is therefore reason to point out that the men may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's home, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and shoreless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the restrictive world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Sometimes or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convivium between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the city, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has led to personal bond in bond with a emotional offensive on all things Arab and

sacred powers of the darwish and the practical powers of the political leader; both as equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma.

THE FEAST

The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnizes feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing ch bread.

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, and thus give the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a man, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige.

A feast in some form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrence in the villag. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and constituent units assume political significance. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast

563 In summary, the following diagram (No. 9) suggests the relative
643 positions of various social categories in the village hierarchy, and
554 their approximate spread on an ordinate of slow-high — obviously a very impressionistic diagram, for illustrative purposes only. Different part-statuses that do not overlap in their spread on the low-high

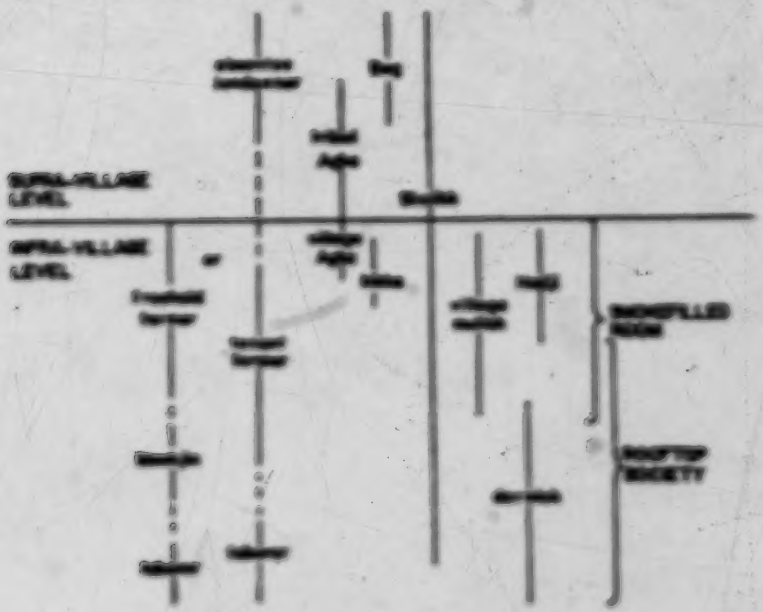

Diagram No. 9. Relative status of some social categories.

axis are incompatible; furthermore, the mullah often are being fully integrated in the community, there will be a lower frequency of combination of the status of mullah with the other, theoretically compatible, part-statuses.

PRECEDENCE IN LOYALTIES

• 571 In some conflict situations, any specific individual may be faced with a choice as to which group or person he should support — primarily the alternatives of lineage group vs. lord, lineage group

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

vs. local community, and questions of kin loyalties and loyalty to 571 •
the person of the leader. This precedence in loyalties, that is, the relative degree of identification with various categories or groups, clearly demonstrates the fluidity of the Kurdish village hierarchy. The group or institution embodying the most power seems invariably to be adhered to, and loyalties shifted accordingly. This in no way means that the Kurdish villager may not be fired with idealism, and die to arms for such ideals or for individuals in the face of great odds. The generalization is concerned with a much more fundamental level. The usual anthropological model of society hypothecates a tendency to restore social equilibrium, and pictures social action as brought to bear on any disturbance so as to compensate for its effect and remove it. In the Kurdish system, this would not always seem to be the case. If a social relation breaks down, there is no systematic or communal effort to restore the former status quo. When the breakdown is within the village community, the factions involved will tend to avoid contacts, and struggle till a new balance is established, or till the smaller group or group in opposition breaks out, migrates or forms a new village. If the breakdown were between villages, social relations would be completely severed, feud or at least considerable talk of feud would ensue, smaller incidents might continue for a long period of time. Trade would take a different course, and new contacts be established.

A disturbance that causes a change in some factor thus leads to an adaptation of the whole system to the new situation. There seems, in the autonomous Kurdish system, to be no conception of the need for concerted communal action to restore a normatively or legally defined «right» state; in that sense, all persons with power are usurpers, on all levels. There are no unquestioned normative, much less supernatural sanctions defining rights and privileges; the situation is much more one of a *modus vivendi*, where every person is given an area of «free grace» in Max Weber's terms (cf. p. 10), in proportion to his power position in the village hierarchy. The rebellion or conflict results where either the subject individuals do not recognize or are suspicious of the actual status and powers of the superordinated person, or where the latter incites a person or group against

• 57 him by overstepping his «reasonable» area of free grace in his relation to them.

In thinking about social relations, this essentially involves substituting the word «reasonable» for «right» — the latter being rigid and absolute, the former being defined in terms of numerous considerations of the specific situation. Obviously, different individuals with different temperament, experience, and values will have various ideas of what is «reasonable» — consequently, any type of superordination that does not involve constant face-to-face relations with the subordinates must be an uneasy one — hence the importance of the bodyguard-corps for the more minor Kurdish leaders.

In the case of conflicting loyalties, the specific situation in the village and area concerned decides which group identification takes precedence. This is clearly illustrated in choice between identification with, or loyalties to, the landlord, the lineage or kin group, and the village community. How completely considerations of power override general rules of loyalty is finally illustrated by conflicts within the family of the old Baban Pasha.

571 422 424 *Lineage group vs. lord.* In the Kurdish tribal system, genealogical and local groups coincide, and these groups are also the organizational units in a formal political sense. A somewhat similar correspondence is characteristic of the non-tribal peasant villages. Thus, since they coincide, the relative importance of the identification with the kin group and with the political unit, as personified by the political officeholder or lord, can not easily be determined. Only in the rather unusual cases where the two are different, do problems of identification and precedence arise.

573 422 An example of the relative powers of the landowner vs. the lineage leader is offered by the Barzi Gawra group, which on the land of Shaikh Mahmud as tenant farmers. The Barzi Gawra are one of ten branches of the *Mewasi tira*, the *Ratz* of which is Said Ali Khabat of Sulaimani.

Formally, the position of the *Ratz* is quite similar to that in other *tira*, though more directly dependent on «democratic» approval. Succession is decided by a council of the important men of the two villages. This council is limited by informal controls, being open to

any one of the *five* who «feels important enough». The qualifications 571 ●
of the *Ra'is* are that he must be experienced, old, and rich (receiving 422
no remuneration for his services), and in fact be acclaimed by a majority of his followers. His field of power, on the other hand, is minimal, and concerns only the relations between the various Memusi villages. Considering that these are spread over a large area, and that the *Ra'is* has no way of enforcing his decisions, he constitutes little more than a mediator in intra-tribal affairs.

Two of the Memusi villages lie on the land of Shaikh Mahmud, 571
and are as completely under his control as are his non-tribal tenants. Shaikh Mahmud freely appoints the village headman himself, and collects the normal shares in tax — according to one critical old woman of the village, he frequently takes considerably more too! In the rather inconceivable case of conflict between the *Ra'is*, with no formal powers, and Shaikh Mahmud, with the power to evict and fine the villagers, there is little doubt whose orders would be followed. The Shaikh even has the primary loyalties of many of the Barzi — the most succinct statement of the Kurd's attitude to his leader was made by the farmer-mullah of the village: «When Shaikh Mahmud was a religious leader, I was a mullah. He became King, I became a riflemen. Now he is a landowner, I am a farmer.» This does not leave very much to the *Ra'is*.

There is thus a contradiction between the feudal hierarchy of which Shaikh Mahmud is the head, based on considerations of locality and economic relations, and the genealogically defined tribal organization, relating these two villages to the other Memusi villages. This lineage organization is still retained, and headed by the *Ra'is*. But the content of the *Ra'is*'s power is minimal, whereas the landowner's *de facto* power is necessarily considerable; the presence of these de facto powers has been fully recognized, and loyalties shifted accordingly. Because of the rigidity of the Kurdish lineage system, no modification of its form has been possible; the field in which it is relevant has simply been reduced.

In effect, this may also be seen as a situation of conflict between two *leaders*, each heading an organization. Since organizational hierarchies are in terms of individuals and not abstract offices, the

• 571 position of the leader becomes crucial. In the present case, the one leader clearly has more status ad power that the other, and identification is with the leader with te highest status.

Within the tribal lineage groups, examples of such identification with *leaders* rather than genealogical groups in abstracto can be multiplied. In various conflicts tribes will split and align in terms of outstanding leaders, disregarding the genealogical ties. The *Hamawands* after the First World War partly sided with Shaikh Mahmoud, partly with the British; the same conflict found the leaders of the *Jaf* confederacy, the *Begzada*, divided into two factions, each with their following (Lees, op. cit.) In the non-tribal areas, larger scale kin organizations are lacking, ad such choices do not arise in the same way. In summary, it seems that in situations of choice, any actual organization, as personified in the leader, takes precedence over abstract genealogical alignments. Where also these genealogical alignments are systematized into an actual organization, a lineage, the choice seems to be made on th basis of a relative evaluation of the status and power of the two competing leaders.

Lineage group vs. village community. In certain situations, the lineage or kin group and the village do not coincide, and a conflict of loyalties may result. In sch cases, the village community seems to take precedence. From th tribal system, the case of feud summarized in Appendix II may serve as an example. The originator of the feud is genealogically more closely tied to the village of his victims than to that in whic he is residing; yet, he can count on his village of residence for tax support. In the archaeological excavations, where workmen from several villages were brought together, the various cleavages would allow community lines; and laborers, genealogically unconnected wih the Hamawand landholding farmers who dominated the villages, could invariably side with the village in which they resided.

In the non-tribal, tenant villages, kinship tends to set the factional patterns of alignment within he community; but in no case would it seem possible for kinship ties crossing village boundaries to override village identification in a situation of conflict. Where the two differ, the community factor takes precedence over the genealogical factor

in determining loyalties. This, it should be emphasized, is true of the[7]1 ●
village, but does not apply to the absentee landowner class, who, in an urban or semiurban setting and with widely dispersed property, have nothing corresponding to the unequivocal community membership of a village.

This primary identification with the village community is utilized for integrative purposes in the non-tribal tenant villages, where kinship-patterned factionalism would otherwise be rabid. It is a very characteristic pattern, noticed by numerous travellers, that every Kurdish village has one or more special «enemy» villages, towards which considerable hostility is expressed — quite out of proportion to the actual grievances between the two communities. The tenant villages lie in the zone where external administration is most completely established, and consequently village unity, for defence or other purposes, is rarely called for. This standardized hostility towards an opposing community undoubtedly serves as a mechanism to mobilize the primary village identification, and thus overrule or limit kin group factionalism.

Class **and** *loyalties.* Identification and loyalty would thus seem to follow the patterns of power distribution fairly closely, and be adapted or transformed when changes in the power distribution require. This follows from the general elements of fluidity and adaptability in the whole village structure. Rigid and absolute identification and loyalty to abstract categories could not fit such a fluid system; identification must be with an actual, existing organization of individuals, and loyalties have to be adjusted according to the changing constellations of these individuals.

In a situation of stress, therefore, even the closest kinship ties may be superseded by considerations of power alignments — among the most graphic examples are the conflicts between close relatives in the family of the old Bohtan Pashas. Here struggle and bloodshed between brothers was endemic, and a history of the administration becomes a chronicle of constant battles between competing pretenders.

Nikitine (*op. cit.*, pp. [illegible]) gives an extremely illuminating day-by-day account of the rupture between Mahmoud Pasha and his brother Osman Bey — easily produced by Turkish intrigue, in spite

9 - Swedish Kurds

• 51; of the unquestionable integrity of both brothers, and their desperate efforts to resist. The account follows the development from Osman Bey demanding his brother from abdicating in his favor, through his efforts later to resist Turkish pressures, when he «had a kind of determination and fierceness, like a man who has set his back against the wall» (p. 111) till finally open conflict resulted between the brothers, and Osman Bey was reduced to a puppet in the hands of the Ottoman Pasha of Baghdad. Rich describes his last conversation with Mahmoud Pasha: «I told him ... that nevertheless I prayed God for the prosperity and strength of his family and country. He said neither could ever be strong, while so many powerful members of the family existed. I insisted that it might be. 'Yes' said he, 'if God sent a plague among us and only left one alive'» (p. 123).

851 554 *Loyalty to leader.* In spite of what has been said, loyalties may remain with a leader after his defeat, when the actual organization of which he is the head is greatly reduced in power, and he himself, as was frequently the case, in exile across the border. This refers to the distinction made between the «ideal» and «de-facto» hierarchy (p. 94 ff). For example in Judean times, one Pasha might be dethroned in favor of an other through the intervention of Ottoman or Persian armies. In such cases, the old leader would often retain his high prestige and status in the ideal hierarchy, though he controlled little de-facto power at the moment; once the external force were removed, he would then be able to regain ascendancy.

In a wider application, this means that the relative power by which competing leaders are evaluated, and which forms the basis for transfer of loyalties, is to considerable extent what I have called the person's ability to rally supporters, i. e. his individual status in the ideal hierarchy, not the de-facto power he controls qua office-holder. The apparent contradiction between the above pattern of transfer of loyalties, and the at times heroic loyalty to a leader in the face of great adversity, stressed in Kurdish tales and chronicles, thus disappears. Such examples of stubborn loyalties indicate situations of wide discrepancy between the «ideal» and the «de-facto» power hierarchies.

10-Johnson G-8 (no date) 1945 MR.11 Kurd MR.11
Iraq

149 climbed on foot up the steep hillsides with an agility quite equal to my own. On another occasion I saw a villager alleged to be 120 years old, whose age must certainly have exceeded 100 years. He had a son aged 100 by a wife whom he had married in later life. This healthy longevity is the result of simple and clean living, which is common in Kurdistan.

To the stranger the Kurd may appear 167 dour and surly—like the Scot—but within 181 his exclusive circle he is smiling and talkative with a childlike lack of discretion: the grossest secret is common knowledge within the tribe. The Kurd has learned

[text continued on p 389(B)]

contrast to the government, treating such affairs more 622
a sport rather than anything else. Sayyid Ahmad sub- 648
sequently recounted with some pleasure his experiences in
exile, for he did not speak Arabic at the time. He heard
the official in charge of him, for example, called "stupid"
behind his back by subordinates, and concluded that this
was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer
as "Stupid Beg" until he was finally corrected. In order [522]
to designate the type of meat he desired for his meals,
he was forced to resort to imitations of the animals in
question, and thought his own picture, that of a Kurdish
aristocrat, a son of the great Shaykh Taha, flapping his
arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, most amus-
ing.

Toward the townspeople, the chieftains are much more 622
friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours 565
talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy mer-
chants. They are not fond of either the <u>chaykhana</u> or the
mosque, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar [582]
as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer
the daughters of the wealthy merchants and landowners of
the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and
hence to have greater prestige, than any village maiden.
The daughter of Ra'uf Effendi, for example, is married to
an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, Agha Rashid
Agha (the first agha here used as a proper name). Among 565
themselves, there is extensive community of interest and 622
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S972
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social exchange, extending beyond the district itself, according to certain alignments. Lali Khan always has a number of visitors, such as Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers, and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of Sadiq Agha. These alignments, spoken of above, are formed on the basis of old feuds, family friendships, political sentiments, and the like. Normally the guests of Sadiq Agha are not to be seen at the House of Isma'il Beg, and the reverse is true, although there need be no ill-feeling between the two groups. To draw up a chart of these matters would be complex and of little value, inasmuch as they are perpetually changing and are vast in number. To give some examples, Karim Agha never visits the House of Isma'il Beg because of a feud, nor those of Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers because the latter are friends of Lali Khan. His own friend, a Rashid Agha (not of Jindian) calls on Sadiq Agha, but does not visit Lali Khan or Sayyid Ahmad because of his friendship with Karim Agha. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost is friendly with Sayyid Ahmad, but has nothing to do with Sadiq Agha, and hence Karim Agha and his friend, because he does not sympathize with a feud in which Sadiq Agha was involved. To extend the matter further, Karim Agha does not patronize merchants in the bazar who are friends or clients of Lali Khan. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad, whenever he visits the town, has no traffic with those who favor Karim Agha. This network of friendships and alliances among the aristocracy is an important feature of their life, but it need not extend to the

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, 692
although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages 565
between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, 577
although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join [682]
two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A
chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth
and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system
of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can
be done with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system 565
constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social
hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible
for this, the first of which is that it is considered de- [664]
grading for men of the "upper" class to work with their
hands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in
addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus
includes among the people of the town the clerks, land-
owners, scribes or priests, and businessmen, such as the
smaller merchants and the owners of the *cafétérias* and
the hotel. Such a person is termed *effendi* or "gentleman," [594]
and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two
examples are provided by *shaikh* Effendi and Ba'al effendi,
both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shaikh
Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Ba'al Effendi [491]
is the *scribe* or representative of the townspeople. The
chief *scribe* of the town is addressed as "Kaliz 'abd-el-
Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the [321]

in terms of the three questions just noted above. While in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This ability, which has a moderate degree of realization, does not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling on an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of a company may visit each other and in other ways express their friendship, but an executive does not normally want an intimate among the workmen or pay visits to their wives. Just so in Rawanduz friends are to be found among those of comparable status. This is closely indicated by saying. A man can always have a joke at the expense of a inferior, but never the reverse. "Ameer, you do business like a child," a merchant said to one taken him at a disadvantage in a storytelling, evoking general laughter. The person in question could only share the hest, laughing at himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to push in return toward his own status. On the other hand, a lot been seen, servants, particularly those from the village where almost all belong to the same social stratum, think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely so far as feminine companionship is concerned. Those women of the lower classes suffer no such inconvenience, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is no escape for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pleasurable relations.

If the society of adults in Ravendur has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chief'tain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of their playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Ravendur not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

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counsel him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household.

572.● Friendships contracted outside the ami, as noticed in the discussion of society, are, in childhood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is consequently married, the other acts as his "servant," receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." While companions of this sort visit with each other in the house or the marae, and exchange gifts at their homes. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the ikirezibanza or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of kisses and spit, termed ajuna, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each

other on the check. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are those derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the maids are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to other houses, the latter going to the Kiteekiteeza with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only more opportunities for such exchanges.

572 ● 562 572 [357] [384] [382] 544

Turning now to the events of an individual of Rwandan through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be mentioned first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the Kiteekiteeza or guest-room. A woman who was sent from the Queen is called, and when she returns all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and receives in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a woman be not available, a copy of the Koran is placed beside the [782]

[woman in labor].

invitation, because he could not repay it. This alone official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rawanduz this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the qaimaqam. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three aliqums, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The qaimaqam and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

Two canons of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the reticulitation is that this will bring misfortune to the admired object, because such remarks are unwittingly covered the malice of the evil eye, or

community concerned, and rivalry between members is directed towards out-doing each other in the eyes of the group as a whole. [KJ 139]

Rowdyish society. An other insidiously apparent type of informal group which is commonly formed is that of rowdyish society. The unskilled room houses a more polite and essentially closed society; rowdyish society includes more diverse persons, and emerges from practically any aggregation of individuals who are not engaged in productive pursuits. There is a tendency for the individuals of the highest prestige to stay away from such groups, since the joking and horse-play may be rather personal and quite free, and the rules of improper behavior easily forgotten. Thus, though formed from an open aggregation of individuals, which any male transient or [illegible] or villager may join, it develops in practice into a gang of village youths and men, primarily the younger and more irresponsible, and the men of lower class status.

The same problems that are debated in the unskilled room may also be discussed here, but with less stress on policy forming and more stress on the anecdotal. Prestige differences in the group emerge very clearly from who is made fun of and who feels in a position to conform. At the same time, the group serves as a forum for complaints against abuses. Here the attitudes of the less privileged sections of the village to specific issues become coordinated; pressures are applied and exchanges entered that may lead to concerted action when persons feel they have been badly wronged.

Women's groups. Women are excluded from both these types of [KJ. 573 •] groups, as well as from politicals activities in general. Though they prepare the food that may be consumed in the unskilled room, they should not show themselves there, and, for example, tea-brewing, which should be done on the spot, is in the hands of [573] a younger male kinsman of the host. In fact, when a visitor arrives in whose duty take an interest, they may find domestic work to do within earshot though out of sight, or a small son of the house is dispatched as an informant. The actual extent to which women contribute in shaping the opinions of their men is difficult to evaluate, and surely varies considerably, but is usually probably slight. On the other hand, they have access to information, especially gossip,

which the head of the family has cut, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in the unskilled room, (b) the men of low prestige get together in an informal «coffee house», and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complex status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above, and many village mullahs find a difficulty to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — often come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home. Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the ugliness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form, but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the *zikwánkia*, or shirt, is of a darker shade of blue, with white stripes round the bottom, the sleeves being knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kurdish women do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In large towns like Solimaniah the ladies wear a blue checked shirt, and a sheet of black horsehair, like the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however, seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest rank, who may wish to pass through the streets incognito; and the lower class women generally go about with their faces uncovered. The village women veil themselves when they leave their houses; and the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Hence women are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors are freely received by the unveiled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom of manners, Kurdish women conduct themselves with the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the forwardness too often seen in the behaviour of the Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, exceptionally high among the races of the country.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Hard MA11

Sultan Murad and Sîsa the Shepherd.[1]

It is well known that the Kîrâ'i had their sheep [179] in Arabia into Syria and Arabia, and even to Constantinople. Once a shepherd named Sîsa, of the tribe of [215] Dere-Sheikhân, led his sheep to Constantinople for [214] sale. His shoulders covered with a goatskin, as is the custom among shepherds, he grazed his sheep in the neighbourhood of the capital.

One day Sultan Murad and his Aide,[2] both disguised as dervishes, were walking in the suburbs, and they came to the spot where Sîsa was with his sheep. Now Sultan Murad had never in his life seen Kîrâ'i, nor shepherds in such a costume. Seeing Sîsa so strangely dressed, the Sultan was astonished, and said to his Aide, "What race of men is this who resemble in no respect the people of Stamboul, with their heads and their eyes covered with goatskins?"

The Aide replied that it was a Kîrâ from Anatolia, who had brought his sheep for sale.

"Let us approach this strange creature," said the Sultan, "and see what manner of man he is."

Then the Sovereign and his Aide in their dervish [179] disguises came up to the shepherd and saluted him.[3] He returned their salutation, saying, "You are welcome, Aide (Sultan) dervishes." The Sultan and the Aide sat down. The shepherd had a pipe with a short stem which he filled and offered to the dervishes, who

[1] Sîsa, Jesus, &c., p. 60.

[2] Name of confidential attendant. The name is also given to a male slave who has the charge of children.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kard MA11

[39] were much surprised by this act of courtesy. He
[39] then said:

"I have bread and milk, and will bring you some."

Sultan Murad wished to decline his offer, saying, "We are not hungry, and have no need of food." But the shepherd insisted upon sharing his bread with them, and quoted to them the Arab proverb: "Whoso visits a living person and eats nothing at his house might as well visit a dead man."

"I am well," he added, "and refuse to be called a dead man, so you must not leave me without breaking bread."

The Sultan was charmed with the shepherd's remark, and accepted his offer of bread and milk. Then undoing the skin bag which hung on his back, took from it a wooden cup, went to milk some of the sheep, and returned, bearing also in his hand a loaf, which he placed before his guests. The Sultan and the Arab ate a little, and the shepherd then asked the dervishes if they lived at Constantinople.

"Yes," replied Sultan Murad, "we belong to the capital. For the love of Allah, shepherd, if thou canst into town come and see us."

The shepherd asked Sultan Murad what was his name and where he might be found.

[39] His Majesty replied that his name was Sultan Murad, and that he lived near the Sultan's palace. "Come to that place," he added, "and there ask for me."

The two dervishes took leave of the shepherd, and

unannounced into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the *qaimmaqam*, and, after greetings and banalities have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sherbet. The servant is summoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant returns with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a *mutir* feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with documents requiring immediate signature. This office, unlike those of others of the *qaimmaqam*'s staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a position to, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

Some of the *qaimmaqam*'s more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of convicts to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the *qaimmaqam* must supervise and coordinate the activities of the *mutirs* and *nahia* officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a *mutir* is given considerable local power, but because the *qaimmaqam* is responsible not only for the

grievances of the former and exploiting and facilitating the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ba'af Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he is expected to maintain a diwaniyya in room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained. Although Ramadan itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later appointees that the mukhtar, with numerous other wealthy men, occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, instigated by her relatives in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ba'af Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the First World War. In that time Ramadan was the seat in part of a mutasarrifiyya under the distant sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread out on the floor, hung from walls or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby eating-house. Most merchants have a weekly account with the eating-house-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. They are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, delivers purchases to the employment wishes bought, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying printed words such as "Bruglio" or "Heavy Import Company," and are padlocked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string.

The maintenance of a *chaikhana* can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the *chaikhana*, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and lawless. The *chaikhana*, however, is definitely limited to the lower echelons of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the *qaimmaqam* or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would his army officers. The visiting line is to be found in the teahouse, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the term "visit" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the exception of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to entertain a *chaikhana* or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in *chaikhanas* will quickly acquire the reputation of a lawless. Finally, as mentioned men from the army are to be found there on furlough, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (*kaile ba*, "home-vessel," is a favorable term of abuse, an epithet which

gone the years without reference to any plan, surrounding a sort of courtyard. In addition to a row of single rooms opening on the court, it shelters some shops and storerooms. The principal merchant who uses it as a place of business is a Mwiserian who lives in Ngozi and who, in addition to other enterprises, monopolizes the profitable supply of bottled beer and extract to the civil servants and officers. He comes to Kamembe only two or three times each week, and, during Ramadan, when drinking of alcoholic beverages is forbidden by most, keeps away entirely. The hotel itself offers the smallest little more than a room and a bedstead. He is expected to furnish his own bedding, and to find entertainment as best he can. The "hotel," in brief, is little more than "a roof overhead and leaky existence within," in this, a modern descendant of the *khan* or *funduq* of Mediaeval days, so often described and so often cursed by travelers of that era.[1] Visiting government employees normally find accommodations with one of the local civil servants, army officers seek the barracks in the valley and Kamembe, as well as Mwiserians, who must spend a night in the town can find free lodgings and meals at the great house of Sama'ili Nag. It follows that the *khan* is little used, and its few occupants are usually commercial travelers from Kivili or beyond, too low in social status to apply to the civil servants and too timid to avail themselves of Kamembe hospitality.

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[1] Maunier, 1951, pp. 133-134.

construction in the valley. The other is the property of Lali Khan, head of the House of Isma'il Beg, and is more regularly used to transport merchandise from Erbil. In addition, there is a bus service between the town and the city with two decrepit British station wagons serving as vehicles. When the first of these was put in service some years ago, it was known as bus to the townspeople, but when the second appeared it was personified as Bebo Bus, "Father Bus," and the second, Kurri Bus, "Son of Bus." These vehicles make the trip twice or three times each week, departing from the square near the great mosque early in the morning, their roofs piled high with luggage, and, by the time Shaqlawa is reached, the interior crammed with passengers. They are owned in Erbil, however, and their drivers live in that city.

The garage is to be found across from the great mosque, and consists of an enclosed courtyard. In a locked storeroom opening on the yard there is a supply of gasoline for sale in five-gallon tins. The garage is operated by a merchant hired by Lali Khan, its owner, and her lorry is usually parked in its courtyard. It should be noticed that aside from those of the government and the two privately-owned lorries, no other vehicles are permanently at the town. Taxis, hired by chieftains or wealthy persons, arrive frequently, but they are almost all derived from Erbil. Sayyid Ahmed of Barzan, one of the sons of the famous Shaykh Taha, regularly arrived to visit the House of

Ismail Beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three heavily-armed bodyguards. 574

A comparatively large group of men in the town are casually employed as laborers or porters. It has already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Anwar Salah, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more. 464 482 482 554 [183] 464 957 482

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ex post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

ant invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any one other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The diwakhana or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second story. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a more family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the *khrikhana* has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the *diwankhana* of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

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visitors alighted. Refreshments are prepared by the women and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children. A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Leil Khan and Leyla Anise, the Turkish wife of Shevki Effendi, both unveiled and neither of European education or inclination. Visiting women, almost always married and related in some way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain in the [illegible] if the house-owner and a male guest should suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle, in which men, women, and children take part.

[576] [582] [586]

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In this connection it is convenient to mention the garden, because, wholly aside from whatever productive value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Turk, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy.

[351] [574]

not found just as strongly in the illiterate Salli peasant of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In Rowanchoo all of the wealthier homes have their gardens, surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be entertained with the addition of fruit-piled fruits to the usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular garden near Rowanchoo is that of Hajji Mohammed 'Ali Agha of Fidlan, whose house is built over the course of an icy mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel through the plot itself. The ugly tomato fruits chilled in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and tentes. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and children of the house, in addition to playing there, are held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater inroads on the produce than those they are set to guard against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, always to be found on the first floor and more or less open to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

served wines and the finest one dig wines of commerce is 252
the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there 262
are no means of preserving them, and have little other [101]
preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked
with sugar, stewed prunes, are considered a delicacy.

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three 272
times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more [103]
simply, boiled in an open pot. Six service, in small
glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There
are several ways of brewing tea, and one example is that
in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, lime [103]
is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor.
Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the [274]●
household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of
the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling [261]
water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for
aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee
and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in
small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Chocolat
consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although
some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a
tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is
also found in the summer. Yaghut, curdled milk thinned with [253]
water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save
in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed
them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of catching
fever.

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

[illegible] 273
[illegible] [343] [344]
[illegible] [781]
[illegible] [574]

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, one eats in the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the [illegible], or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the family in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, [illegible], "In the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and [illegible] 247 [495] [782]

women are still intermingled, the party splits into two parts, one surrounding the father and the other, his wife. Thus there are male guests formally invited, the women are children from eight and the food is served in a great array in the guest-room by male servants or children. The usual practice is for the guests to eat quietly, squatting around a table in the *divankhana* or a room neighbouring the kitchen. It may be supposed that the older usage of sitting on the floor and taking greater intimacy with the meal, still to be found, was once more widespread. In this connection, one might note that squatting on the benches is used only by the lower classes, while sitting in a chair or cross-legged on the floor is customary for those of higher social status. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, to sit with legs outstretched in front of one is considered the height of boorishness. The etiquette of dining, although far less detailed, is not greatly different from our own, and it is considered impolite to eat too ravenously, to serve oneself as outsize portion, to belch, and the like.

The native dress of the Kurds is extremely colourful, in contrast to that of many of their contemporaries in the Middle East, who make greater use of brighter hue and strong contrasts than the subdued tones and darker shades encountered elsewhere. In discussing this subject, three types of clothing, often interwingled in the same costume, can be distinguished, that which is typically Kurdish, that which is Arabic, specifically from southern

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 102
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a treasure resembling that of a European or American army recruit. The face is shaven clean, save the mustache which has great social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man without some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and, more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the mustache, through an unascertainable cultural process, has come to be a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even officials and officers, who often wear their hair long, do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 102
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is the beard, when white or gray, stained with henna, and this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [102]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Women are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [134]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Except for the cologne of the barber, men do not use cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 517
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 124
574

still offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Ramadan, hold flowers to their noses on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnations.

Because the abstinence before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

to the guest either, and even to those places who feels for them sincere. While this enough is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus to-calling the integrity of a nobleman can also result in violence.

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's house, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Even the aristocratic houses maintain *khvakhvang* which vary considerably in size and form according to their owners. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the *khvakhvang* of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion,

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his profits, if only that his sister, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor village himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a visitor, villagers or tanout, may appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chief-tains themselves use them for sleep, in want of a better term, might be called their "resorts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaikhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and resting, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the open hospice, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send the away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and may also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Bavtiari country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them

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to let Ishmael Beg know of their grievance and visit his displeasure, or he will think they look down on his hospitality, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen from the section on administration that the government takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, arbitrates tribal disputes, and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the peasants, thus cutting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, element of the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to the government, either the civil code of the judge or the tribal code of the sajmaqam. Vengeance is also of the state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and monetary is a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and such titles as agha, beg, or sheikh, while they are widely used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabulary are thought adequate to handle military exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly furnish of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of its important functions and perogatives. They are no longer leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

pastimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, may remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and gardens are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will lead a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not ordinarily members, persons of the aristocratic Turkish class sometimes appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Seyyid Ahmed and Sarim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Turks, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No women is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which much assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of suits. The game itself is surveying, as well as the particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" is popular, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils [about $0.16], and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars [$5.60]. Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskilful person can lose money in one sitting.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however one is apt to see them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the mess or in the home of the policemen, and others attend not solely to play, but to relax and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikor, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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[1] The salary of a typical mutir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars [$56.00] per month and 240 dinars [$672.00] per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Allah, mentioned above. The mutir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a qaimmaqam. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

first in the matter of hospitality. For both aristocrats and commoners of the first system, the doors of the house are theoretically always open to guests or travelers, no matter what the station in society of either host or visitor. Thus, a peasant or a shepherd is considered to have evidence of higher rank in his home, and what little he possesses in the way of food, drink, and shelter is willingly offered. Conversely, no person of the lower classes is disturbed by dwelling himself of the hospitality of a chieftain, although, of course, he does not expect the ceremony expended on a superior. This is by no means unique to Kurdistan, but can be discovered in almost any rural area of the Middle East. For officials and officers the situation is somewhat different, because they are forcefully governed by a principle of resignation, a matter of personal honor, in effect that a man cannot accept the hospitality of another unless he can return it in kind. To give one of a large number of illustrations, a party was given by the governor of Ravendale, attended only by five other men of the town who were possessed of the means to entertain the governor in a similar fashion. The governor had asked a minor official, and, when this person failed to appear, went to the extent of sending his automobile after him. When the official in question finally arrived, he made a hurried excuse, "the illness of his wife," and again departed. The reason, clear to all those present, was that his meager salary did not permit him to accept the governor's

politician, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In [illegible] this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the [illegible]. The latter simply ordain the attendance of those of his subordinates in whose presence at a gathering, and they are then able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in those pastimes, those who have the money but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging music. The [illegible] and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks are unwittingly covered the malice of the evil eye, or

uncle (mam) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They crowd, gathering around him, and the latter are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (dai) is a much rarer visitor to the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal uncle (ulu) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the <u>fiveshhhh</u>

r guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574 593

The eldest brother occupies a position over his brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He shares to some extent in the parental authority and is responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger brothers their *roshana*, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught [454] to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest brother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he takes their savings and purchases them something they desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all of his directions must be carried out by those junior to him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, the younger children are supposed to stand, although this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children [562] is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and the care of the younger children. In several families observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. 593 554 577 The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, some of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but

wealthy sponsor in a room outfitted with beds and mattresses on which they are told to rest. Their mothers and other female relatives supervise them, and have a gathering of their own in one of the sleeping rooms. In the guest-room a large congregation of men, the fathers, relatives, and friends assembles. The mulla is summoned, and recites from the Quran. Another room is appointed for the operation itself, and in it the barber or darvish, several of the men, and the father of the boy being circumcised at the time take their stations. It might be noted that the boys, segregated in their room, are in a state of considerable trepidation, for they have not been informed what this festive and, at the same time, solemn occasion portends for them. A boy is led alone into the room of the operation and seated on a chair, his father standing next to him. The barber or darvish kneels before him, concealing the knife, and the foreskin is cut, theoretically before the child is aware of what has happened. At the same time a lump of sugar is placed in his mouth to prevent an outcry. The wound is quickly bound with a cloth bandage, and the boy is returned to his fellows. The barber or darvish usually accompanies his movements by muttering religious formulae of his own choosing or invention.

When all have been circumcised, they are allowed to rest and are visited by their fathers and mothers who congratulate them on their bravery. Meanwhile a great celebration ensues for the adults, separate banquets for

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or dervish, the mulla, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred dinars," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a dishdasha or cassock, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

are often surrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, 521 [528]
are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment.

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the women, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the women's mosque. Unlike to men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously 574
noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but 527
public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jejeni Ramazan and Jejeni Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and 796 527
take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Syreg festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin hasled one to discuss them with religious life.

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Nor Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short poles. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and dervish, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa cavorted before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the mulla, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "can be heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite forswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises.

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this night begins Jayjani Remezan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shewwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing.

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowanduz is Jayjani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. 159 792 [443]

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Mousai Effendi Zukriani. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'uf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ma'uf Effendi was given the post again. [622] [574]

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Aziz any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenwares should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [624] [687] [964]

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a derwish and a khelifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [305] [765] [767]

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferior to *mahūn*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *mahūn* in Sulaimani champs of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[28]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawlā*[29], (fig. 22b9, about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (fig. 227b[2]), was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *chāyxāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *chāy*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[30], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *bōdik*, (fig. 226b) about 1.50 - 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samōwar* of pewter or brass[31] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samowar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samowar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samowar a round tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[32] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samowar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces in a cloth by a special sugar hammer[33]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[34]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

WOMAN'S POSSIBILLITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

Possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion. In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Topzawa the wife and daughter of the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pluck fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained to themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the sons received my interpreter and me in the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Topzawa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sergalu, was bluntly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. Thus what we understand by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of them must allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

In the meantime the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brother-in-law,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edge of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abid* and the pushed-back veil were relaxed. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *suq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abid*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just so far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abid* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
591 activities brought them into contact with the men's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban women's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ekrem[2] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
852 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operations to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a modern, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the uneven iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the home only made purchases in the city and then only of material, sweet, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[3].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ap-

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 not "free", being subjected to an absolutely-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their
593 spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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565 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the
572 whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village
462 sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milking in the mountains, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a
369 freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in
369 connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits
387 between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say
593 in regard to the persons entering and leaving this house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

574 During *qurbān bairām* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson,
593 two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the
574 visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Cuenier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... coalition silencieuse, soutenue et implacable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maître du harem, armé de pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus revoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ..."[7]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

ties that may be discerned. The village, in all its confusion, sets the 621
scene on which the competing factions act out their parts; over faintly glowing fires of cowdung individuals are discussed and appraised in terms of the ideals expressed in the above outlined scales; control is attempted and leadership emerges. All these activities take place at more or less standardized occasions — and it is these occasions that will be described in the present chapter. In effect, any type of community or group activity gives an opportunity for status and competition to express itself, and a description of these occasions thus becomes virtually a description of community life.

INFORMAL GROUP FORMATION

Claudius James Rich, visiting Suleimani in the 1820's, was sur- 574 •
prised at the regularities of the patterns of visiting, at the large groups that would congregate in the house of some «noblemen» or in the open, and spend their time smoking and drinking tea, while talking way into the small hours (Rich, op. cit.). This pattern is also found strongly developed in Suleimani today.

In the village, the farmer must of course keep rather different hours, and he invariably rises with the sun; but the same pattern is discernable. In the summer nights, visitors may be received on the rooftops; in the daytime, or when the weather is colder, any important visitor is showed to a special room, and a more or less standard group will quickly congregate. In the hot weather, other kinds of groups will congregate during the day in any bit of shade — under the trees by the pool, or on the roof-tops that are shaded by trees. These informal groups seem essentially of two types, one the group of village leaders in «the smokefilled room» to borrow an idiom from American politics, the other a less clearly defined «rooftop society» of persons of lower status.

«*The smokefilled room*». In the traditional tribal system, the 574
Agha of the village should keep a *guesthouse*, in which the head 554
of families, all kinsmen of the *Agha*, and any visitor have a right to sit. In the area around Rowanduz, this seems to be an institution of

514 considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for
559 the hospitable *Agha* (Leach op. cit., pp. 28—33).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from this ideal — it would be a very important man who went to the expence of keeping an «open house» in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *Agha* among the Hamawands will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all person who would have a «right» to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common center of the village, to which all the important men repair, it has become in fact the center of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance attempts to utilize a certain room as «guesthouse», playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

517 No matter what time of day a visitor arrives, he would at least
516 be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to
564 this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies
372] between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a sitting. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige scale by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific titles to
[376] one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

621 The persons assembling normally in «the smokefiled room»[1] are
554 the policy makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest are discussed, the actions of the various members of the group coordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige is

[1] 104 of the Agha's guest house. — [Analyst]

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

sacred powers of the derwish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma.

THE FEAST

The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnizes feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread.

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a man, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige.

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrance in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and resultant total status positions become systematized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast

621 takes place after sundown, since there should be a fast observed
• 579 during the day in Ramadan month — as a matter of fact, this fast
527 is observed by very few. However, this degree of Ramadan celebration is not usual. The last three days of that month, on the other hand, are universally regarded as holidays, and serve as formal occasion for forgiving enemies, affirming village loyalties, and reinforcing ties of friendship.

Ramadan is defined in terms of a year of lunar months, and thus falls some days earlier in relation to the seasons for every year. At the time of the present fieldwork, the end of Ramadan coincided roughly with the completion of the harvest; it is difficult to say which aspects of the proceedings were connected with the one, as distinct from the other event. The celebration on the main, first day consisted of four major phases: (1) religious service (2) formal communal meal (3) payment of tax to the mosque (4) informal social celebrations.

796 The religious service was led by the son of the mullah of the
527 neighboring village, since the village in which I was staying at the
621 time had no mullah of its own. It was held in the house of the *Hadji*, the actual leader and *kikhe* of the village. The local derwish, reacting to the presence of only an un-ordained officiator, tried to assert himself by interjecting loud and pious exclamations, but was soon quieted down as the mullah's son speeded on through the text.

After the ritual followed the communal meal, supplied by the *Hadji*, and his prestige profited by a subtle balance between the conspicuous exhibition of plenty tempered with a pious avoidance of over-indulgence. Two of the lower-class laborers, who had been figeting and feeling out of place, took the opportunity to busy themselves by serving the tea; but the *Hadji* insisted upon their status as guests, and they were quickly relieved by a young son, whom he called in for the purpose. Before the meal, hands were kissed (with a tendency towards reciprocity only between social equals or very close kin), misunderstandings forgotten and grudges forgiven. After the meal, some small boys appeared and kissed the hands of all the men present.

This being completed, the heads of village households each pledged

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by pious ideals of moderation.

To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the tea comes out of the host's one samovar, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places conscious. In seating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) This ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

[illegible]

CHAPTER 5

The Guest House

622 So far we have been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kurdish tribal community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships on an institutional plane and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village Agha in functional terms as (a) the individual who 'owns' the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

• 619 622 559 It is a cardinal feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha. The more lavish the Agha's hospitality the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of reputation fully discount disadvantages of birth. Hamid Amin Agha of Rengursan for example though only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. On all sides it was maintained that he was much more of a man (piaw - the Kurdish idiom is the same as our own) than his nominal overlord Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balash. If Hamid Amin was not so generous, it was argued, he also would be rich and powerful: "Sheikh Mohammed was miserly and an old woman. It must be admitted that a more reputation for generosity may not bring with it any particular tangible reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the pattern of the society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

344 679 358 In the Balik country the Guest House is seldom actually a house. Winter travellers are few and can be accommodated if necessary somewhere in the Agha's own residence; during the summer on the other hand a shady pergola is erected somewhere close to the Agha's house and furnished with carpets, mats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

• This incidentally seems to have been Sheikh Mohammed's reputation throughout his life: see May p. 253.

† In the plains villages however the great heat of the summer and the greater frequency of winter travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see May 47 - 49.

Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shevdini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab Bedouin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else deputs one of his sons to do so. 574 574 621

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance. 574 421

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome could soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammed of Palash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Banpurian. In exchange my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (56 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Palash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure 574 586 622

of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as follows:-

1	The Agha himself
1	Wife
3	Sons
4	Daughters
7	Maidservants } Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants }
1	Mulla
1	Brother
5	Guests
3	By exaggeration
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In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee: especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Khoistan. The tea is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Bergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

system demands that her price should be a high one. It would need a very intimate knowledge of all concerned to find out what real transactions take place within the village on the occasion of a marriage. Where the marriage is to someone outside the village the position is more clear, especially in the case of the Aghas, though here again there is a tendency to exaggerate the figures involved. A point of some interest is the frequency with which Aghas or their sons marry the daughters of townspeople. For instance a son of Sheikh Mohammed of Balash was married to a daughter of Mustafa Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz, and one of the wives of Mir Rashid Agha of Dergala was also a townswoman. Such marriages are socially approved of as it is considered that townswomen bring with them an air of culture and sophistication. The reciprocal marriage of Aghas daughter to townsman's son is however most unusual, mainly because the townsmen considers the tribal girl raw and uncivilised. The one sided nature of the transaction thus represents a further periodic cash loss to the tribal group without any compensating return.* It is not to be supposed that the bride price payment is the only economic transaction taking place on the occasion of a marriage. Near relatives on both sides send presents to the bridegroom; these may be in kind or cash and in the case of marriages between important Agha families may amount to substantial sums.

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Death. Compared with normal Kurdish usage the mourning ceremonies of the Hurds, at any rate for Aghas, are unusually prolonged. While I was staying at Balash the wife of Mustafa Agha, second son of Sheikh Mohammed, died. As Mustafa was the Agha of a neighbouring village I did not see the ceremonies involved. I was told that the proceedings consisted principally of the bereaved sitting at home in his Guest House and providing food and drink for all those friends and relatives who may think fit to come and condole with him. This would go on for a month. However it was reckoned that as Mustafa had only a small Guest House all his less immediate kin would have to be accommodated at Balash. I gathered that the mourners would bring with them gifts which would at least approximately compensate for the cost of entertaining them, but the immediate economic strain occasioned by a death such as this may be considerable. As soon as Sheikh Mohammed heard the news he sent off riders to Rowanduz to fetch four sacks of sugar (96 kilos each), two bags of rice and a big roll

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* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to sell their unwanted girl children to townsfolk. The girls were known as Kurdiye. During adolescence she was a slave servant of the purchaser but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the mui tsai system of South China.

[361]

765 of cigarette papers. The scale of entertainment naturally varies
574 greatly with the status of the deceased; moreover the death of a male is
481 in every case far more serious than the death of a female. So far as I
am aware the ceremonial commiseration is similar in the case of
commoner families though on a smaller scale.*

The Mulla

793 The Mulla has his part to play in the ritual both on occasions
535 of marriage and death, and gains some appropriate reward. His interest
431 in the marriage ritual is on the decline. Government regulations now require that marriages must be registered with the police, and the marriage is legal without any religious ceremony. The tendency is therefore to give presents to the police rather than the Mulla.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to nomad tribes; I was told that among the Herki the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day. The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Moslem type.

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

temporarily into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the qaimmaqam, and, after greetings and handclasps have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sherbet. The servant is resummoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant re-enters with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a mudir feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with dossiers requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the qaimmaqam's staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a problem trys, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

Some of the qaimmaqam's more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the qaimmaqam must supervise and coordinate the activities of the mudirs and qadhs officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a mudir is given considerable local power, but because the qaimmaqam is responsible not only for the

although he has nothing to do with the office of mukhtar described in the preceding pages. Sadiq Agha holds a registered title to the land and pays the village's taxes to the government. In return, through his bailiff, he lays claim to a certain percentage, about a third, of the village's crops. Whenever he visits the village he is [576] treated with great courtesy and with feasting. Now and then one sees a villager or bailiff kissing the hand of a visiting overlord, a servile usage which is generally looked down upon today. On the other hand, a village-owner is sought by his tenants in a thousand and one minor matters, a loan, a quarrel, a son to be recruited, and the like. A more exact description of these reciprocal duties will follow.

The villagers and kotchir fashion almost nothing which has retail value outside of the district itself, and, as will be seen more completely with reference to Rowanduz, indigenous crafts are simple and few in number. Coarse woolen cloth is woven in small square pieces, about eight inches on a side, and stitched together into long rolls, but this material is wholly used in the fabrication of local garments. [294] Two Nestorian weavers and their wives work in a shop in the upper part of the town of Rowanduz, the only craftsmen of their religion laboring in the community. Their wooden loom stands upright, and a hole has been dug into the earthen floor beneath it to accommodate the weaver's legs. The shop contains a curious old wooden spinning wheel, although the women preferred the more familiar spindle and

agricultural concerns and their concomitant social implications in the life of the townspeople. 241

Of those who furnish the community with food and drink, the tea-shop owner or chayehi might be considered first. There are ten chaykhanas in the town. That located beside the serai has already been noticed, and the other nine are all within the bazar area. The buildings vary considerably, for example, three occupy second storeys overlooking the street, but the furnishings are singularly uniform. One such building, the "sinner's" chaykhana spoken of above, was of a single storey, rectangular, and built of mud-brick, with a yard on the street and a little porch overlooking the gorge behind. The yard, in use during fair weather, had a number of high, unfinished wooden benches and chairs arranged about it, and the same type of furniture was to be found within the building. In a corner of the room near the door was a huge brass urn, not unlike those used in our restaurants for coffee, a pottery water-jug, and a collection of utensils. The owner usually occupied a bench beside the door and had a brass tray on the table before him in which he made change. He had a collection of celluloid counters for keeping a tally on tea sent out to the merchants. A waiter in skull-cap and slippers served the customers and brought the money to the owner.

265 347 [352] [415] [451]

The etiquette of entering a chaykhana varies somewhat according to the personalities of its customers. In

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a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salamu alaykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa alaykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakhan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family,

a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

fifteen minutes. Refreshments are prepared by the women and are carried in by a male servant or one of the children. A young woman, either of the family or a servant, never enters the guest-room, particularly in the presence of a plurality of male guests, but older women, if the mistresses of the house and of aristocratic lineage, may enter and chat with the visitors. The investigator was entertained by Lali Khan and Bayin Amina, the Turkish wife of Shakir Effendi, both unveiled and neither of European education or inclination. Visiting women, almost always married and related in some way to the house, are entertained in the sleeping rooms or in the courtyard at large, for some confusion might obtain in the diwankhana if the house-owner and a male guest should suddenly appear. Finally, this room is infrequently used for mixed family gatherings, say, the visit of an uncle, in which men, women, and children take part.

In this connection it is convenient to mention the gardens, because, wholly aside from whatever productive value they might possess, they are used, just as the guest-room, for the reception of visitors in summer. It is the desire of every householder, as an American might plan a study, a recreation room, or, indeed, the same thing, to have one on his property. A "garden" need not refer to beds of flowers or vegetables, but rather to a secluded, grassy plot shaded by trees, and the intense romantic attachment of the Kurd, or of almost anyone in the Middle East, to these places is defined with difficulty, a sentiment by no means confined to the intellectual or the wealthy.

open sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put on, although in the case of village women only one or two outer dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For a headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, townswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with a turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as embroidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together by the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the hemispherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of the men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark blue in colour, a single roll of cloth. 291

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a restriction which, of course, has no existence among the women themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish women of the upper class may only appear uncovered before the men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and dignity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, women of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their life, working in the fields and going to market, are always unveiled and a trip to the bazar crowded with men affords them no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially prominent or alien person may cause them to hide their heads. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears in a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save in the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the sustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural Kurdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to run. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also 291 562 [754] [576] [609]

of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, insofar as their inroads are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Homes of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flea. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Scorpions and snakes sometimes turn up, and are killed with the greatest possible dispatch.

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his produce, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a commoner, tribesman or tenant, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaykhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the Arab Bedouin, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send him away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Baradost country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them

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In treating the class made up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Calling to mind the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rowandus, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissable between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the distinction between Sunnite and Shiite in this class has been noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its members, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or behavior.

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[576]

invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rowanduz this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the qaimmaqam. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The qaimmaqam and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

565 574 [529] 565 573 574 [875]

Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

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tempt God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one official produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

although he often conceals the adulation of his heir and 593
acts, much more than any other person in the family, as
the disciplinarian. The son is required to stand in his
father's presence until bidden to seat himself and the [576]
latter's directions have the effect of absolute law. As
his heir, the son must seek his father's aid and consent
in financial matters and all affairs of importance, such
as a career or a marriage. The father, however, is not a
confidant until the son has married and passed well into
adulthood. The mother, in contrast, is the general
repository of her son's secrets and a friend and companion.
"If a son is in need of money, he sometimes goes to his
mother and obtains it from her secretly. If he smokes,
she furnishes him with cigarettes." It is through the
influence of the mother with her spouse that a youth attempts
to obtain his wishes from his father. If a young man de-
sired a new suit of clothes and had reason to believe his
father might demur, he carries his problem to his mother
who exerts her influence on his behalf. A man need not
exhibit deferential conduct toward his mother, as in the
case of the father. The relationship between father and
daughter is similar to that between the former and his son.
She must rise when her father enters the room and observe [576]
respectful behavior toward him. "She must never reply
harshly, and must always say 'yes,' rather than 'no.'"
If her reply is sharp, her father may beat her. If her
mother intervenes, both may be beaten." On the other
hand, in return for gracious conduct, such as bringing

him tea or water and a napkin to wash his hands, the father 593
often provides his daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As in the case of the son, the mother is the general confidant of the girl, keeping her secrets and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success.

The relationship between grandparents and grand- 603
children is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all kiss his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson bathes his grandfather and, in summer, carries him ot the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of [576] ●
such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Rowandus by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to its back, and then pressing the spot kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law.

The connections between an individual and his 604
uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal

uncle (mam) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (xal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (pilk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the diwanxana

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

346 [352] [353] [217] [778] [576] [291] [353] [793] [788]

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowandus were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic *aḏḏān*, after *adhan*, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowandus this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

Fig. 33. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sangsār.
Fig. 34. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Tepsawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of year—by felt mats, *kilāfē*, and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārš*, (E. 2257)[1] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knotted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *sufrat*, or *sīnī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the more wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *hayvān* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood unceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *kafrūšīn*, (LSD I. (E. 2271)). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferi
to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and ve
refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like t
latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the pa
of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani *chenga* of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are wa
In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[39]. In the villages the dri
is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kaw'lā*[40]
(L. 2264), about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dō*
can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to dra
away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can b
kept for the winter (seen at Bakhtē).

Her making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copp
coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. hig
(L. 2275)[41], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) elemen
which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *chay-khāna*, a tea house, wher
one could stop and be served with tea, *chay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apa
from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ende
being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[42], and in the evening constitute
both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged o
a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *Hakā*, (L. 2254) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around
her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the *jā*
shaped samōwar of pewter or brass[43] standing on low legs and filled with water. A large pair of pincers
is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse
or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samowar
interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samowar and it remains there until th
water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling wate
a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for th
innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an ascending sequence to those present. At the side of th
samowar waisted tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[44] lie i
a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said t
have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapo
and then filled up with boiling water from the top of the samowar, each glass being sweetened wit
granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with *loaf sugar* broken into piece
on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[45]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[47]. Th
tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be use
When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down o
the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The morning prayer with its two *rak'a* took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic features of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually[9], never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only pressure lamp in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin[9] of interrupting the worshipper.

Leach[10] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 97. Woman praying in the forest on a stone beside the water basin. Balkan.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

293 562 [184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban woman, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

The head veil of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night [554] in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Topzawa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[3]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village woman in Topzawa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women wore black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the now flooded ferry hamlet of Mirza Rustam all were black and in Sargalu bright red.

293 576 562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof at sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Serkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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293 562 *The yellow-ochre "bridal" veil* I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Topzawa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

574 considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for
554 the hospitable *Agha* (Leach op. cit., pp. 28—33).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from this ideal — it would be a very important man who went to the expence of keeping an «open house» in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *Agha* among the Hamawands will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all persons who would have a «right» to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common center of the village, to which *all* the important men repair, it has become in fact the center of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance attempts to utilize a certain room as «guesthouse», playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

574 No matter what time of day a visitor arrives, he should at least
576 be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to
564 this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies
272] between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a sitting. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige scale by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific titles to
276] one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

621 The persons assembling normally in «the smokefilled room»[1] are
554 the policy makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest ase discussed, the actions of the various members of the group coordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige is

[1] 104 of the Agha's guest house. — Analyst]

765 in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by pious ideals of moderation.

574 To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the tea comes out of the host's one samovar, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places conscious. In seating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

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RAIDING AND WARFARE

721 The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of
701 leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) This ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

indeed, an unfailing object of satire, and their shortcomings in this respect especially form the subject of endless humorous stories, of which the following may serve as specimens:

The Greedy Mollah.[1]

Once upon a time a Mollah and two uneducated persons were travelling together, when they came to a river. All undressed to swim across, the Mollah going first. As soon as they were in the water, the Mollah perceived four small jars, filled with butter, floating at a little distance. He reached the first and held it with his teeth, stretched out his right hand to seize another, and caught the third in his left, so that he succeeded in getting hold of three jars for himself. There remained but one, which was taken by his companions. But not content with three-fourths of the spoil, he called out to the others, "I swear by Allah that I will have my share in that jar too!"[2]

The Mollah taken at his Word.

They say that there was once in Kūrdistan a Mollah named Bazid, who greatly edified the Kūrds by his sermons and counsels. One day when he was preaching in the mosque, he said in his sermon, "O, Mussulman people, each of you who possesses two garments ought, for the love of Allah, to give one of them to the poor; each of you who has two loaves ought, if

[1] Jaba, *Recueil de Notices et Recits Kourdes*, p. 18.

[2] This story has given rise to the Kūrdish proverb, "He has seized three jars, and is not content, but would have the fourth."

[3] Jaba, *Recueil*, &c., p. 16.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

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he would walk in the path of God, to give one to the wretched."

The wife of the Mollah happened to be passing the mosque at that moment, and hearing the words of her husband, she turned back and went home. The Mollah had two changes of garments, the one which went to the wash, and the other which he wore. His wife gave to the poor the one in reserve, and at the same time distributed to them half the provision of bread. When the Mollah came home in the evening, he said to his wife, "My clothes are soiled, bring me the others that I may change."

"But I gave away to-day your spare suit," replied his wife, "and distributed to the poor half the bread we had in the house."

Then the Mollah was very angry, and he said to his wife, "Why didst thou give away my clothes and my bread?"

"Because to-day," she replied, "when you were preaching in the mosque you exhorted all to divide their superfluous goods with the poor in order to walk in the path of God, and so what we were not using I gave to the beggars."

At these words the Mollah waxed very wroth, and he exclaimed, "Woman, my exhortations were for the congregation and not for myself. If I preach thus to the people, it is that they may give *me* the surplus of their clothes and their bread. You should not think of giving away my spare clothes and my children's bread. I preach to men in my own interest, and thou —thou carriest out, at my expense, the counsel I give them."

of generosity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most sanguine of vendettas could follow. 622 628 584

The integrity of its women is perhaps the primary facet of a family's honor. If a Kurd insults anything other than the women of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honor of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious enunciation cannot be taken lightly. The honor of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this second regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus sent to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or 577 562 554 [684] [585] 684 562

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
<u>khushki mard</u>, "sister of husband," rather than <u>mardkhushk</u>. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the <u>mal</u> or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaqte prior to [836] [837]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grandfather prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

or guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574

The eldest brother occupies a position over his brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He shares to some extent in the parental authority and is responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger brothers their roxhana, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught [454] to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest brother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he takes their savings and purchases them something they desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all of his directions must be carried out by those junior to him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, the younger children are supposed to stand, although this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children [562] is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and the care of the younger children. In several families observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. 593 554 577
The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [584]

4: Hanaen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

539 [5M] 293 562

Sure 24, verses 30-31 [11] of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognised as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allāh* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allāh* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[12].

293 [192] 562 199

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Muhammed[13], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Sures of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a nun's habit. Unknown and unrecognisable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[14] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil ... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand ... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ...".

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Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 76). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu. "Many times in the city of Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not quartered in the serai, but occupies a similar, smaller building of its own a short distance up the road which serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. However, the actual direction of the police has its place in the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director, and his assistant, the mamur (Arabic, "official"), an officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there. These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the police. During the summer of 1951, the mamur's adjutant, also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the townspeople for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy, helping himself to refreshments and other small items at the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of the police in Rowanduz itself includes watching the market by day, providing guards for government buildings, transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the streets by night.

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Perhaps there are no more favored objects of investment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how small the amount involved, than precious metal or land. To all classes of society these two are tangible objects of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers are highly variable, but soil or gold are always of value.

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and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a chaykhana can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the chaykhanas, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The chaykhana, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the qaimaqam or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a diwankhana or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in chaykhanas will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (hatiw baz, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.) 265 554 [517] [574] [558] [701] [578] [838]

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 265
implement (tika). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

of ebony or some other wood inlaid with silver dots. The rosary may also be carried hanging loosely about the wrist.

The chieftains, and other townspeople of high station, carry pistols, almost always of the automatic type, in oilcloth holsters on the right or left hip, sometimes attached to the belt with a lanyard. The butt is often wrapped in a silk handkerchief, and this, together with the type of holster and the position in which it is worn, mitigates against the most efficient use, as in the case of the dagger. Bodyguards, as well as most of the populace, when fully armed, carry rifles and oilcloth bandoliers of ammunition, the latter hung crossed on the chest. The rifles are usually Iranian Army Mausers. British army weapons, such as the Webley revolver, are avoided because their possession is not easily explained to the authorities. It is difficult for Americans, in whose homes firearms are commonplace, to appreciate the apprehensiveness of government officers in an area of well-armed people such as this. In Egypt, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, as well as most of Iraq, the bulk of the agricultural population have comparatively few rifles among them and there is little threat of armed revolt in this quarter, save in the case of a few minority groups, such as the Druzes, who have maintained their integrity by precisely this means. The sale of arms and ammunition, except by almost impossible government formalities, is

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...will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation. 302 562

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent. 515 302 [505] [826] [578]

considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, 563
took service with the British, particularly in the infantry 571
levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in
crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled
in the Rowandus area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and,
while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a
certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance
with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations
of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [567]
the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as
are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582]
group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of
their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them.
One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or
German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim 837
woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent 548
danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad
press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553]
them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite,
and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing
outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771
commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578
"proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A
Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

K 771 578

but must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the curse in the name of religion, of which the full form is la'anatu Ilahi 'ala dinek, "the damnation of God on your faith," is an invitation to certain catastrophe.

Y 186 241

There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, the Yezidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Mandaeans of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yezidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslims and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druze women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups.

Y [142]

Y [582]

K 795 779 175

The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("Custom") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), and today includes, in one form, the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural population of southern Iraq. In central and northern

Iraq the Sunna is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
much the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis-
sension is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 795
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as 186
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds [302]
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
despise clitorectomy, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
Negroid, as Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a
gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Save on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such a situation

a situation. The tendency is for most persons to remain 595
monogamous, and the usual reason for taking a second mate
is the failure of the first to produce a male heir when, [842]
at the same time, the husband is loathe to divorce the
barren woman in question. Ra'uf Effendi was "thinking" of
marrying a second wife who could replace the son he had
lost, because the woman to whom he had been married for
many years had passed the stage of child-bearing. He has
not, however, carried out this intention yet. Sometimes a
wife herself will suggest suggest the second marriage. In
Rowanduz, in 1951, there were no men with a plurality of
brides. It was said that some of the chieftains in older
times had been able to maintain a number of wives in
separate establishments, but most of this seems to have
disappeared.

The preferred form of marriage is that between a 582
man and his father's brother's daughter. If the father
and the uncle live under the same roof, it can be seen that
such a match prevents the dowry from being paid into a
strange pal, and in marriages of this type the stipulated
sum of the dowry is often highly fictional. In Kurdistan
a man always has the first claim on his paternal uncle's
daughter, and his consent must first be obtained if she
is to marry someone else. A bitter feud can ensue if the [578]
parents of the maiden, in view of some advantageous alliance,
override this prerogative. If an idealized situation is
imagined in which the prescription that a man must marry

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the older males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and older brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

the Jaf confederacy of nomadic as well as sedentary tiras. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Hamawands, an independent tira of population ca. 1000-1500, which became sedentary some two or three generations ago.

The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defence and offence in war. Property rights to land and grazing area are held jointly by the tira as a whole; exclusive usufruct rights are vested in its localized segments, inhabiting compact villages with a population of 50 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have traditional rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as normal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degrees of kinship (on any one level of segmentation, "brothers" exclude "cousins" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1932, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in toto if a segment were attacked from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary charter when conflicts arose within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both within, where they led to fission, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

There is a clear contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the readiness with which the problems of fission and fusion are solved. A man's rights to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as hired farm help ("sapani") of degraded status. The territorial exclusiveness of lineage segments thus tends to be maintained to high degree, and there are no kinship mechanisms for developing "attached" lineages with local territorial and political rights.[7] The segmentary nature of the maximal lineage expresses itself directly in geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited nearly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map or clearly seen where one has a view of the valley bottom. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the tira as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. No religious or ritual

7 A permanent relationship may occasionally be established between a conquering lineage group and a conquered, non-tribal peasant population, who retain certain rights as serfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a caste barrier is set up, preventing intermarriage between the two groups. This relationship, observed on the northern margins of Hamawand territory, does not seem to be very stable.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

621 roaching review of their case in the Land Settlement Comission[1]), when claims and counter-claims would come to a head, it was impossible to obtain detailed census material.

The village in question was conquered some 40 years ago by a segment of the Rashawand Hamawands, and lies at present on the very edge of Hamawand territory. Villages to the north of it, formerly under Hamawand control, have lately torn themselves lose.

The total population is ca. 100 individuals; of them, 5—6 households are Hamawand, 15—20 households *Meskjin*, subjected tenants, and there are a few families of laborers. The Hamawand faction is led by an *Agha;* the *Meskjin* are led by the *kikha* (official headman of the village). The latter is descended from the former headman, and was elected by the majority of the villagers, so in the face of government approval, the Hamawands had to accept him. Between these factions there has been no intermarriage.

The conflict in this village is related to that in the neighboring village, to which, according to the *Meskjin* version, the Hamawands wish to extend their privileges. The balance of power between the two factions seems at present to be quite labile. The *Meskjin* have been gaining ground through a slowly rising standard of living whereby rifles and ammunition have become increasingly available to them, and through the growing mediating effects of external administration. To fully understand the present tensions, one rule of the Land Settlement Comission which is to review ownership claims shortly should be noted: Where conflicting claims are advanced, any party who has for the last 10 years regularly collected tax on the land is regarded as the de-facto owner. It is thus vital for the Hamawands to retain their power, and for the *Meskjin* to break that power, before the Land Settlement Comission arrives on the spot.

• 578 To this end, the factions are mobilizing all available mechanisms.

[1]) The Land Settlement Comission, established during the British mandatory period, is a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure. Coordinated with a comprehensive program of mapping, its object is systematically to cover all agricultural land, and definitively settle and register proprietory rights (cf. Dowson 1931).

Unless a certain sum of money is paid, all young male citizens of Iraq are liable to two years of military training and service. This is much resented by most villagers, and they attempt to avoid being called up. According to the *Meskjin*, the Hamawands have an arrangement with the police whereby they give the names of all *Meskjin* men in the two village who are liable for such service, in return for being left in peace themselves. Thus, it is said, the fighting strength of the *Meskjin* is constantly kept down.

The *Meskjin*, on the other hand, are accused of manipulating the religious brotherhood of Derwishes for political purpose, so as to organize all the *Meskjin* of the neighboring villages in a movement of resistance. To counteract this influence, the Hamawand *Agha* is at pains to expose the derwishes as fraudulent, and attempts to enhace the position of the local mullah, the recognized leader of the local mosque. — The final verdict, however, rests with the Land Settlement Comission, an institution the integrity of which few persons choose to question.

The rigidity of the Kurdish tribal system is here clearly illustrated, and might profitably be contrasted to that of the Nuer, as described by Evans-Pritchard (1940). The Nuer have, in spite of extensive conquests and various vicissitudes, retained a system of patrilineal *exo*gamous lineages as the basis of their political organization. These lineages however are *not* corporate localized groups, but are conceptually identified with certain areas, where they tend to form the organizing core of the local villages. Through a system of adoption of conquered Dinka tribesmen to specific lineages, and by reckoning descent through females, a larger community is built around this core, based on «sociological» kinship. Among the Kurds, on the other hand, the general practice of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy makes any initial *rapprochement* impossible between conqueror and conquered, and encourages caste separation. Furthermore, kinship through female links is given no political recognition. The principle of «sociological» kinship is unfamiliar and would be in conflict with Islamic doctrine — the kinship terminology describes actual, genealogical distance, and practices of adoption into lineages would be unacceptable. The only way two groups could fuse in the

probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth. 609

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil. 758

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred. 695 249

The independent judiciary functions through its court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Mudir (sub-district magistrate) and then before the Qa'im Maqam (district magistrate) before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil. 635 692

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Rowandus. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Kurds and Turks and is thus in general inclination Kurdo-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Iraqi-Arabs whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Kurd" can be taken for granted. 635 701 578

The liwa is divided into several districts (khasa) each presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Maqam). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the khasa of Rowandus. The Qa'im Maqam is responsible for his district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for his liwa. 635

The khasa in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Balik tribe all reside within the nahiya Balik - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Dergala on the other hand is administered from Rowandus.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the venality of these junior officials which is the worst feature of the system, and which is the real source of

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Where possible the driving water is obtained by diverting some main stream. This is done at Naupurdan, Rayat and Nerga and the operation of the mill then has no effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the cultivation on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some friction arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good kicking from the Agha for cutting the dyke during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hastily thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a near relative of the Agha. In Naupurdan it is the Agha himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the Agha. The terms are in effect that the owner of the wheat hires the mill at a fixed charge for each sack of corn ground. The man who owns the wheat himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The millowner merely obtains a rental for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with up-to-date apparatus in the towns, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the trouble involved in carrying the wheat to Rowandus and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In outlying districts at any rate then the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

Weaving

*The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the cloth loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "beater in" suspended from a rigid rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 10½ inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. Thus from specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trouserings of commoners, has Warp 19; Weft 22 threads

*The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not considered here since its social relevance seems insignificant.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 5

Warfare

Under present conditions large scale warlike activities on the part of the tribes are a complete impossibility, but that does not justify us in dismissing the topic of warfare altogether as being of no relevance to the present social situation. Historically speaking the traditional forms of Kurdish social organisation are associated with an ideology of raids and counter raids, war, pillage and feud. Earlier writers have undoubtedly greatly exaggerated the extent to which the average Kurd in former times did in fact devote himself to murder, violence and loot, but in describing this preoccupation they were, after all, only accepting the Kurd at his own valuation. The Kurdish ideal of manly behaviour does correspond very closely with the typical English concept of a "Brigand". His folk tales are gory in the extreme; his conversation hardly less so. And this has relevance to the existing situation. The Agha likes to think of himself as a military leader rather than as a landlord; he habitually classes all his neighbours into 'friends' and 'enemies'. The consequences of this attitude are highly subtle and cannot be examined here, but at least two divergent trends can be noted. On the one hand the sharp antagonism between neighbouring groups is even today a force of social cohesion; the members of the clan or the tribe are aware of their unity largely in terms of their common enmity to some other group. On the other hand increasing economic contacts and the constant harmonising efforts of the Police and the Administration, in so far as they are successful in lessening intergroup suspicion, do at the same time serve to lessen the social cohesion of the groups concerned.

While organised raiding or warfare is now impossible the private feud continues and may be examined further.

The Feud

The motif of the blood feud may be summarised by the phrase that "a man's wrongs must be avenged by his kinsfolk and his descendants", and we may note at once that a system of small patrilocal, nearly endogamous groups is peculiarly suited to perpetuate antagonisms of this kind. The individual's near kinfolk are also his near neighbours, and since his wife's kinsfolk are probably identical with his own he is bound by no ties of loyalty to any group outside his own village. Within the village all are bound together to resist the aggressor, beyond it everyone is a potential enemy, the identity of interest between the family and the village is complete.

Quarrels between villages may arise from a variety of causes, chiefly economic. Water and grazing rights are always ill-defined and may lead to serious friction in times of scarcity, and this may

578 lead to one side burning the other's crops or stealing their cattle.
628 Until bloodshed has occurred nothing is serious and a good clan Agha will
684 see to it that the parties submit to arbitration before the affair
681 reaches a crisis. More serious are affairs in which women are involved; an insult to honour can only be wiped out by death and the discovery of adultery can have only one possible sequel. Such cases however need not necessarily lead to feud; if the guilty lover belongs to the same village as the injured husband a single murder is considered to settle the matter. If the parties are from different groups however the affair is much more serious and several assassinations may take place before settlement can be reached. Eventually, provided it is the honour of commoners rather than of Aghas that is at stake, the Aghas concerned will arrange peace through the mediation of the tribal chiefs. According to Hay "a blood feud is usually settled by the payment of blood-money; every condition of man or woman has his or her price, and even the parts of the body are catalogued. A Kurmanji or middle class Kurdish farmer is valued at £90, one of his women at £45, and his leg or arm at say £20. Such payment is often made in kind, some cattle or a horse, or so much wheat being handed over to the aggrieved party. It is very common for a girl to be given away in marriage in payment of blood money. Thus if £90 were owing, the price of the blood of one man the debt might be paid by the delivery of one girl, three cows and a donkey". I have no comparable information, though I think the general principle is accurately described. In Hay's time the Government could seldom apprehend a murderer. He says "For the murdered man's relations to take their revenge is quite in order, but an execution at the hands of that monster, the Government, is an entirely different matter. The culprit therefore is carefully concealed until he can make good his escape to the hills". The position today is somewhat different and I fancy the murderer is usually caught. This however does not end the feud; blood feud murders are punishable only by two years imprisonment and the war starts again when the culprit gets free.

628 As has been explained the feuds of commoners and the less important Aghas are settled in the end by tribal arbitration. Moreover

* The Administration makes a distinction between feud murders
628 justified by tribal custom and ordinary murders which are not. The
684 former come under a special code for which the maximum penalty is two
178 years imprisonment; the latter come under the ordinary Iraq criminal code for which the penalty is much more severe (? death). This has had an interesting repercussion. In the old days by tribal custom an affair of honour was adequately settled if the man only was killed, the woman in the case being merely driven out of her own community to fend for herself. Today it is necessary for the avenging husband to prove to the Authorities that it is really an affair of honour and not just a cold blooded murder. The custom now therefore is to kill both the guilty parties.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

nowadays the Government takes an active interest in the proceedings and by threat of dire and awful penalties is usually able to settle the affair near the start. Much more serious is a feud in which important tribal leaders are involved; here settlement is extremely difficult and assassinations may apparently continue for generations. One such major feud splits the Rowandus district at the present time and has become so widespread that the contestants have assumed the scale and significance of political parties. Practically everyone I met seemed to be involved on one side or the other, some as active assassins, others, the majority, merely as intriguers. The term "my enemies" was clearly highly elastic; - as far as I could judge there was no particular distinction between mere political opponents and those one was prepared to assassinate. The allagiance of the more remote contestants is doubtless largely determined by kinship considerations, but *this is not always obvious*. A nephew of Hamid Amin of Dergala who had been shot in the back a year before was quite closely related to both of the principal contestant families; and there seemed to be no obvious reason why he should be campaigning on one side rather than the other.

Moreover 578 628 668

When this particular feud started is not clear, but it was already well established in 1918 and Hay mentions it a number of times; the most recent murder of the sequence occurred the day after I left Rowandus. The murderer had come out of prison three days before, having been gaoled two years previously on account of an earlier assassination. My records on the subject are certainly very incomplete but even so they show a considerable casualty record:-

Descendants and Relatives of Bawil Agha - 5 dead, 2 wounded, 2 in prison.

Descendants and Relatives of Abdulla Pasha - 4 dead.

Today the affair has become entangled with all sorts of wider issues - Kurdish Nationalism in particular. Accusations of being pro-British, or pro-Arab, or anti-Kurd were levelled at all and sundry, and in the limited time available I had no chance to unravel all the complex of personal antagonisms and rival interests involved. Iraqi-Kurdistan however is now a part of Iraq and it was highly interesting to see how in this new political situation the old antagonisms were being re-aligned to cope with wider issues on a more impersonal front.

Religious Organisation

Religion is not a subject that the investigator can gain much information on in his first preliminary survey, and my own studies in this field were particularly slender.

*Cf. the feud between the Husseinis and the Nahashibis in Palestine today.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

177 668 they did once, in 1942, invite the leading aghas to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmieh, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, attached to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jafarov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man [578] dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.[1] This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

[1] Kurdish dress consists of a tasseled turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy grey pants of homespun wool, and a huge crimson kammerband, intricately knotted in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians forced to abandon their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied invasion, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are incorrigible dandies and a poor man among them would rather spend his last coins on a fine sash than on a good *kabab*. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

291 186 556 578

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 642 The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Banei (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zero Beg Herki[1] received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.[2]

578 668 The new government, which controlled only a minute territory including the towns of Mahabad, Bokan, Naqadeh, and Ushnuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Senandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains west

177 622 624 645 [1] Zero Beg was a bandit chief originally associated with the famous Shikak rebel chief, Simitku. Upon the latter's defeat and murder by Reza Shah, Zero Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Barandust Valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have been their favored protégé. Although of little importance in his own tribe, the Herki, most of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, these Soviet connections enabled him to play an important role in developments in Kurdistan.

[2] Other officials of the new government were Hajji Baba Sheikh, local religious leader, Prime Minister; Sadiq Haideri, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Nasaf Karimi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Mu'ini, Minister of Commerce; Ahmad Ilahi, Minister of the Treasury; Seyyid Mohammad Tahazadeh, Minister of Health; and Khalil Khosrovi, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

177 of Lake Urmieh, from Rezaieh north to Maku, are Azerbaijani Turks, the tribes of the hills commanding the plains are Kurds. 578 The Miandoab area, southeast of the lake, also has a mixed population. These areas were claimed by both the Tabriz and the Mahabad governments and were a source of constant friction. Amr Khan and the tribes paid little attention to the Azerbaijani Democrats, and were continually encroaching on the villages and towns presumably under the control of Tabriz. In April 1946, the Soviets brought Qazi Mohammad to Tabriz in an attempt to settle the differences between the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds. It was essential at that time that the two puppet states form a united front, as negotiations were about to open between the Democrats and the Iranian Government for a permanent settlement of the status of the province.

668 The final result of talks between Pishevari, leader of the Azerbaijani Democrats, Qazi Mohammad, and the Soviets was a treaty signed April 23, 1946, by the Kurdish and the Azerbaijani representatives. Publication of this treaty caused consternation in Tehran, as its clauses and indeed its very existence showed that the twin Democrat regimes considered themselves independent nations with the right to exchange representatives and make treaties. The text of the treaty was as follows:

1. The two signatory governments will exchange representatives whenever it is deemed advisable.
2. In those areas of Azerbaijan where there are Kurdish minorities, Kurds will be appointed to government departments, and in those parts of Kurdistan where there are Azerbaijani minorities, Azerbaijanis will be appointed to government departments.
3. A joint economic commission will be formed to solve the economic problems of the signatory nations. Members of this commission will be appointed by the heads of the national governments.
4. The military forces of the signatory nations will assist each other whenever necessary.
5. Any negotiations with the Tehran Government will be conducted in the joint interest of the Azerbaijan and Kurdish national governments.
6. The Azerbaijan National Government will take the necessary steps to promote the use of the Kurdish language and the development of Kurdish culture among the Kurds of Azerbaijan, and the Kurdish National Government will take similar steps with regard to the Azerbaijanis living in Kurdistan.
7. Both signatory nations will take measures to punish any individual or

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

661
641 considered to be characteristic of the central Iranian Government.

OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBES

249 If the Soviets kept their overt interference to a minimum in
578 order to reconcile the tribes to the regime, they were certainly unsuccessful. In addition to historical, social, and religious reasons
668 for the tribes' opposition to the Soviet-supported government,
177 there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish tribesmen depended largely on their tobacco crop for their livelihood, and now that their market in the rest of Iran was cut off they suffered considerable hardship. In certain areas food supplies already strained had to be shared with the destitute Barzanis, who had long outworn their welcome.

This tribal discontent was at its strongest in the south where the deceased Qaranei Agha's son, Mam Aziz, chief of the Mamesh, along with his ally, Bayazid Agha of the Mangur, so openly opposed Qazi Mohammad that the Soviet vice-consul finally came down from Rezaieh and threatened to have the Barzanis sent against them. When Mam Aziz continued to resist, the Barzanis did indeed attack him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his tribesmen. From Rezaieh north, the tribes looked to the leadership of Amr Khan Shikak, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and for the time being was keeping aloof in Zindasht, his mountain capital southwest of Shahpur. The only tribes Qazi Mohammad could count on were the Gawrik of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Zerza, in the Ushnuieh region. Even Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis did not get on with Qazi Mohammad, who was no longer able to feed them.

668 Thus it was that Qazi Mohammad, in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitude of the Tehran Government, found himself almost without support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and matériel, in the fall of 1946 Qazi Mohammad was still without either heavy weapons or trained men, or indeed any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly obvious, Qazi sent frantic messages to the tribes, his only hope, say-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1889) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

548- Not being sure of the day of his wife's return home,
591 he had not been anxious at her non-arrival, but had been spending the evening with a party of friends. A question had arisen regarding his bravery; and, to vindicate it, he had accepted a wager to go alone at midnight to the Bas Khan, and leave there a token of his visit. He had been searching for a safe place in which to leave this token, unawed by the ghastly missiles hurled at him, as he supposed, by some banditti who had taken up their abode in the khan.

583 Mr. Rich, when travelling in Kurdistan, met a
562- girl of the Bulbassi tribe who had killed with a spear
579 a Turk who insulted her. This young Amazon was dressed like a man, and served the chief, Fezullah Effendi, as his faithful henchman, accompanying him on all his expeditions. The women of this tribe are particularly hardy and intrepid. They sometimes take to the road as brigands, and unlucky is the trader or traveller who falls into their hands. For not content with robbing him, they strip him, excite him to make proposals to them, and then punish him for so doing with every species of mild torture which their lively imaginations can suggest, such as pinching, scratching, and scourging with thorns.

542 In the domestic circle the women are treated as
593 equals by the men, who are most affectionate in their relations with their parents, sisters, and children, and in the character of husbands most considerate, kind, and forbearing. As an illustration of this latter trait, and at the same time of manners generally among the sedentary Kurds, I cannot do better than give the following charming story.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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The affair got wind, and it was everywhere reported that Sīdī of Bagīrō had found a treasure. The news finally reached the ears of the Pasha of Van, who sent for him and shut him up in the city prison, where he lay some time. He confessed the truth, and obtained his liberty only at the price of a quantity of gold, which he gave to the Pasha of Van. In short, Sīdī had to scatter his gold in all directions.

Sensible folks will, perhaps, doubt the truth of this story. It is, however, firmly believed in those districts, and often related, and, what is more, the descendants of Sīdī still live at Bagīrō in great prosperity. They have lands, mills, many a yoke of oxen and fine flocks, and they keep open house. One might say that it is a *tekkeh*,[1] for every one receives hospitality in this Armenian house; Moslems even are never repulsed, but welcomed with every mark of attention. From that time Sīdī became well known among the Kürds, who made great friends with him, and brought him presents of sheep. It sometimes happens that they are at feud with the inhabitants of Bagīrō, and commit robberies and depredations in that town, but they always spare the house of Sīdī, saying that it is as sacred as a *tekkeh*, and that not even an indifferent glance must enter it.

The following curious story has been preserved by the late Mr. Rich,[2] who took it down literally from the lips of the narrator, a tribesman of the Bohtān of Dersīmmans, without, as he says, adding to or

[1] Turkish monastery, where hospitality is generally exercised.
[2] Narrative, etc., vol. i. p. 190.

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or mendacity. This may be seen from one of the more recent examples: 114

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered worthy to live. My father once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very bashful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1] [181]

The sanguine reputation is not wholly without reason. In 579 ●
older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be 669 648
considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiye, the irregular 707 648
bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and spokesmen in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. 579 [618]
Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with outsiders, but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the

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[1] Bowman, 1913, p. 183.

second was the diversion of some of the chieftains at the expense of commercial travelers who, of course, had reason to complain of the tolls exacted from them. It is ridiculous, however, to suppose that the Kurds as a body are a race of murderers and thieves. 509

An investigation of Kurdish life, the first object of this study, has value, not simply because the people have so often been maligned, but for the reason that the ethnology of the Middle East, a field which has only recently begun to receive adequate attention must be built up from accurate, localized descriptions. If broader analyses of contemporary Islamic culture are to be undertaken, as well as historical studies, they demand a body of data which admits of verification, the work of observers whose motives are scientific, rather than the loose aggregation of anecdotes and generalizations one has to deal with at present. One may profitably study Kurdish life, because it has been almost untouched as far as primary observation is concerned and, as the culture of a non-Arab people whose language and background is Indo-European, an inquiry into the effect of Islam in modifying its formation would not be without regard. One may properly seek to present those elements which may be proven to be unique with the Kurds and those others which may be attributed to the influence of Islam and other peoples. It is convenient here to mention the recent monograph of E. R. Leach, Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds, which, with the exception of some studies made many years 121 114

conduct of lesser officials but also of the populace as a whole, he tends to keep in close informal touch with both of these. Similarly, he is the step in authority between a mudir of his qadha and the mutasarrif of Erbil and reports, taxes, recruits, and prisoners must pass through his hands. The same relationship described between mudir and qaimmaqam obtains between the latter and the mutasarrif, because the qaimmaqam must refer his own reports and problems to higher authority. Lastly, it has been intimated above that the qaimmaqam is referred to as an appeal for all sorts of requests. In the Arab Middle East the private citizen has two customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is usual in most European governments, or at the "top." If, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the submission of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through chief clerk, mudir, and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, accumulating documents on its way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, often a perogative of higher social rank, the direct application to the highest available authority, is, of course, the more effective because it bears the signature of authorization at the outset. It follows that the qaimmaqam is constantly beset by those, either in their own interest or in that of some "client," wishing to bypass the normal paths of transmittal.

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Throughout their history the Kurds have suffered a

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distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qadha is charged to the qaimmaqam.

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Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

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The town of Rowanduz, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowanduz, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabe (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

dangerous if it reaches the point of knives. The blow 579 ●
with the closed fist is unknown in Rowanduz, and one
strikes with the open palm or wrestles. Sticks or [411]
khunjirs are the next favored weapons in such an exchange,
and it is considered shameful for a man to bite or scratch
like a woman. As in other Islamic communities, quarrels,
sometimes quite serious, are much more common during the
fast of Ramadan. Four violent exchanges were observed
between women on one day during Ramadan. However, there had [682]
been in 1951 no homicides in the town for a period of three
years. Criminals of a higher order are at present unknown. [674]
The last of them, Nuri Bawil Agha, who dabbled in brigandage,
smuggling, and blackmail, now suffers life imprisonment for [682]
the murder of Isma'il Beg. Nuri is said to have often
arranged the theft of goods from merchants, and then to
have sold them back to the owners for appropriate sums.

The office of the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, in Rowanduz 622
is peculiar, for it does not seem to have an incisive
everyday definition. It is not elective, and a mukhtar
is selected by the government with the more or less tacit
consent of his fellows. His work, such as it is, con-
sists in acting in liaison between the people and the
rais baladiya (at present, the qaimmaqam) and, to a certain
extent, being a guarantee for their good conduct. He is
without police authority, but acts to mitigate minor
quarrels between townspeople, and, with the force of
public opinion, as some power to command. He stands be-
tween the people and the government, presenting the

Iraq, and that which is European. It need not be thought 291
that the Kurdish element is something wholly unique, for [178]
there is an abundance of evidence, for example, almost any
Persian miniature painting, to indicate that colourful dyes,
if not the styles themselves, had a greater province in
centuries gone by than are in evidence today, a change
bound up in the impoverishment of the area and coupled
with the impact of European civilization.

Turning first to the Kurdish townsman of Rowandus,
dressed in native clothing, the basic undergarment is a
pair of baggy, white cotton drawers, bound at the waist
by a draw-string, which fall a few inches below the knees.
A cotton undershirt may or may not be worn, and the next
mandatory item is a white cotton shirt without a collar,
closed at the neck by a series of round cloth buttons.
The salient characteristic of this shirt is its sleeve which
extends almost a foot beyond the wrist and is split to the
elbow. When a jacket is worn, this long end is turned
back and tied around the forearm, just below the elbow.
For washing, or for fighting, the two ends are tied to- [515]
gether behind the neck, drawing up the sleeves of both [579]
shirt and jacket above the elbows. A sleeveless vest,
of European style and fastened with a number of buttons,
is often worn over the shirt. Its fabric is either
identical with the jacket or of striped cotton, but it
is not exposed to view in outdoor attire.

The outer garments consist of trousers and jacket,

town, and have a certain amount of influence on its social life. An interesting phenomenon is to be observed here, for the officials and officers, who are far more European in certain respects than the Kurdish populace, are more illiberal in their concept of women, particularly in a rural setting in which gossip enjoys considerable power. Masculine friends of a Kurdish home might meet its mistress socially, but in Rowanduz the best friend of an official, no matter what his derivation or status, can visit a house regularly for a matter of years and never catch sight of the wife in question. Whenever these women appear on the streets they are closely veiled in black from head to toe, and are never seen uncovered by any save their husbands and other women. The young medical officer, trained in Lebanon and otherwise thoroughly cosmopolitan, was peculiarly adamant on this point. It must be noticed that under their veils these wives wear garments which are no different from those of their sisters in Europe or America. It is interesting to see one of them walking, shrouded completely in shapeless black, and in the ten or twelve inches between veil and ground to observe nylon stockings and fashionable high-heeled sandals.

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Many women go barefoot in their homes, and their footwear includes European models, some simple slippers, and the kabkabs. These last are smooth wooden clogs, raised slightly at the heels, with leather straps for the toes, and, after hair-pulling, are the favored weapons in a feminine brawl. Women of the villages or poorer families

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[411] [579]

government personnel. It would be easy for an outsider to romanticize this situation, and this could not be far from wrong, for the Kurds do the same themselves. The chieftain is the summation of a peasant's ideals, a formidable warrior, unremitting in vengeance, generous in hospitality, and gallant in conduct. An aristocratic youth is educated to play this part. It would be difficult to find many peoples among whom the hero, so defined, has so extensive a daily role and so general and attentive an audience. A number of persons in the Rowanduz area, queried on this point, were unable to name more than one or two chieftains of the aristocratic group, perhaps two or three hundred men in all, who had not been imprisoned or exiled by the government at least once.

Safeguard, as in the case of revenge, is a matter of aristocratic honor. Formerly, anyone who wished to pass through a chieftain's territory was expected to put himself under the latter's protection, because, failing this, he became more or less fair game for bandits or, indeed, the chieftain himself. In past decades brigandage, like assassination, was something of a sport, and holding up a caravan was considered an amusing, as well as lucrative, occupation for the aristocracy. The luckless merchant could only apply to the chieftain for his goods which, in consideration of a fee, were "recovered" and returned to him. The easiest technique, of course, was to obtain right to passage at first, at the expense of a few gifts, and a number of the chieftain's men would be delegated as guards.

For the Kurds themselves, safeguard had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a vendetta, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own. 484 579 629

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Kurds. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the <u>badalkhwin</u> or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, so they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter 696 628 622 [583] 628 584 622 [684]

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Rowanduz

Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, Salawat, salawat 'ala al-Nabi, "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard. 785 796 [203] [533]

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open during the day. A number of persons make no pretence of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fact in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better terms, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary relationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demands of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters" [579]

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Nawruz, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 159 792 [767]

Sayyid Hosani, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hosani was not directly concerned in the feud between Nuri Hawil Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hosani for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hosani was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop, 159 [628] [669] [205] [579] [651] 159 463

The most productive comparisons would be with the Turks or the Persians, but, unfortunately, no such monographs are as yet available. To utilize the scanty and widely scattered materials on Turkish or Persian life would be at best haphazard. This study of Rowandux, with certain exceptions, stands by itself, in the belief that it will afford accurate data for the comparative treatments of the future.

Something of the content of Kurdish life, as observed in Rowandux, has been presented. It has been seen that the town dominates, partly in an administrative and partly in a commercial way, a large agricultural district. The bulk of the townspeople are merchants, craftsmen, and servants who depend for their livelihood on commerce with the villagers and the patronage of government personnel. The basis of the town's importance is both economic and political. Life within the household, the structure of society, and religion have been treated. What is perhaps of great importance is the ample demonstration that the Kurds are not savages devoid of culture, that they are not all "robbers" and need not "kill six or seven men" in order to be respected. With the exception of revolts and blood feuds, the district is relatively peaceful and normally one is rarely in danger of molestation. The old brigandage, carried on largely by the chieftains as a lucrative diversion, was directed against commercial travelers who could protect themselves from it by the simple expedient of making "gifts" in advance. A district population of some fifty thousand

could scarcely support itself by robbery alone. It is interesting that the Arab Bedouins, among whom the vendetta and brigandage are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Bedouin, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticized rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of Medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been moulded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is ample testimony to the character of Islam and to the force of its protagonists in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 596
the patrilineage, expressed in the mal or "house," strongly
overrode the lateral calculation of relations to extend or
broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rowandus was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
First World War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popul-
ation had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 621
villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arbitrarily, 602
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriages characteristically
cause divergence in forming new family or mal-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Rowandus, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1.	Bab pir	("Old Father")	Grandfather
2.	Dê pir	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3.	Bab	("Father")	Father
4.	Dê	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[6]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[7]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni mentioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Eagle[8] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding[9] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

[B45] B34 581

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[10]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adile of Halabja[11] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzade family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the qa'im maqam in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussein Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, a spy also, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

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Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married women at the garden basin, Sarkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married women making cigarettes, Sarkan. (See p. 10).

562 [B45] B34 581 175 562 565 142

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and love of the Oriental marriage—also the Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the shekh's wife at Tapawra.

Parturition takes place in a sitting posture. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor between-legs. Over this is laid a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour rests herself. An assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Sarkan there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's home at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife, thus the first to be trained in Sulaimaniyah. At the time I was there this woman was about 30 years of age.

Births take place in one of the rooms of the house. I was told that the father can be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The Arab doctor at the Dokan Dam Site told me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynecologist at the hospital at Sulaimaniyah told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her internal functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimaniyah (a most unusual situation). Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynecologist.

In another case a woman in Sarkan contracted milk fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimaniyah. The child, which was a few days old, could not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, naked, is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that acts as a nappy and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches to the shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.50 m. x 1.50 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are bent up around the feet. The two upper

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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the deed is drawn up at the judge's residence and not in a mosque, which is a place of prayer and not (like Christian churches) a form of registration office. The same view is to be found in Blackman[58], who says that among Muslims no religious ceremony takes place—marriage is not a sacrament. Levy also states that "in Islam marriage is a secular contract and not a religious rite"[59]. This is not in accord with Kurdish conditions. That the drawing up of a marriage settlement here seems to be governed by religious precepts seems to be indicated by, for example, the presence of the *mulla*. According to Jayakar[60] matrimonial law and the rights of inheritance are generally considered more or less connected with religion, and within the dual legal system, spiritual and temporal, matrimonial and family rights fall to the spiritual judge. Islam is more than a religion, it is a whole system comprising all aspects of human life[61]. It would be highly remarkable if the drawing up of the marriage settlement should be a temporal act in view of the fact that the justification for the paying of a bride price is found in the Coran[62]. Rather can it be said that the drawing up of a marriage settlement within the *shafi'i* rite of Islām, which the Kurds follow, is an act connected with religion. What on the other hand is distinct from the drawing up of the marriage settlement is the consummation of the marriage, which failing a better expression, what can be termed "the wedding". It has nothing to do either with the secular or spiritual authorities, being a purely private affair that sooner or later, often years after the drawing up of the marriage settlement, takes place in the form of a family festival with friends. This occasion, as opposed to the drawing up of the marriage settlement, can be said to be a secular, and particularly a quite private, action.

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584 369

The social intercourse of engaged couples in the event of prospective spouses knowing each other.

In the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani I met one example of a couple who knew each other before marriage and had themselves chosen each other. This, of course, is the exception and was due entirely to their milieu.

The girl in the case was the 23 year old sister of my interpreter. Both she and the young man in question were primary schoolteachers who had met as colleagues and fallen in love. When the young man realized his interest in the girl he had applied to my interpreter, also a schoolteacher, as his family lived outside in one of the village areas from which no woman, mother or sister, was able to act as go-between. He told her that "he would like to be admitted to her family", and asked if she would act as his advocate and place the matter before her father. This had been done and the marriage settlement had been drawn up a year before my stay in Kurdistan. The wedding festival was imminent and took place whilst I lived with the family. In the months prior to the wedding I was able to study the pattern of behaviour applying to former colleagues now engaged, and the position of the prospective groom in the family he was to enter.

By the marriage settlement the young man became a member of the family to such an extent that he could, with her 13 year old half-brother, to accompany my interpreter to the village of Topzawa where she was to live with me in the sheikh's house. The night he spent there in order to act as an important escort and to investigate whether conditions there were sufficiently re-assuring, he was able to sleep in the same room as her half-brother and herself. My interpreter explained that she might

• 58 [59] In the case of a marriage between non-relatives, where no direct exchange of women is arranged, the bridoprice is quite high, running from £ 30 to 100 — and these prices are in fact paid. This is considered to correspond to the actual economic value of a woman, as no obligation — e. g. a return marriage in the next generation — remains. Because of the size of the sum involved, it is often vital for the young man to avoid full payment, and the high incidence of cousin marriage, as well as of sister exchange, may be seen partly as a result of this.

It is on the other hand more difficult to explain how the father can be willing to forego his right to a bridoprice in the case of a nephew. His household is quite separate from that of his brother and nephew, and non-payment of bridoprice constitutes a direct net loss. The origin of the rule might conceivably be sought in a now passed patrilineal extended family organization, where transfer of property between brothers would be meaningless. Today, the pattern is an established privilege of certain categories of relatives, enforced by those who profit from it. And the right is indeed enforced, as [illegible] by the appearance of the father-in-law and by the not infrequent murder of girls refusing their cousins (e. g. Hay, 1921 p. 71). Stories of such conflicts are very popular among Kurds, and the occasional forceful reminders serve to assure the privilege.

Probably the most fundamental consideration inducing a man to give his daughter to a brother's son has the character of a positive sanction, and is connected with the feud, and political power in general. In essence, it may be summarized as follows: A man's power is proportional to the number of riflemen he can mobilize to support his case. Especially in the feud situation, these alignments of younger men around an older leader are in lineage terms. If a man has alienated his nephews by denying them their traditional rights, he will have great difficulties rallying them in time of need. A marriage between his daughter and a brother's son contributes positively to prevent such alienation of collateral branches. No other son-in-law can fill this function, since a man is not regarded as responsible for his affinals *qua* affinals. The only persons who can be expected to give such political support are co-lineage males. — After a descrip-

tion of the Kurdish lineage organization we shall return to a more 581
complete discussion of these interrelations (pp. 49 ff).

Plural wives are rather uncommon in the villages, though they are 587
thought to be a quite desirable investment for the man who can [594]
afford it. The average incidence for 94 men in 4 villages runs c. 4 %.
The levirate is not infrequently practised, but more as a convenience
than as an established rule or right. Unless the widow has a well
established father or brother, she tends to remain in the house of
her late husband under the protection of her brother-in-law, in
which case he might as well have some return for his expenses. Strict
observance of the Islamic rule of unlawful conjunction however
prevents him from doing this if his first wife is a close relative of
the widow (and where cousin marriage is common, this will be a
fairly frequent limitation). The sororate is not known as a marriage
position.

A patrilineal system of rights and privileges organizes the house- 573
hold group. Following Moslem ideals, the adult male has complete
control, and can make any decisions he sees fit. This Islamic rule
seems slightly to exceed Kurdish popular feeling on the matter. It
is very difficult to obtain any impression of the internal workings of
a Moslem family, but one has the feeling that Kurdish women have
considerable influence in the close family circle. Occasionally this
even carries outside the kinship group, as a woman may come to
occupy a high political position. Similarly, the father's absolute
authority is strongly questioned by the sons, as indicated by the
frequency of maternal avoidance. There are almost irresistible tensions
concerned with the setting up of an independent household for a
married son — the father tends to resist this reduction of his power,
and for the son it takes on the color of breaking free and becoming
fully adult. However, with moral sanctions and de-facto power
supporting him, the father certainly occupies the central position as
authority and organizer of the group.

In the case of a widow with one or several sons, the household is
named after the major son, and the actual position of authority

expecting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 100, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, sons, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently as a maximum scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 10, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group tends to split up into separate lineages, which constitute separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the tire tmill, usually identified with separate *khels*. But since the *khel* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *khel* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *khel*, to which a more or less variable group of [illegible] are connected by economic ties.

These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of the *Rais*. The position as *Rais* is inherited, and the family of the *Rais* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble class or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the wealthy lineage segments of other tires. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Rais* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous as far as the *Rais* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Rais* and wealthy lineage segments among the commoners within the tire tmill. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Rais* within the tire tmill, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To rely a distinction between noblemen and commoners within the tire would thus be an error, since the separa-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1955 9A11 Kurd 9A11

ocess of the *Ratt* lineage follows from common marriage usage, and is no different in nature from the supervision of the wealthier as compared to the poorer lineage sections of the group.

The hereditary position as *Ratt* is simply vested in the leading lineage segment of the *tira*. An interesting problem arises as to what adjustments are made in the event of decline in wealth or the appearance of other impediments to leadership in this lineage. It is customary for persons in a position of leadership to appoint their successor, usually a son, while they are still in a position of control. In the case of disagreement between the existing *Ratt* and the general population as to who should succeed him, the pattern of succession is probably decided by the line in the balance between the positive power (primarily economic) of the *Ratt*, and the degree of general resentment to his decision. Where the power and prestige of the *Ratt* has declined, leadership might thus fairly easily be shifted to a stronger and wealthier collateral line. (Compare p. 124 for a more usually democratic mechanism of appointing successor to the *Ratt*.)

[illegible] vested in the *Ratt*. It would seem to be rather dependent on his means and personality, but, these permitting, to afford him considerable possibilities to enforce his decisions. He is on the other hand regarded as being subject to the *Beys* in all matters, and directly responsible to them.

The *Bey* leaders of the *Jaf* are sometimes represented to belonging to a *tira* of their own, the *Beyzade*; more correctly the *Beyzade* is regarded as a family or *hoz*, divided into the three branches Welled Begi, Kikhurwa Begi, and Baluwa Begi. The political head may be drawn from any of these. The Kikhurwa Begi and Baluwa Begi of today are descended by 7 generations from the common ancestor *Zaher* Beg. The Welled Begi are somewhat further removed. All the *Beyzade* are now settled and live as absentee landowners of numerous *Jaf* and other villages. It is thus extremely difficult to form any picture of the true position of the leaders in the political organization of the nomadic *Jaf*. Some 60 years ago, authority was divided between the two Beyzade brothers Osman and Mahmud Pasha, the latter being the leader of the nomadic section. Mahmud Pasha was

he also exercises certain rights in his relations with the landowner — 622
he can e. g. exclude any newcomer from village membership.

Among the various villages in an area, or those belonging to one landowner, there is no attempt at coordination. My host owned among others, the three neighboring villages Hazar Mard, Deconi and D'urbare in the Sulaimani valley. These villages share, for historical reasons, the usufruct rights to the surrounding area. Rather than making any attempt at concerted action in matters concerning them all, e. g. by meetings of the village headmen, there exists considerable enmity between the three villages. A marriage between the son of 531
the *Akkha* of Deconi and the daughter of the leading family of Hazar Mard does not seem to have had any «political» results, and was probably manipulated to enhance the prestige of the *Akkha* and his son in their own village.

GENERAL FEATURES OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The application of these formal political organizations, both of 554
the lineage and feudal types, is modified by one basic principle, namely, the universal application of [illegible] ting lack of conceptualization of «the office», as apart from the total person occupying it at any one moment. An example might illustrate the point: Upon my arrival in the village of Deconi, a small group of workmen were engaged in laying a brick floor in the local house of my host, the landowner. In their social classification of me, the only criterion available to them was the fact of my being his guest; so I enjoyed a reflection of his high status position, and consequently found myself in a relation of super-ordination with respect to the workmen. They found it necessary to interrupt their work snatched to perform personal services for me, e. g. serving me my tea, etc. The workmen, brought to the village for the sole purpose of laying the brick floor, had no feeling that theirs was only a part-role in the situation, where they were expected to perform a specific service and no more. The status of bricklayers is clearly inferior to that of friend-of-the-landowner; the fact that their contract was by virtue of their office as bricklayers did not release them from universal sub-ordination to the occupier of higher status. Wherever a

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter III.

A. Kinship composition and organization of local groups.
B. The blood feud.

KINSHIP COMPOSITION AND ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GROUPS

The important dichotomy between tribal and non-tribal villages has been touched upon previously, and the actual differences in the formal political organization have been outlined. The following table (No. 3) attempts to illustrate co-variation between the type of formal political organization and the frequency of certain marriage patterns, resulting in a contrast in the kinship composition of local groups. In the limited period of fieldwork, and due to local difficulties in connection with land tenure and military training, it was not feasible to collect extensive census materials; and the table should serve as an illustration of a point, the validity of which was checked more extensively by less exact means, and does not pretend in itself to be statistically conclusive. 621 581

A further comment should be made to justify the separation of tribal vs. non-tribal frequencies in the ex-tribals village of Koni Sard. The non-tribal category is made up of recent immigrant families, largely born or even married in other villages, and does not truly belong in the table as representative of Koni Sard.

The generalization that seems to hold for all the villages which were investigated would be: A contrast exists between the frequency

of cousin marriage in tribal as compared to non-tribal villages, high frequencies of cousin marriage being associated with a *tribal* political system, that is, with the lineage type organization. General village endogamy, on the other hand, remains high in the non-tribal villages, marriages exogamous with respect to the village having similar low frequencies in both groups.

Table III.
Illustration of the correlation between political organization and frequency of marriage with relatives

NAME OF VILLAGE:	own village:					foreign village:	total
	[illegible]	[illegible]	parents	other relatives	non-relatives		
NON-TRIBAL:							
Djabana	6	1	1	9	19	10	46
	village endogamy: 79 %						
	family endogamy: 17 %						
	cousin marriage: 17 %						
TRIBAL:							
Tangik (Hasanwand)	3	1	—	2	1		
Kani Sard "	4	—	2	1	1	3	21
	village endogamy: 80 %						
	family endogamy: 71 %						
	cousin marriage: 57 %						
Kani Sard (non-tribal)	—	—	1	—	—	6	7

As a result of these contrasting frequencies of marriage types, the kinship composition of the two types of villages show important differences. The tribal village constitutes one close-knit kinship group, or is made up of distinct endogamous lineage segments of a larger lineage group. The non-tribal village, on the other hand, presents a less organized picture in terms of biological relationships: though predominantly endogamous, it is internally essentially unstructured above the household level. The non-tribal village might

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

thus be considered an example of Murdock's *demo* type of community, that is, an endogamous, but unstructured localized kin group (Murdock 1949, p. 63). 621 571 •

Some of the interrelations between marriage patterns, kinship composition of local groups, and type of political organization are fairly clear. In the tribal political system, patrilineal descent is of considerable importance. Membership in the political unit itself depends on patrilineal descent and one gains prestige from belonging to particular segments of the larger lineage. As compared to the non-tribal village, the whole status system is considerably more elaborated, as one would expect in a traditional system. Since marriage, both according to Islamic law and general Kurdish values should be between equals, and since each lineage segment wishes to preserve its own status position (and may in fact tend to over-rate it), neither sex is willing to marry *down* in the social scale, and near-kin marriage is the reasonable solution. Most clear is the status equivalence of children of brothers, and FaBrDa becomes the preferred spouse. [61]

This emphasis on equivalence is however only one factor inducive to a pattern of FaBrDa marriage. Perhaps more important is its political significance, briefly indicated previously.

A comparison of the tribal and non-tribal patterns may clarify this point. In the tribal system, power relations on the village level are more amenable to manipulation than in the non-tribal system, where most power is vested in the absentee landowner. At the same time, these power relations in the tribal village are defined in lineage and kinship terms. A man can only expect political support from his immediate agnatic relatives — those who by descent belong to his political sub-section — primarily brothers, sons, and brothers' sons, the relations to the latter being most critical. Political obligations can be reinforced in this group by giving them a daughter in marriage; conversely, the group would be alienated by being refused that daughter. The man who marries his daughter out of the lineage segment and takes a high bride-price for her thereby converts her into an economic asset, but also isolates himself from his agnatic relatives, his potential political supporters. He can then expect no support in a situation where actual *power* is important, such as in

factional disputes or feud, and his initial economic advantage gained from the daughter's marriage is thus abrogated. FaBrDa marriage thus reinforces the political implications of the lineage system. These relations might be summarized as follows:

TRIBAL:

power relations subject to manipulation	+	political units defined by agnatic kinship.	=	political emphasis to marriage — high freq. of FaBrDa marriage.

In the non-tribal village, on the other hand, the power relations are given to greater extent, in the sense that they are outside the control of most villagers. Furthermore, they are based on economic considerations more than on kinship. The political units are similarly not lineage segments, but defined purely in regional and residential terms. As a result, marriages are manipulated more for economic ends, wealth being the main criterion of village standing. In marrying off a daughter, a man therefore attempts either to take a high brideprice, or to create a link of kinship with an other family in the residential unit. Thus, in a circular way, FaBrDa marriage decreases and the importance of affinals in the endogamous community increases. This can be seen in the bilateral character of the kinship blocks that form the factions in a tenant village, as contrasted to the patrilineal lineage segments of the tribal village. For comparison with the tribal system, these relations might be summarized as follows:

NONTRIBAL:

power relations more given, economic in origin	+	political units geographically defined	=	economic emphasis to marriage — lower freq. of FaBrDa marriage.

62 / The unity of the local group in the tribal system springs from an unquestioned solidarity; the leader of such a group has few if any coercive means at his disposal. His powers are of the patriarchal, informal, kinship-modeled type, and generally derive from the fact of kinship. This in conjunction with the marriage pattern tends to produce a rather small local group in the settled tribal areas. Lineage

can trace patrilineal descent from Ali unless the *whole tira* claims such descent. None of the South Kurdish *tiras* attempt this, however. *Sheikhs* are consequently characteristic of the non-tribal areas, where they occupy the whole gamut of social positions from landless laborer to feudal lord.

In characteristic Kurdish fashion, *Sheikh* families tend to split up into small endogamous lineage segments, and, though the census materials gathered from a few villages is not statistically reliable in the matter, there is strong suggestion that FaBrDa or other close kin marriage reaches considerably higher frequency than usual in tenant villages, and approaches that found in the politically organized lineages, the *tiras*. However, any embracive *organization* uniting the whole *Sheikh* descent group, or major segments of it, such as would in fact convert it into a type of widely dispersed *tira*, is lacking. It would on the other hand be equally misleading to think of the *Sheikh* group as an endogamous caste, since extra-group marriages do in fact take place, and the emphasis is not on *Sheikh* endogamy but, in usual Kurdish fashion, on *local lineage* endogamy. It is convenient to think more in terms of these local endogamous *Sheikh* lineages, where they are found in the village community, and relate their comparatively higher endogamy to an effort to retain a special status in the *local* community by not dispersing kinship obligations too *widely* in that community. Where *Sheikh* families occupy higher social positions, this stress on lineage endogamy tends to disappear, or seems to reflect efforts to prevent the dispersal of family property through the multiple Koranic inheritance rights.

An example of a *Sheikh* lineage group of tenant farmers, residing in a small village community, might be given. Of 33 households in the village, *7 are* of the *Sheikh* lineage, the *remaining* 26 belonging to various larger and smaller kin groups. Of the heads of *these 7* *Sheikh* households, 4 have married a FaBrDa, 2 another close relative, and only 1 a non-relative from outside the community (the *sister of* a neighboring headman). At least in this generation, there is thus no intermarriage with other families in the local community.

The head of the *Sheikh* lineage is regarded as the most important man in the village, but he is not elected *kikhe* (village headman).

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

The present *Akke*, whose father and grandfather held the post before him, belongs to another, slightly larger kin block, counting at least 9 households. Furthermore, the frequency of family endogamy in this family of which the *Akke* is the head is less than 10 %, which may account for his «wider appeal» in the community. Thus the emphasis on the special status of the *Sheikh* lineage also tends to isolate this lineage, in part to their disadvantage.

The majority of the *Sheikhs* in the village are tenant farmers, and tend to be among the better situated. One occupies the position as mullah, to which his son will clearly succeed him. However, one of the *Sheikh* household heads is a landless labourer, giving a class distribution in the *Sheikh* lineage of 5 farmers / 1 labourer, as compared to 18 farmers / 4 labourers in the remainder of the community. The class position of the *Sheikh* lineage as a whole is thus not significantly high.

The status of this small *Sheikh* lineage might be contrasted to that of the above mentioned Leaders of Derwish, or to that of Sheikh Mahmud, both of whom have achieved their high position in part by virtue of their descent from the Prophet. The most reasonable generalization seems to be that membership in the *Sheikh* descent group defines a type of position in the religious field which contributes to the general esteem in which a person is held, and which may, in certain situations, contribute to justify a high position of actual power, but which in no way automatically ascribes such power to the individual.

A category of travelling holy men, similarly claiming descent from Mohammed, are given the Arabic name *Seyyid* by Kurdish villagers. Whereas the Kurdish *Sheikhs* claim descent specifically from Hussein, one of Mohammed's two grandsons, through a medieval Persian theologian, the claims of the wandering *Seyyids* are more variable. On the other hand, this reference to religious sanctity forms the basis of their livelihood. The spellation *Sheikh* need only imply high rating on a purely religious scale of sanctity — *Seyyids* convert this into a definite status position, fundamental to their occupation. Preferably conspicuously clothed, and wearing green head-dress as a symbol of their status, they ride from village to village carrying old

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter VIII.

Conclusion

The types of Kurdish social organization described above seem, even apart from their local cultural dress, somewhat different from those usually reported by anthropologists. Especially the combination in the «tribal» organization of a lineage system, close family endogamy, and a kinship terminology without unilineal emphasis poses some interesting problems.

It has been suggested (e. g. Murdock 1949, p. 234) that this Kurdish situation reflects the breakdown of a previous organization based on exogamous sib groups, following the introduction of Islam, with the Koranic permission, or even encouragement, to marry close kin. Clearly, this explanation is not sufficient, considering how fundamental the pattern seems in the Kurdish tribal organization, and the unusually high incidence of FaBrDa marriage as compared to other Muslim communities.

As far as the historical and comparative material goes, there is little reason to believe that the tendency towards close family endogamy is an Islamic innovation in the area. In appraising the historical material, it is important, as Lutbetak (1951) emphasizes, to distinguish between (a) classical centers of endogamy with examples of brother-sister marriage in royal lineages (Egypt, Sumer, Elam, Arabia, Persia), connected with a tremendous elaboration and emphasis on hereditary prestige, and (b) areas where close family endogamy was a basic feature of the social organization, and operated

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

on a village level. Eliminating the cases of type (a), there is still ample evidence of endogamous patterns of non-Islamic or pre-Islamic origin, especially in the Caucasus-Armenian area, of which the Kurdish mountains are geographically an extension. The customary law of Daghestan prescribes close kin marriage, and explicitly forbids the marriage with an outsider (ibid). The early ecclesiastical laws of Armenia attack next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence (ibid, p. 54), and such practices caused great concern among the early Christian missionaries, till they were eventually rooted out. Thus, rather than regard the Kurdish combination of patterns as a labile state produced by cross-cultural mixture, it would seem reasonable to grant the Kurdish «tribal» organization considerable antiquity as a stable variant or *type* of lineage organization, of some theoretical interest.

On a structural level, it can be argued that a pattern of FaBrDa marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system. Solidarity to the patrilineal descent group in abstracto is minimal. Close family endogamy results in a direct correspondence between lineage segments and local groups, giving the descent groups a clear territorial framework in which the lineage organization can function. On the individual level, a man's political position and power depends in the last instance on the number of riflemen he can muster. However, only co-lineage males can be expected to give such political support. A pattern of FaBrDa marriage contributes to prevent alienation of immediate collateral lines, and re-affirms the old man's leading position in relation to his agnatic nephews, thereby vesting him with control over a larger agnatic group of males.

Where the lineage is found in other areas as a corporate group, it is usually connected with a kinship terminology of the «lineage» type, which, through unilineal emphasis and classificatory extensions contributes in defining and delimiting these corporate groups. Kurdish kinship terms, on the other hand, are purely «descriptive» in that they measure genealogical distance between near kin. Nor do they show any unilineal emphasis. In other words, they do not contribute in any way to the definition of unilineal corporate groups. However, when this terminology is seen in combination with the

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

In the ideal, the Kurdish family which maintains ortho-cousin marriage and does not require the wife to change her place of residence on marriage forms what may be termed a "fraternional" group. Brothers are close neighbours or even share the same house. They frequently work their landholdings jointly, perhaps even in cooperation with their cousins. The marriage of ortho-cousins clearly serves to simplify and perpetuate such cooperation. However in such a case the bride-price, whatever its nominal amount - and the Kurds are keen to flatter their wives by asserting that they have paid a quite fabulous price for them, - is in practice nothing but a sort of book entry, a transfer of assets from the right hand to the left. Even where the marriage to father's brother's daughter does not take place, there is still a strong tendency for a man to marry a girl from his own village - i.e. a classificatory "ortho-cousin" - if for no other reason than that the Agha must approve of all marriages and he has an obvious interest in keeping the group as closely unified as possible. Besides, a man of the commoner class would normally have comparatively few opportunities of either meeting or bargaining for a girl from another village, still less for a girl of another clan or tribe. Startling romances and elopements do take place, but they are the exception and are usually followed by a long and bloody trail of vengeance. For the commoner the general rule of marriage within the knife is fairly well maintained. In this connection the building of the road will probably have important consequences for the Balik in the near future, since the ordinary tribesman can now much more readily make contact with groups other than his own immediate kinsfolk.

592. 592 [illegible]

Marriage of Aghas

The foregoing applies however only to the marriage arrangements of commoner families (hemseng). Quite different are the conditions that govern the marriage of the son of an Agha. Mohammedan law permits a man to have four wives at a time, and to effect divorce simply by the pronouncement of the word taleq three times. In practice scarcely any of the commoners among the Balik can afford more than one wife, and polygyny is the almost exclusive prerogative of the Aghas. The marriage to father's brother's daughter serves to simplify and concentrate the inheritance of cattle, implements and other items of 'capital' equipment within the economic working unit of the group household and to avoid friction over the inheritance of tenancy rights. But the Agha is not swayed by considerations of inheritance alone, in the limited sense already described, he 'owns' all the available land anyway and there is no question of splitting up the territory at death. His aim rather is to gain prestige and live at peace with his neighbours. We find therefore that the marriages of Aghas tend to take the form of political alliances, rather after the style of the royal marriages of mediaeval Europe. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balah for instance, who in the course of a long life has had 9 wives and 23 surviving children, appears to be related either by marriage or

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

622 through the marriage of his sons to nearly every important leader,
• 581 tribal, religious, or townsmen, within fifty miles radius. More humble Aghas are content with one or two alliances with neighbouring notables, while the rest of their offspring are married off to members of their own community, thus further strengthening the bonds of kinship between the Agha and his followers. It is interesting to examine the effect of this in greater detail.

> Sheikh Mohammed of Balash was one of 9 surviving brothers; he himself has had nine wives and has six surviving sons, and several daughters

> Mir Hamid Aaka of Dergala has had 6 wives and 24 children of which there survive 9 sons and 5 daughters.

If we consider the male side of the tree only, it would appear that the average reproduction rate of a 'princely' Agha is of the order of 8 surviving sons. If we assume that the total population of the villages remains very roughly stationary we must reach the conclusion that the effective birthrate is very heavily loaded in favour of the Aghas. The effect of this would seem to be that in many of the smaller villages the Agha is not only of the same clan as nearly everyone but actually quite closely related to about half the population. I was unable to make any accurate census of a village but my observations at Balash were I think reasonably accurate, and tend to confirm this calculation.

622 There appeared to be twelve separate households, of which four
592 are accounted for by the Agha's fortress and the establishments of his third and fourth married sons and of a brother. (The two eldest sons have been established as Aghas in their own right over neighbouring villages). The population I estimated at ninety, in the proportion twenty five men, thirty women, thirty five children. The Aghas household appeared to consist of about twenty persons including his youngest children and personal servants; while the households of his married sons and his brother contained about eight persons each. In this case therefore quite half the population of the quad was in immediate kinship or economic relationship with the Agha. The case may be exceptional, but serves to explain why a rental of 5% of the yield of the land does not in practice prove entirely exterminate.

622 Comparison of these observations and those of Bay

414 The foregoing account shows the interrelationship of the
114 political and kinship organisation among the Balik Kurds. As a commentary upon sociological method it is interesting to note what

> "This village would appear to be fairly average as far as size is concerned, though centres such as Dergala and Barge are vastly larger. Balash however is in some respects the private fortress of Sheikh Mohammed and its kinship organisation may not be typical.

considerable social intercourse between the two groups. Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry Levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Rowanduz area, at Dotez, Dara Harir and Dyana, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of them assume Christian names, often of a sinuous favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously on the breast, thereby outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

Iraq the [Sunni] is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
much the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious contest. The governing class in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis- 795
cussion is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 196
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as [302]
shaving the beard with lemon, are condemned by the Kurds
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
despise alliteration, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
ingrown, as Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a
gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the
officer replied curiously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Even on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, and Turks. There are Persian 563
minorities in the cities of central and southern Iraq, but they fall under the religious classification of Shi'ah and there seems to be no conflict between them and Arabs of their own persuasion. The Turks are few in number and are concentrated in the middle and upper classes. In the days before the liberation of Iraq, there was bitter enmity toward the Turks as the representatives of Ottoman rule, but this has disappeared in recent years and there is no restriction, as, indeed, there never was, on marriage be- [582]
tween members of this class and Sunnite Muslims, Arabs and Kurds, of comparable status. A survey of the lists of officials and army officers reveals the remarkable extent to which the survivors of Ottoman rule have retained their position in the government service. The Turkomans are gathered in central and northeastern Iraq, mainly about Altun Kheupri and Kal Sanjaq, and have been unspectacular in national affairs, largely farmers and shepherds, a remnant of the famous Horde of the White Sheep. Again, [582]
there appears to be no restriction on marriage with Sunnite Muslims, but there is little reason for an Arab, Kurd, or Turk of the upper classes to take an illiterate, impoverished bride from among them.

The matter of Arab and Kurd is quite otherwise, for 186
in the case of the latter there is a well-armed minority 649
population, Muslims, and hence free of the susceptibilities 181
of religious attack, with a strong base in agriculture and animal husbandry. They are estimated at 400,000 persons,

and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are held by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Ibnsphon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Sulaimaniya was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

example, an Arab of Mosul and one of Baghdad, but it does not appear to be of a serious nature. Among the Kurds, one can often hear the native of a certain locale praising it to the exclusion of others. "The preparation of rice at Sulaymaniya is the best," a Kurd of this city proclaims in a discussion of cookery, but feelings of this type do not operate to separate the people in any important way, because religious and ethnic divisions have much greater weight. On the other hand, tribal allegiance in certain rural areas has great importance, although increased government control in matters such as the vendetta has mitigated their character to some extent. It is difficult to formulate any general rules for tribal exogamy or endogamy, because the chieftains often intermarry with aristocratic houses of the same standing, regardless of tribe. The tendency among most tribesmen, Kurd or Arab, is toward marriage within their own group, because the preferential match is between cousins.

In the other divisions of society, two parallel systems, at many points intermingled, are to be found. In the first of these there is a simple division between a hereditary aristocracy and a mass of commoners and this system is primitive or quasi-primitive. Save for Kurdistan and certain areas held by groups such as the Chaldeans, the Mandeans, or the Yezidis, much of Iraq has been partitioned for centuries among Arab tribes. The chieftains of these tribes and their subdivisions are aristocrats who inherit their position in the paternal

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peasant, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as inter-marriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain can never wed a successful peasant.

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It would be incorrect to assign the Muslim clergy, the mullas of the Sunnites and the imams of the Shiites, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amusing

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[522]

story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a letter, apparently betaying news of her husband on the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short time, and the woman tore her garments and went into mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "God is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar reaction. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according to their status in this sense. The servish, as a religious functionary, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as was learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest status are initiated into the mysteries of the servish order. In Rwanda one could find a servish in a dominated

In contrast to the government, treating such affairs more 632
as sport rather than anything else. Sayyid Ahmad sub- 648
sequently recounted with some pleasure his experiences in exile, for he did not spend months at the time. He heard the official in charge of him, for example, called "stupid" until his book by substitution, and concluded that this was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer as "Stupid Beg" until he was finally corrected. In order [522]
to designate the type of seat he desired for his mule, he was forced to refer to intentions of the animals in question, and thought his own picture, that of a Kurdish aristocrat, a son of the great Shaykh Taha, flopping his arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, most amusing.

Toward the townspeople, the chief's are much more 632
friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours 645
talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy merchants. They are not fond of either the shopkeepers or the women, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar [507]
as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer the neighbors of the wealthy merchants and landowners of the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and hence to have greater prestige, than any village maiden. The daughter of Sa'ad Effendi, for example, is married to an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, while Sadik Agha (the first mule here used as a proper name). Among 565
themselves, there is extensive community of interest and 632
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townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can be done with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered decending for men of the "upper" class to work with their hands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, *mulisi* or priests, and businessmen, such as the wealthier merchants and the owners of the *shaibhouse* and the hotel. Such a person is termed *effendi* or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two examples are provided by *shaikh* Effendi and Sa'id Effendi, both landowners. In addition to their properties, *Shaikh* Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Sa'id Effendi is the *mulisi* or representative of the townspeople. The chief *mulisi* of the town is addressed as "Malim 'Abd-al-Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never obtain the rank of a chieftain. The basis of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mullā can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, no matter how poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system.

Rowanduz is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the house of Isma'il Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have an knowledge of them." Peasants of the lower classes, translants or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowanduz enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called zīnātlīs, another Turkish term for "gentlemen."

outline until further investigation is able to furnish a more complete account. Here is the lowest element of society, mature women, those of the officials and officers, the aristocrats, and the wealthier townsmen, are generally restricted to the interior of their houses, and move out freely with society at large. It is more or less inevitable that such women have their friends and visitors among the female relatives of their fathers' and husbands' families, for only these can visit each other's houses without restriction. Because marriages are arranged between persons on a basis of supposedly status, a woman's friends, like those of her husband, are close to her in rank. However, women of the upper classes are much more cosmopolite in most respects in their demeanor toward inferiors of the same sex than their husbands are toward similar, and spend long hours in intimate conversation with female servants, concubines and countrymen. The latter are, in fact, an important link with the outside world of the town, inasmuch as they are able to intermingle with others of the lower classes and hence provide the mistress of a wealthy household with welcome news and gossip. The life of the wives of the officials and officers is much more difficult, because their friends and relatives have been left elsewhere in Iraq, and there is almost an excuse of feeling any responsibilities in the town. They, too, find pleasure in the consumption of their wages, such as food, and, with the knowledge of the husbands concerned, may visit

The mâl, as a group of kindred, is thus a field patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mâl to be found in the household. The mâl is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mâl Shaikr Ittwaki," referring, on one hand, to his house, and, on the other, to his family. The Kurds do not use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shaikr Ittwaki is formally termed Asla Shaikr Hajjrin [the last is a nickname of his father], and the same person is conventionally called "Asla Hamad," the father of Hamad, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mâl can be endogamous or exogamous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mâl-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realise their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, published to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the mention, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'ikhir, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against hostile repudiations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use the usual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence advance anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these proscriptions. There is

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, and this person, no matter what her status (in Rwanda she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rwanda provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are embedded here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the adage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and "mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister-in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second wife, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Rwandese descent is commonly discussed in two ways, through the blood (*ibyo*) of the parents and through the milk (*amata*) of the mother. Great

importance is attached to marrying, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the worst of events, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an endogamous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the village. Neither of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is vitally recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such a situation

a situation. The tendency is for most persons to remain [595]
monogamous, and the usual reason for taking a second wife
is the failure of the first to produce a male heir when, [891]
at the same time, the husband is loathe to divorce the
barren woman in question. Re'af Rifondi was "ridiculed" of
marrying a second wife who could replace the son he had
lost, because the woman to whom he had been married for
many years had passed the stage of child-bearing. He has
not, however, carried out this intention yet. Sometimes a
wife herself will suggest suggest the second marriage. In
Rwanda, in 1951, there were no men with a plurality of
brides. It was said that some of the chiefs/sub in olden
times had been able to maintain a number of wives in
separate establishments, but most of this seems to have
disappeared.

The preferred form of marriage is that between a [582]
man and his father's brother's daughter. If the father
and the uncle live under the same roof, it may be seen that
such a match prevents the money from being paid into a
strange pot, and in marriages of this type the stipulated
sum of the money is often highly fictional. In Ruritania
a man always has the first claim on his paternal uncle's
daughter, and his consent must first be obtained if she
is to marry someone else. A bitter feud can ensue if the [576]
parents of the maiden, in view of some advantageous alliance,
override this prerogative. If an idealized situation is
imagined in which the prescriptions that a man must marry

his father's brother's daughter is held as an inexorable rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are married to his mother and mother's sister respectively, and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up third and fourth cousins. If two things are envisaged, patrilineal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence, the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother, after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are denoted by the same kinship term, ʿamm. On the other hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated, called ʿamm and khāl respectively. The first lives under the paternal roof of the individual concerned, and the latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle, as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house as his married sister, and in the system imagined here, one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided, each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share. If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his sister, and to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

half-share of the holdings of his father. Such a system is immediately divergent, because, although there is an exchange of marriages between cousins in one's own generation, the strains divide in the next. A man's children must intermarry with those of his brother, and would not, for example, espouse those of his cousins. The larger proportion of the property, the full male shares, follow the same divergent lines.

Such an idealized system, however, does not seem to exist. A man is permitted to marry any of his other cousins, the daughters of his paternal aunt, maternal uncle, or maternal aunt, or, as often happens, can take a wife completely unrelated to him. In Rwanda, unlike certain other groups reported in the Middle East, there does not appear to be any hierarchy of preference among the cousins after the daughter of the father's brother. It was not possible to compile a list of marriages extensive enough to permit definitive comment on the relative frequency of these five types of marriage. Nevertheless, from examples, there appeared to be a high percentage of matches between unrelated persons. Coupled with this was the inability of most persons in the area to name their relatives beyond their grandparents, uncles and aunts, first cousins, and immediate family. This group, incidentally, corresponds closely with that outlined as making up the mû or "house" in its most extensive sense. In addition, they were able to name the parents, some of the uncles, aunts, brothers, and sisters of their wives. A sentencing of the in-laws of

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 536
the patrilineage, expressed in the gai or "house," strongly
overrode the lateral extension of relations to extend or
broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rwanda was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
first World War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popula-
tion had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 421
villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arithmetic. 402
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriages characteristically
cause divergence in forming new family or sub-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Amedieh, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
by the "milk" of the mother or by the "blood."

1. [illegible]	["Milk Father"]	[illegible]
2. [illegible]	["Milk Mother"]	[illegible]
3. [illegible]	["Father"]	Father
4. [illegible]	["Mother"]	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

[illegible] ...ceremonial ties for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no ...ceremonial relations of a ceremonial or ritual nature have been developed.

The organizational form is consistent with a strong emphasis on the father's brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marked tendency to close family endogamy. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) effective limitations, and (3) actual statistical occurrence.

(1) Informants agree that parental consent have first rights on a girl, and that where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the parental consent must first release her by consenting his choice. Cases of violence resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[1] Giving one's daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals, and no one is closer in status and sentiments than a parental cousin. Small children are ceremonially endowed when named for being "in love" with their parental cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where [illegible] male lines of inheritance, giving exceptional functions of the estate to female descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case.

(2) It is an agreed privilege for parental cousins, or less usually the other members, to receive the girl as a reduced bridewise. The normal bridewise for village [illegible] girls ranges between Rs5-10. Parental cousins generally pay only wedding expenses.

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter and other cousin marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relationship between all living spouses in two normal and Homestead villages fall into the following categories:

Husband's Wife						
FaBrDa (cousin)	MoBrDa (Relative)	BiDa (cousin)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	7	3	9	31

Taking the normal frequencies in the end on distribution of sibling group size sizes, the probability approximates the statistical frequency that marriage with actual, non-distributory parental cousin are reasonably exists.

1. See W. H. Rivers, The Toda of Southern India (London, 1906), p. 51.

When the son of marrying an unrelated, "foreign" girl is so high and the economic gratification he can use him down, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men under the "right" choice though they appear subjectively as free, and formally espouse the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem in the situation centers around what the acquisition of the girl's father is, that he should forego his right to a bridegroom which, in the Kurdish system, can amount a value between. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem to what can the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter as a bride's own which compensate one for the loss of the bridegroom.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish foreign system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and the area, consolidated by the fundamental circles of identification normally constituted with segmentary descent systems (among the Pilvo, territorial or descent groups, cross-cutting segmentation among Talbani, further the small subdivisions between foreigners, etc.). The pressure is particularly evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all functional descriptions of Kurdish life.[1] Kurdish village-level are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, or their core women. Such political power is proportional to the number of alliances one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal foreign system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-section, and the fraction in the village and in the alignments of the younger men of a small foreign segment around an elder leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The relation to the latter is most critical. It creates the first generation of descent between collateral branches. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and foreign solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of the bridegroom's son to give him political support by accepting him into paying the bridegroom. His other wife-takers are, in the foreign system, his political supporters, consequently they must immediately pay bridegroom. The connection may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in the bridegroom from the bridegroom's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the payment of patrilineal father's bridegroom

[1] See C. J. Bell, Peasants of Arabistan (London, 1955), E. R. Leach, Political Systems of Highland Burma (London, 1954). This is an illustration of the [illegible] marriage payment to safeguard the [illegible] relationship of the foreign system.

[illegible]

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

If the view is generally correct, one would expect to find a high frequency of Kabul's brothers' daughter marriage associated with a developed lineage organization in the Middle East, and the frequencies to be appreciably lower in villages with a different type of organization. In the northern Kurdish area, this is clearly not the case; the literature gives no conclusive evidence.

In the northern Kurdish tribally organized territory, neighboring on the above discussed Nestorian territory, the comparative picture might be summarized as follows: (1) The segmental system was modified, though not drastically changed. Here rights of parental control are not as strongly emphasized, and the kind of equality between spouses which is so conspicuous in terms of village endogamy rather does with reference to descent groups. (2) Endogamy used to be lower for all categories of husbands, especially those of the local community (the fields were for the villagers, not for the larger tribe, where great variations in clan and wealth interests) some villages have made formal agreements that an endogamy should be changed within the village unit, the alternative and undesirable possible way of arranging bridegroom is the more exchange between two indifferently related men. (3) The actual frequency of Kabul's brother's daughter marriage clearly drops, while village endogamy (in villages generally larger than those with a low age organization) remains high. A complete census of marriages in one such non-tribal village may serve as an example:

Husband's father (deceased)	Husband's father (living)	Wife (sister)	Other relatives	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
0	1	1	9	17	10	40

The above would seem to be consistent with the views expressed above.

Hilma Granqvist[1] gives some comparable material from an Arab village in Palestine, where the local community is divided into patrilineal descent groups, called clans, apparently of a segmentary type, but where several of these descent groups reside together in a large village, and have no other political or territorial importance. She offers the following frequencies of degree of relationship between spouses in one village:[2]

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1) Hilma Granqvist, Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village (Helsingfors, 1931).
2) Ibid., pp. 41, 42, 104-105.

Subclan	Total marriages within clans	Between combined co-villagers	With strangers	Total
20 10.3%	80 41.2%	52 27%	111 42.8%	260

There is some suggestion that clan endogamy has similar functional implications in this situation as lineage exogamy has in the Kachin system, but that the emphasis centers on the opposition between co-villein clans—whereas the discrepancy between 20 percent marriages within own clan vs. 20 percent with own local co-villagers, in a village where there major and the smaller clans co-reside. The Crawfords profess the standard explanation: " . . . marriage with the father's daughter's son is preferred to any other marriage in order to prevent a stranger who might claim part of the property and inheritance of the family."[1] This runs through her ingenuity a further weakness in the fact that her villagers do not observe the proper Kachin rule[2] of giving both male and female relatives of the same degree a share of inheritance, in the proportion 2:1— " . . . even if it be seldom that a man die without having any sons, yet the possibility allows it as far as to allow marriage between the children of brothers to appear specially desirable."[3]

Chapple and Coon offer a theoretical analysis of parallel cousin marriage, with special reference to the Bedouin[4] which, if I have understood their argument correctly, emphasizes the incompatibility of a subordinate son-in-law relation to a non-relative with a system of strong political and economic identification with the lineage segment—in this case sons as component of father, son, and father's brother. This incompatibility is then resolved by a process of establishing the son-in-law as kinsman with the father's brother, through marriage with a father's brother's daughter. This appears as a rather round-about way of avoiding the problem from the point of view developed here, but their discussion indicates that the processes are not inapplicable to the marriage patterns among the Bedouin.

The pattern of view expressed above might be summarized briefly. As contrasted to most African systems, marriage patterns among the Muslim peoples of the Middle East are liberated from their role in expressing the relations between segments of a larger lineage system. The potential autonomy of these patterns is an vital structural way that theoretically be utilized in various ways.

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(1) Idem, p. 76, where further references to the text are given.
(2) A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society (1952), p. 50.
(3) Crawford, op. cit., p. 76.
(4) E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology (New York, 1942), pp. 539-540.

3: Harvard E-5 (1951) 1954 MAIL Hard MAIL

[illegible]

In many areas of the Middle East, a pattern of close family endogamy and preferential father's brother's daughter marriage has been assumed to be associated with a desire to maximize family property in the face of Koranic rules of inheritance. The apparently exceptionally high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage among the Kurdish tribes with foreign organizations, and possibly among other groups with a similar organization, requires separate explanation. The basis of this above discussion has been that such a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage plays a prominent role in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in political struggle. Marriages of this type thus serve to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system, and, in most African systems, adhere to the relations between whole lineages, but have, on the contrary, relations to the less primordial lines of fission and segmentation within the individual lineage itself.

[illegible]
[illegible]

schoolhood that will provide that deep contentment of mind, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sakalawadi what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, as a rule, live in the street, while the women and small children occupy the home. As work and as leisure boys and men spend their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[9] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sura 4, verse 1, says: "Be mindful of your duty towards Allah ..., and towards the wombs [that bore you]". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dohuk Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[10].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[11]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-incestuous relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are complex and several cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[12]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[13], are: father's brother's daughter, amikal, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, pâmâl, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, xalikal, (cross-cousin marriage); and mother's sister's daughter, pâmâl, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the towns I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Lewis[14] and Barth[15] is that preferred by Kurds. In the dwâlik family in Tiqsarra the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sergalu. In Sarkan two of the dwâlik's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Lewis the marriage of village leaders "used to have political influence" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[16]. In my experience this was not so, for the sister I met was the father's brother's daughter whether or common in Kurd society.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Shaikh Taffer's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 15 year old son of the Shaikh of Tiqsarra said further that a man in his village was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that one could take

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

can be attached to what this young man said, so I prefer to stick to the facts available about his immediate family. In the humble village environment (Topzawa) I came across three examples of brides having been brought from Sulaimani as they gave prestige to the village. In the educated milieu, on the other hand, I met a strongly-expressed wish to be linked by marriage with good, prominent families.

Difference in the position of man and woman when contracting marriage. None of the brides in Kurdistan whom I had an opportunity to observe appeared as radiant as we are accustomed to see in our culture. The Kurdish brides either looked remarkably unaffected or else directly mournful. My interpreter's sister, whose wedding preparations and later wedding I witnessed, went about in the days prior to the wedding extremely unkempt and with an attitude of complete indifference. In reply to my question my interpreter told me that it is not the custom for brides to take any part in the preparations, and that out of regard for her future family no impression must be given of exploiting the working capacity of the young woman; in addition, the bride-to-be must not suggest, by paying too much attention to her appearance, that she is interested in being married.

In her study of weddings and marriages in Palestine, Granqvist probably provides an explanation applicable also to the Kurds, for she says[2] that it is the bridegroom who is happy, and with him his family and friends. Happiness prevails in the house of the bridegroom, the house of the wedding. A bride, on the other hand must bewail her fate. Is she not to leave her family home, and will not this home lose a member? Besides, Granqvist points out, it is considered highly unbecoming for a bride to evince happiness.

When, on the other hand, the marriage negotiations began in the case of my interpreter's brother and the wedding arrangements were being discussed, it was planned as a joyous festival, the house next door being borrowed and a dance arranged in its large courtyard. A later letter, dated 23rd August 1938, told me that 600 people were invited to the wedding, and that the dance had lasted from morning to night. As an unmarried son, his accommodation in the home was confined to a mattress which he spread out with the rest of the family, plus a niche behind a mirror for his few effects: his pyjamas (shirt and sleeping garment) lay, when not in use, rolled up on a chair in the guest reception room, which he also used for changing. In a word, he had had only a minimum of room at his disposal. When he married he and his wife would be allotted to their sole use one of the house's three living rooms. He and his wife, at all events initially, would form a cell within the family with a claim to space and a private life—a notable improvement of his position in the home.

Marriage policy and marriage negotiations. "Many families have wanted me", was my interpreter's reply to my question as to what possibilities she had had to be married. In other words she could boast of the fact that many families had applied to her[3] regarding the instigation of the marriage negotiations set essential a preliminary to a marriage in a Muslim area, where the world of men and women is divided, and a young man meets no women other than his nearest relations with whom marriage is precluded.

In the family home of my interpreter at Sulaimani I had an opportunity of watching at close quarters the marriage negotiations conducted by the young man's family with that of a possible candidate.

584 Gently select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is
369 the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[1], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

[591] The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have an unlimited right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[2].

562 In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an
584 extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities perceived to be a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. While in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

● 582 In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[3]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Halabja I lived in a home where the then 23 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 23[4]. Her first child was born 6-7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around

[221] Tawella, to which many families moved just for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, they, failing the protection afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11-12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6-7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour required of her as her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what Kaberry[5] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9-11 is fully

[191] trained in the pattern of behaviour required of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her orderly duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

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585 *The marriage contract.* A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[586]. Should he have pronounced *talāq* three times or have raped a virgin on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be consummated by this "quasi husband" before the husband can take her back[587]. The Quran forbids the practice of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *zihār* (*zahr* = back)[588]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family bestowing everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of severing the dissolution of the marriage. The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station, in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved while the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[589], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being consumed (amongst being made to redeem this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment), she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the sharī'a as to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four homes of the village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Bergalu, Shaikala and Serkan. Eagle[590] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[591]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 25 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shaikala. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

[illegible] children living in the home showed that there were here three wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[illegible] about "Ghat Ibrahim, Agha of the Ghiaty", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lorimer[illegible]: "Divorce is often frequent, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his present wife or swallows in the middle of the new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons occupy as a joint family household.

Two half-grown 13-14 year old stepdaughters with the sheikh of Sargala marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence in town of three married sons of the sheikh in Sarbun. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, remarriages of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children—a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Tripoune, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Sarbun—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[illegible] at the sheikh's homes in Tripoune and Sarbun. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (who met each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never were each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

There remain conditions to what is called the modernized urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original economic domain of Western inhabitants. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bicycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Koran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes—when these four are represented by female slaves, also permitted by the Koran—both individual wealth and economic means, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

991 case of bereavement and need. This obligation supposedly passes to nearest agnatic male relative, but practice is in fact very elastic, and follows reasonable arguments of residence and means.

Since each household is generally based on one elementary family, the marriage tie is the pivot on which household organization rests.

994 The verbalized theory on choice of spouse is quite simple. A man decides he wants to marry a certain girl — any girl. He chooses a reliable representative — preferably an older male relative — and the representative visits the father of the girl and makes the proposition. Considerable subtle diplomacy is performed by both sides in fixing a tentative brideprice. If the young man accepts the price, preparations proceed. The importance of the representative is evidently considerable. In one case, a laborer who was a stranger in the area chose to send two representatives he did not know very well to a potential father-in-law whom he in fact knew better. The answer seems to lie in the better bargaining position of an outsider — he is freer to eulogize the virtues of the groom.

• 992 Theoretically, you may propose to marry any girl. In practice, there is a strong preference for FaBrDa marriage. Certainly a FaBrDa is considered to have first right of refusal. The case of the above mentioned transient laborer brings out the point: He was refused because, said the girl's father «I am afraid my brother's sons will kill me if I give her to you».[1])

The rationalizations and manifest reasons for this preferential marriage pattern are of several types. The father's interest in his daughter is used as an explanation for his preference of a BrSo as a son-in-law: he knows the nephew's possible shortcomings, which reduces the risk of mis-matching; furthermore, he would be able to exert some influence over the groom after marriage, through the agnatic kinship tie, to protect his daughter's interests. It is further usually said that «it is customary» for the nephew to pay only a

[1]) The same transient laborer had on a previous occasion in northern Iraq been refused a girl on similar grounds, although in this case he threatened to murder her if she was not given to him. The girl was indeed killed shortly afterwards, and the laborer spent a period of time in jail till he was released due to lack of evidence.

enforced bridegrim, or some or all, so from the point of view of the potential groom, the incentive to cousin marriage is considerable. No rationalization of the pattern in terms of the Kawain approval of close kin marriage was ever advanced in conversation on the subject — in fact, the contrary was occasionally claimed. — We shall return later to some more basic factors relating to this marriage pattern.

Any special preference for FaBrDa as against the other three types of cousins was denied, and the higher incidence of FaBrDa marriage was explained by the fact that there were more of them. This is in fact true, so far as the local village is concerned. A certain amount of inter-village marriage does take place. Marriage being ambilocal in the man's village or occasionally patrilocal, all Fabr's children will be living in your own village, whereas a certain number of those related to you through a female will reside in other villages.

The frequency of marriage with actual, non-classificatory cousins is very high, ranging around 60 % in many of the villages studied (see Table 1). Considering that any irregularity in sex or age distributions of cousins must affect the opportunities for cousin marriage adversely, 60 % is probably close to the practical maximal frequency which such a marriage form can ever attain.

A second type of marriage is the like-for-like (= sister exchange). In such cases of course the bride price is eliminated by the reciprocity of the two men exchanging their sisters with one another, and only the expenses immediately connected with the marriage celebrations and ceremonies remain. From the purely financial point of view, the sister exchange is thus advantageous, and may in a sense be regarded as an extension of the FaBrDa marriage pattern within the village community. In the non-tribal villages, such marriages are fairly frequent. On other counts, however, they are not considered too satisfactory. Where no close kin ties exist between the two men performing the exchange, the chances of disruption of the unions are increased: sibling loyalties are of the same order of magnitude as loyalty between spouses, so domestic difficulties in the one household are said to produce similar conflicts in the other household, in a vicious circle.

The Hutu do have an frequently divided into subsections called Ama [illegible], though in many districts the two terms appear to be interchangeable. The Batwa/Twa Hutu subjects to Tutsi are for instance subdivided into three Ama each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Nkima Nyoni. These sons [illegible] did not obtain equal status but appear to have arrived respectively in Bungo, Ndiza and Buhi, and these villages remain the centres of their respective Ama to the present day. Thus the Ama of Buhi is descendant of a number of villages in Kirhoe of the Buhi Buhi he is head of the Ama. The Buhi Hutu in relation subdivided into three Ama, the names being given to me as Buhi Ama, Buhi Bwami and Bwami Bukombe Ama - these being presumably the names of the ancestral founders of the lineage. On the other hand some persons in Buhi did not seem to be closely aware of this subdivision and so being asked the name of their Ama would reply "Buhi Hutu". Moreover I was assured by one informant that there is no difference between Hutu and Tutsi, but that the one is higher than the other. This is I think an extreme description. Hutu is a form of address given fairly frequently encountered by anthropologists, usually human lineage, but more rarely associated by Hutu as lineage, it differs only from the Ama group in scale and political relations. With the loosening of political ties the distinction between the two types of grouping tends to disappear. The Ama of Buhi for instance claimed to be one Ama of his own Hutu and no mark of equal rank to Buhi Bukombe Ama of Nzinda. Buhi Bukombe of course did not admit this claim but maintained that Buhi, Ama of Buhi was Ama subject.

From this description and the examples quoted it is clear that the terms subject, Hutu and Tutsi into the normal anthropological classifications of kin, clan and lineage [illegible], with the single exception that the clans are in this case endogamous, or largely so.

Inheritance of land Tenure

The settlements for the most part consist of small villages [pod] scattered along the valleys. The term pod really includes both the homestead the cultivation surrounding them and may or them grass enclosing. The pod of Bangwinya for instance contains two houses only, that of Bangwinya has over a hundred. Every pod is the "property" of a landlord [Afin]. If the Afin owns only the pod or is the case of Buhi male Afin of Bangwinya he will live on it himself; if

"The Lineage Farm - Finance and Accounting in the Patrilineal Clans of a small-farm community in Southern Rhodesia J.R.A.I. Vol. 69: 314.

E.P.Wilson - No. the Village.(??).

Note however that owing to the rule of virilocal marriage, Buhi Hutu and Tutsi tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous.

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[illegible] economy stayed the British expedient of paying the tribal [illegible] an annual salary provided they kept their tribe in order. This procedure admittedly gave the tribal [illegible] a significant economic influence, and has had various repercussions which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

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The salary granted to Sheikh Ahmed of Nilab was stopped some years ago and, as might be expected, his influence as tribal leader declined rapidly. As an ornament to the court of the [illegible] of Nilab and their tribal shows, the Sheikh has recently had functioning duty as a table at the present time, though Sheikh Ahmed with a wide grasp of his era, still believes that all the land belongs to him and that the tables of Sperry and Hobs are only [illegible] to difficulties. At the present moment (1928) his prestige is [illegible], as the upstarts since he has recently been appointed a "Member of Parliament" and regularly attends the legislative meetings in Nilab. The appointment carries with it a small salary, but its real importance is for us the tribes are concerned in that it demonstrates that the latter is in favour with the Government and with the higher authorities.

Kinship Structure

While I have been sketched out the apparently political structure of the community the real nature of the relationship between the various Aghas and their followers can only be understood in terms of kinship.

The essentially traditional nature of the Aghas' authority was only vaguely understood by the earlier British administrators. One for instance remarks (p. 47) "The Aghas are very oppressive to their tenants, more especially where the Government is close at hand and can assert its authority. In the remoter districts the tribesmen are correspondingly poor, they have little to fear from the Government, and their chief finds it difficult to coerce them. A rival chief would probably soon appear if he did". This statement brings out the fact, already well known from examples in the African field, that Government support for "the Chief" frequently gives that individual a tyrannical authority quite foreign to the ordinary tribal system of government, but it does not explain the Aghas moral relationship to his followers.

Marriage of Commoners

As we have seen already the tribe is essentially a patrilineal clan. It is moreover largely endogamous by virtue of the system of cross-cousin marriage common to most Indonesian societies. Reference to the tables of Kinship Terminology at the end of this book

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In the Ideal, the Kachin family which maintains orthocousin marriage and does not require the wife to change her place of residence on marriage forms what may be termed a "functional" group. Brothers are close neighbours or even share the same house. They frequently work their landholdings jointly, perhaps even in cooperation with their cousins. The marriage of orthocousins closely serves to simplify and perpetuate such cooperation. However in such a case the bridegroom, whatever the original amount - and the Kachin are keen to flatter their wives by asserting that they have paid a quite fabulous price for them - is in practice setting up a work of bride wealth, a transfer of assets from the right hand to the left. Even where the marriage is Father's Brother's Daughter does not take place, there is still a strong tendency for a man to marry a girl from his own village - i.e. a quasi-lineage "orthocousin" - if for no other reason than that the elders most approve of all marriages and so have an obvious interest in keeping the group as closely unified as possible. Rather, a man of the commoner class would normally have opportunity for opportunities of either meeting or bargaining for a girl from another village, while even for a girl of another clan or tribe. Courting ceremonies and elopements do take place, but they are the exception and are usually followed by a long and bloody train of vengeance. For the commoner the general rule of marriage within the bride is fairly well maintained. In this connection the building of the road will probably have important consequences for the Kachin in the near future, since the military tolerance can now much more readily make contact with groups other than the own immediate district.

Marriage of Aghas

The foregoing applies however only to the marriage arrangements of commoner families (Dumsa). Quite different are the conditions that govern the marriage of the son of an Agha. Kachin law permits a man to have four wives at a time, and to effect dynastic policy by the procurement of the most suitable three wives. In practice scarcely any of the commoners among the Kachin can afford more than one wife, and polygyny is the almost exclusive prerogative of the Aghas. The marriage to Father's brother's daughter serves to simplify and concentrate the inheritance of cattle, implements and other items of "capital" equipment within the economic setting unit of the group household and to avoid friction over the inheritance of tenancy rights. But the Agha is not swayed by considerations of inheritance alone, as the limited means already described, he "owns" all the available land anyway and there is no question of splitting up the territory at death. His aim rather is to gain prestige and live at peace with his neighbours. We find therefore that the marriages of Aghas tend to take the form of political alliances, rather after the style of the royal marriages of mediaeval Europe. Kachin Kumsawn Agha of Kutsa for instance, who in the course of a long life has had 9 wives and 15 surviving children, appears to be related either by marriage or

[illegible] Harvard MA11

CHAPTER II.

[illegible]

Kirmen maidens are, as a rule, allowed to choose their own husbands, and the practice of courtship is not unknown. The father's consent is necessary, though couples sometimes dispense with it by running away together when, for pecuniary or other reasons, it is withheld. Among the families of the shepherds, however, marriages de convenance are usual, and the parties are frequently comparative strangers to each other. The ceremony of betrothal consists of a[169] reception at which refreshments are served. The expression "To drink sherbet,"[1] signifies with the Kirmis to celebrate a betrothal. The bridegroom's presence at this ceremony is not necessary, or even usual, and he is generally represented by a near relative, a brother if he has one, who brings with him the customary presents to the bride and her parents.[171]

The great feature at a Kirmish wedding is the[172] performance of the *tchiguri*, or national dance, of which[173] the women are quite as fond as are the peasants of Macedonia and Bulgaria. During marriage festivities,

[1] This favourite Oriental beverage is made of the juice of fruits, cooked with a little or sugar.

95

ware in building and repair, the only significant production 325
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 332
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 323
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of 95
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may [381]
include a clavekin sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Kawandan maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 402
carpenter's tools and equipment, antennin, hammers, planes, [408]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden bars, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [364]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are [394]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 281
ment veterinaries attends to the beasts of the civil [382]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their distinctive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

absence of investigation, the function of village bathing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both.

The ballet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of available human age commence to imitations of their mothers, just as the older boys ritually underwent in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the cells of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls may be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the ring or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages.

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods,

d the cumulative is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch 301
the greater number of husbands do not anticipate di- [165]
vorce, a profit realized in business may be presented to 301
their spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for 454
e wife, not solely from the decorative point of view,
ily land and precious metal have real and lasting value
the popular mind. A laborer in Kyrenaika whose monthly
rnings were rarely in excess of four dinars (£1.80)
dated how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and sub-
quently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars
£36.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The
welry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with [586]
r if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she
leases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells
to reinstate him or support the family, and any sub-
ition her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in
e same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of 301
e gold and silversmiths of Egypt, and is not greatly [3.6]
fferent in style from that produced for the lower classes
Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and northern Iraq, save that
me of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type,
ch as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and
ngles of precious metal are made up into more or less
ngles bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the
st expensive items is a collar or necklace of con-
ntric circles of gold chain joined together by flat
ngles of various geometric shapes, and another, the 1525
dist used in the woman's headdress, has already been

for the Kurds themselves, refugees had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a vendetta, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own.

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Kurds. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the bahtiyarlig or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, so they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter

his lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the 423
inalienable character of the civil code reinforced by 426
scripture, how one heir might be completely cut off in
favor of another, and no exception could be allowed. If 428
a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful
event, he could do this best by leaving his property to
the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest,
a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the
equality of the claims of sons.

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, 421
cash, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although 542
there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well.
Sait Khan, since the death of Imam'il Beg and the legitimac-
ment of her almost male relatives, offers a case in
point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding
property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and
household goods. The dowry (mahr, from arabic) in the 585
generality of Islamic society, and at Nawankot, is paid in 421
money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the
girl. It consists of two parts, the muqaddam and the
mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The
first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid
in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to
the parent of the bride who is responsible for its adminis-
tration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must [586]
be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will
or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for

a husband to honour this second amount of the contract
in kindness before the marriage is consummated or if the
woman, for some reason, abandons the bonds of her spouse.
In Rowlatt, in contrast to other areas, the father of
the bride is expected to double the first portion of the
dowry, the remainder from his own resources, and the
money then realized is given into the hands of the widow.
"The money of the beginning is for the girl," it was
related, "and it is an evil and loathsome person who with-
holds it from her. There are some bad fathers who eat up
their daughters' dowries." The dowry of a girl of the
lowest townspeople in Rowlatt is at least 20 or 30 liras
(£20-30 or $56-84) and that of daughters of the wealthier
families or the aristocrats is much greater.

It must be realized that the amount of a dowry is
also a sign of social status, and to this end the figures
written into the marriage contract often have more prestige
than reality behind them. A number of discussions of this
point have been heard in the Middle East, and one of these,
similar to those recorded in Rowlatt but perhaps more
aptly expressed, was the expostulation of an English-
speaking teacher, one Hasan al-Gamil, in Egypt. "When, as
a youth, I returned to my parents' home from the university
in Cairo," he said, "I was called upon to negotiate the
dowry of a maiden whom my younger brother wished to marry.
Her relatives, whom I spoke with then, named a figure so
extravagant I could hardly credit my ears. I told them it
was improper to bargain for a girl, and that, although I

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, published to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid.[9] It is perhaps for this reason that the marriage, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mahiliz, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against hasty separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use the usual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial embarrassment.

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence advise anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific detailedness of these prescriptions. There is

and, if suitable, tries to arrange the match.* As previously noticed, couples on the rarest occasions may elope, taking sanctuary with a chieftain who will arrange their marriage. Almost all, however, defer to the wishes of their elders. 584 [583]

When the choice of a bride has been made, by the youth and his parents or by the parents alone, two parties, one of male relatives and friends and the other of females, excluding the boy and his father and mother, are dispatched to the house of the girl, sending notice of their arrival in advance. At this house the men are ushered into the guest-room and the women gather in another room. Many idle pleasantries are exchanged, and the man of the youth's party, in a circuitous fashion, extoll his virtues at length until there is no doubt that the father of the girl understands their errand. No mention is made of a match, in order that the maiden's parent, if the alliance must be declined, may excuse himself gracefully. The parties then take their leave, after arranging a second meeting. The parents of the girl now discuss the matter with their daughter and other relatives of the household. The consent of all, particularly that of the son of the father's brother, must be obtained. At the second meeting with the representatives of the youth, the father of the maiden expresses his approval, if the match is agreed upon, and the important matter of the dowry is decided by relatives other than the parents of the pair concerned.

e asks the same question of the youth. When the youth 584
consents, the mulla requires the maiden's father or
deputy to repeat a formula in which he formally gives the
girl in marriage. Taking up a pen, he then supplies, with
some flourish, the names of the parties concerned and the
sum of the dowry on the contract, and the document is
signed by himself, the two witnesses, the youth, and the
father of the girl. The ceremony is completed by further
recitation from the Quran by the mulla and mutual congratu-
lations. The youth usually kisses the hands of the mulla,
his new father-in-law, and the witnesses.

The festivities of the betrothal are small in com- 585
parison with those of the wedding. There are banquets at
the homes of the parents, and perhaps some dancing and
music, but these only demand part of a day. The mayyasa, [583].
the primary fraction of the dowry, is typically paid to
the father of the maiden by one of the male relatives of
the suitor when the contract is signed. At the same time,
the mother of the youth sends an expensive gift of jewelry,
bracelets and earrings, to the girl. The period between 584
the betrothal and the wedding varies, from several weeks
to a year, and the two persons engaged are permitted great
freedom in their relations. If the youth can meet secretly
with his fiancée, he may kiss her and present her with a
ring, a plain piece of jewelry, sometimes setting a stone
or cut glass, usually worn on a finger of the right hand.
Some men wear such rings themselves. At the same time, most

girls exhibit shyness and what may be described as willfulness in their behavior. "If the young man is a guest at her house and asks her for a glass of water, she may refuse him and the other people will laugh." Both boy and girl are embarrassed by a certain amount of joking by their elders and companions, and chafing a young man about his coming wedding is a common form of amusement. During this period, the girl's father is expected to have doubled the sum of the mugtadan from his own resources, and it is expended on the clothing, household needs, and jewelry of the prospective bride. Both houses are scenes of intense activity in preparation for the wedding. 584 [522] [583]

When a day has been selected for the wedding celebration, one of the elder men of the youth's family makes a tour of the town, inviting relatives and friends of his household. A similar invitation is issued by the father and brothers of the maiden. Those invited send many gifts of food to the two houses. On the forenoon of the wedding, the mother and sisters of the bride bathe and dress her carefully, rebraiding her hair and staining her hands with henna. Members of her family take presents of henna to the townspeople with which the recipients paint their fingers. One can always recognize a wedding-guest for some weeks afterward by such marks. At the two houses, those of the bridegroom and the bride, parties of guests assemble, and refreshments and banquets are given throughout the day, the brother or most intimate friend of the youth receiving the 585 [302]

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

No religious or ritual 571

mechanism exists for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no symbiotic relations of a practical or ritual nature have been developed.

This organizational form is associated with a strong emphasis on the father's brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marked tendency to close family endogamy. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) relative brideprice, and (3) actual statistical occurrence. 582

(1) Informants agree that paternal cousins have first rights to a girl, and where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the paternal cousin must first release her by renouncing his claim. Cases of violence resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[6] Giving one's daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals, and no one is closer in status and sentiments than a paternal cousin. Small children are pleasantly embarrassed when teased for being "in love" with their paternal cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where Ko-ā-zā ranic laws of inheritance, giving stipulated fractions of the estate to female descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case. 582 583 605 605

(2) It is an agreed privilege for paternal cousins, to less extent also other near kin, to receive the girl at a reduced bridepriice. The normal bridepriice for village girls ranges between £30-100. Paternal cousins generally pay only wedding expenses. 583 ●

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter, and other cousin, marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relationship between all living spouses in two normal sized Hamawand villages fell into the following categories: 162

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amoxas)	MoBrDa (khalexas)	SiDa (purse)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	3	2	4	21

Taking the normal fluctuations in size and sex distribution of sibling groups into account, this probably approximates the maximal frequency that marriage with actual, non-classificatory paternal cousin can reasonably attain.

6 E.g. W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan* (London, 1921), p. 71.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

Where the cost of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the normative preference for near kin clear, the inducement for the young man to seek bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men make the right" choice though they appear subjectively to feel, and invariably express the pinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The prob- m in this situation centers around what the motivation of the girl's father is, ut he should forego his right to a brideprice which, to the Kurdish farmer, con- stitutes a minor fortune. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem is: hat are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a rother's son which compensate one for the loss of the brideprice.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage ystem, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fu- ion, unmodulated by the interlocking circles of identification normally associated ith segmentary descent systems (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups, ross-cutting age-grades; among Tallensi, further the ritual collaboration between lineages, etc.). This pressure is painfully evident in factional activity within the illages, and emerges in all first-hand descriptions of Kurdish life.[9] Kurdish vil- ages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a ajority of the adult men, at times even women. Such political power is propor- ional to the number of riflemen one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a atrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic elatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-section; and the factions n the village tend to be alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment round an older leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and rothers' sons. The relation to the latter is most critical: it crosses the first poten- ial line of cleavage between collateral branches. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of his brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the brideprice. No other son-in-law can, in the lineage system, fill this role as political supporter; consequently they must invariably pay brideprice. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the pattern of preferential father's brother's

9 E.g. C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (London, 1836); E. B. Soane, *Through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise* (London, 1926); Hay, *op. cit.*

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11
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daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

If this view is generally correct, one would expect to find a high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage associated with a developed lineage organization in the Middle East, and the frequencies to be appreciably lower in villages with a different type of organization. In the southern Kurdish area, this is clearly so: for other areas, the literature gives no conclusive evidence.

In the southern Kurdish feudally organized territory, neighboring on the above discussed Hamawand territory, the comparative picture might be summarized as follows: (1) The expressed norms are modified, though not basically changed. First rights of paternal cousins are not as strongly emphasized, and the ideal of equality between spouses tends to be interpreted in terms of village endogamy rather than with reference to descent group. (2) Brideprices tend to be lower for all categories of husbands, especially those of the local community (this holds true for the villages, not for the larger towns, where great variations in class and wealth intervene); some villages have made formal agreements that no brideprice should be charged within the village unit. An alternative and moderately popular way of avoiding brideprice is the sister exchange between two indifferently related men. (3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage clearly drops, while village endogamy (in villages generally larger than those with a lineage organization) remains high. A complete census of marriages in one such non-tribal village may serve as an example:

FaBrDa (amoxta)	MoBrDa (khaloxta)	Fa and Mo SiDa (purxa)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
6	1	1	9	19	10	46

This picture would seem to be consistent with the views expressed above.

Hilma Granqvist[10] gives some comparable material from an Arab village in Palestine, where the local community is divided into patrilineal descent groups, called clans, apparently of a segmentary type; but where several of these descent groups reside together in a large village, and have no wider political or territorial importance. She offers the following frequencies of degree of relationship between spouses in one village:[11]

10 Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (Helsingfors, 1931).
11 *Idem*, pp. 81, 92, 194-195.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

301 *Jewellery.* Jewellery in various forms belongs to woman's clothing. It is an element in the presentation of a dress, affects its whole character, and, as it were, completes the picture. It is necessary to go back to the Renaissance and Baroque periods to find in Western culture times when jewellery was so closely linked to woman's appearance and so integral a part of the dress as it is in the Kurdish woman's costume of to-day.

291 301 Certain parts of the dress are simply jewellery, for example the cap chin chain, *Sin-bâna* or *kermâli*, composed of coins or glass beads (E. 2288), which holds it in place on the head, and the coin at the top of the fez to which the neck-shoulder veil is attached. A chain of small ornaments may be sewn on the dress along the edge of the jacket (E. 2293), 0.96 m. long. There existed circular temple ornaments, *gul*, (E. 2294, 2295). Some necklets were composed of stones and silver objects whose form and material were supposed to possess protective qualities and to avert the evil eye. Certain amulet boxes were used as ornaments, for example a cylindrical silver amulet box, *lûle*, (E. 2292) with attached coins[29]. Last but not least the jewellery represents ready money, clusters of coins being sewn on as cover for the fez (E. 2298) or assembled in the form of chains of coins with inlaid gems, attached to the turban. Jewellery is a part of the bride price, is the woman's private property, and thus an investment publically exhibited in witness of the woman's economic status. She carries it on herself, the safest depository.

[583]

301 Other kinds of jewellery include earrings, bangles, necklaces, nose ornaments and belts. Bangles, *hâzin*, (E. 2296–97)[30] can be of silver and also of turquoise-coloured glass. Necklaces consisting of various semi-precious stones with pendant amulet packets called *hâwdan* (E. 2290) or *mihrabâka* (E. 2291), plus necklaces of 20 fragrant beads of dried cloves, *mi'hâl*, (E. 2289), also with small amulet packets, are worn. Women's belts can be composed of gold coins side by side or a military belt on which are mounted one very large, eight small, and twenty very small silver buckles (E. 2300)[31]. This type of belt was, as mentioned (p. 77), worn at Topzawa by new arrivals with a specially long, pleated-up kirtle and a hood. These women wore across the hood a triple silver chain mounted with turquoise, *pêr'ak*, (E. 2299).

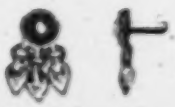

Fig. 68: Nose ornament for women (E. 2303).
Worn in a hole in the left nostril. Sulaimani. Scale 1:1.

Nose ornaments in the form of a small gold pin with movable attachment, *Shawâna*, (E. 2303) are worn in the left nostril. Children also wear jewellery. This may be blue buttons or blue glass beads (E. 2287a–d) (cf. Superstition and Witchcraft, p. 134), but also of more precious metals. Brow ornaments of gold, plaited and stuck into the hair on the front of the head, in the form of a little crescent with three heart-shaped, movable pendants, known as *gul* (E. 2302), the same type being called by the Arabs *hilâl*[32]. Bangles of silver with one or more chains that link them with one or more finger rings, an Indian form of ornament. Finally the child might have obliquely across its chest an ornament and amulet chain, *Lâlik*, (E. 2301) called after one of the objects, a small reproduction of a beggar's bowl[33].

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

substituted that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6-7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[29] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..., and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[30].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[31]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of this father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[32]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[33], are: father's brother's daughter, *amzad*, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, *pûrzd*, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, *xâlzd*, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, *pûrzd*, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[34] and Barth[35] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Topzawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sargalu. In Sarkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[36]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice so common in Islamic areas.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taffa's brother said that if the desired bride had an older brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Topzawa said further that a man in his milieu was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

can be attached to what this young man said, so I prefer to stick to the facts available about his immediate family. In the humble village environment (Tiqawa) I came across three examples of brides having been brought from Sulaimani as they gave prestige to the village. In the educated milieu, on the other hand, I met a strongly-expressed wish to be linked by marriage with good, prominent families.

Difference in the position of man and woman when contracting marriage. None of the brides in Kurdistan whom I had an opportunity to observe appeared as radiant as we are accustomed to see in our culture. The Kurdish brides either looked remarkably unaffected or else directly resentful. My interpreter's sister, whose wedding preparations and later wedding I witnessed, went about in the days prior to the wedding extremely unkempt and with an attitude of complete indifference. In reply to my question my interpreter told me that it is not the custom for brides to take any part in the preparations, and that out of regard for her future family no impression must be given of exploiting the working capacity of the young woman; in addition, the bride-to-be must not suggest, by paying too much attention to her appearance, that she is interested in being married.

In her study of weddings and marriages in Palestine, Granqvist probably provides an explanation applicable also to the Kurds, for she says[37] that it is the bridegroom who is happy, and with him his family and friends. Happiness prevails in the home of the bridegroom, the house of the wedding. A bride, on the other hand must bewail her fate. Is she not to leave her family home, and will not this home lose a member? Besides, Granqvist points out, it is considered highly unbecoming for a bride to evince happiness.

When, on the other hand, the marriage negotiations began in the case of my interpreter's brother and the wedding arrangements were being discussed, it was planned as a joyous festival, the house next door being borrowed and a dance arranged in its large courtyard. A later letter, dated 23rd August 1958, told me that 600 people were invited to the wedding, and that the dance had lasted from morning to night. As an unmarried son, his accomodation in the home was confined to a mattress which he spread out with the rest of the family, plus a niche behind a mirror for his few effects; his pyjamas (leisure and sleeping garment) lay, when not in use, rolled up on a chair in the guest reception room, which he also used for changing. In a word, he had had only a minimum of room at his disposal. When he married he and his wife would be allotted to their sole use one of the house's three living rooms. He and his wife, at all events initially, would form a cell within the family with a claim to space and a private life—a notable improvement of his position in the home.

Marriage policy and marriage negotiations. "Many families have wanted me", was my interpreter's reply to my question as to what possibilities she had had to be married. In other words she could boast of the fact that many *families* had applied to her's regarding the initiation of the marriage negotiations so essential a preliminary to a marriage in a Muslim area, where the world of man and woman is divided, and a young man meets no women other than his nearest relations with whom marriage is precluded.

In the family home of my interpreter at Sulaimani I had an opportunity of watching at close quarters the marriage negotiations conducted by the young man's family with that of a possible candidate.

584 The initiative came from the young man himself. After a sister had left to be married, the son of the house, a 26 year old primary school teacher who naturally lived at home, began to conduct low-toned conversations with "my father's wife" (his stepmother), and with his sister my interpreter. These talks did not take place during the day, so to say openly, but in the evenings after many members of the family had gone to their rest. Confidential whispering went on between the two women and him as to whether they knew a suitable young girl in the homes they visited and whether they would not start negotiating with the mother of such a person. His savings, which he had put by penny by penny, were in the postoffice (not in the bank) and now amounted to a suitable bride price. I was told that the sum amounted to 500 Dinars, equivalent to £900. The reason why, in addition to his sister, he applied to his stepmother[28] rather than to his own mother was, I was told, because the younger wife of his father was better looking, a better conversationalist, and less old-fashioned than his own parent. The prospective bride was chosen from among the older pupils at the Goitsha School for Girls where my interpreter was a teacher. As both the young man and the girl belonged to one of the better families in Sulaimani, they had never had anything to do with each other. Once, youthful in her zeal, the girl had come to deliver a message at her teacher's home, and was told that the young man who had just left was her teacher's brother. This was all the contact the two had had. The girl was described as "very polite". This can be construed as meaning that her appearance was agreeable, her manners pleasing, and that she was well brought up and domestically capable. The families were unrelated to each other.

As I was away on a trip with my interpreter, I unfortunately missed the first two conversations between the women of the young man's family and the girl's mother, but I learned that the young man's stepmother, accompanied by a female acquaintance of established position, esteemed alike for the wealth of her progeny and her worldly possessions, paid an introductory call on the mother of the young girl on Wednesday, 28th August (1957), and a second visit on Friday, 30th August. At the third visit in the girl's home, both my interpreter and I were present. On this occasion four women of the young man's family negotiated with the sole representative of the girl's family, her mother. The talks took place in the home's guest reception room, which lay at the side of the entrance hall and was entered without passing through the family rooms grouped around a wooded courtyard. No refreshments were offered, not even ice water, which stressed that the talks at that stage were not binding in any way. While all this went on we were seated on a very high-legged, uncomfortable sofa and equally uncomfortable chairs in an otherwise bare room. A cousin of the girl concerned entered the room, but the object of the negotiations put in no appearance[29].

Two matters were discussed at the third meeting: the one was the character of the customary information collected by the girl's family about the young man's reputation, the other, the size and employment of the bride price, which, in my experience, was debated at this stage and not postponed until the drawing up of the marriage contract by the men. Whereas the young man's family had naturally obtained as much information as possible about the girl and her family before seeking contact, it is only after the first meeting that the other side could begin to investigate a possible son-in-law's reputation in the town where, as a man, he spent the major part of his leisure and working hours. In the case I had an opportunity of following, it had apparently been said that the young man

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sleep in the same room as those with whom marriage was precluded. After the drawing up of the marriage settlement he was thus considered as already her brother-in-law. (That engagements are just as binding as marriage is mentioned by Blackman[111] in regard to the Egyptian *fellahin*). On the other hand, he was never alone with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the two young people were talking together, and he did not very often pay a visit. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the white veil over her head when speaking to him, but at the same time went about in a remarkably slovenly way, attired in old, dirty clothes. The two young people were to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with that part of the paid-up bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture items were to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedroom suit in polished wood and so forth. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 15 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed at an Iraqi-Arab hotel in the main thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all four shared a room in which they had both slept and eaten their meals, prepared food having been bought at shops in the town. As at home there was no undressing at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 26 year old brother at the same hotel. Here also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay at Baghdad the young couple were never alone but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them.

[583]

When the prospective bride was on an excursion by car with the women of the house and her elder brother, she (and the other women) wore *abā* and veil, great care being taken that the veil was not lifted or shifted. It was explained that this was in order that nothing could be said about her either by her prospective husband or her future in-laws. There was no actual sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Granqvist[112] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people must not meet each other whilst they are engaged, and the prospective bride must hide herself when the young man pays a visit to the home. However, the young people in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their affianced state than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[113]. Its employment and sociological significance.

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The bride price *mahr* is mentioned in the Coran, Sure 4, verse 4 and Sure 5, verse 5, as the ordained morning-gift, for it expressly lays down that the Faithful are permitted to take in marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the peoples who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1778 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from the Arabs in that greater pleasure was evinced at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could later be obtained for her, only a small trousseau being given her in return, whereas the Arabs and Turks expend the whole bride price on the bride's effects and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying: "many daughters are thus with them a source of wealth[114]".

[858] [554]

In a humble village miles, Balkha, I was told that a 11-12 year old bride was acquired for a bride price of 20 Din., plus a dress for the bride. Whether the sum was paid out in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Bishop[115] says of the Bakhtiari that the bride price can be paid in the form of a

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

583 sum of money or in cattle, according to the circumstances of the family. Similarly, in a humble village millers (Topzawa) 200 Din. was paid for a bride from Sulaimani, the bride's father, it was said, retaining one quarter for himself; possibly this was the share kept in hand in the event of divorce or widowhood. The residue, 150 Din., was spent on jewellery and three complete outfits for the bride, on dinner service, mattresses and quilts for the bridal bed, plus a bridal chest. The bridegroom also presented the bride with a battery wireless set. Of gifts in return from the bride's family were mentioned on complete dresses for the bride (but nothing to the bridegroom's family).

[587] It was stated that the bride price for a widow or a divorced woman was less than that for a young girl, which corresponds to what Lane reports about the Egyptian Arabs[116].

In Sulaimani the highest bride price I heard of was 1500 Din., to which must be added the part deposited for payment in the event of the wife being divorced or widowed, which must have been at least about 500 Din. if a third, and 750 Din. if a half of the full bride price. As already mentioned, my interpreter's brother had saved up 500 Din., whereas the paid out part of the bride price given by the brother-in-law for her sister was 400 Din. In the meantime I was told that the girl's family had made it a condition that 1500 Din. be deposited.

As an example of the way the paid up portion of the bride price is expended, it may be of interest to review the purchases made with the sum of 400 Din. above-mentioned. As regards jewellery for the bride, turban chains with precious stones, and agates, plus chin chain with coins for securing the cap - all parts of gold - were ordered from a Sulaimani goldsmith. Compared with a similar set of ornaments I saw worn by the wife of the sheikh of Topzawa, we can assume that this set accounted for at least 100 Din.

583 352 The purchases in Baghdad were: a bedroom suite consisting of a polished wooden double bed with a spring mattress, a double wardrobe, dressing table with oval, adjustable mirror, two night tables, a stool, a large silk-lined, fitted beauty box covered with pink velvet, and a dumb waiter. In addition a spangle-embroidered rose satin bed-spread, material for a silk-embroidered rose quilt, white gauze bed-spread for use in great heat, rose satin curtains, two ornamental cushions sewn over with sequins, a rose satin bonnet-net studded with sequins, and rose satin for a pouch in which a copy of the Coran was to be hung[117]. Bales of cotton, plus material for covering pillows, an extra mattress for the double bed and two single mattresses for use on the roof and for sitting on were also bought, as well as bed linen: sheets, eiderdown cover and pillowcases. Other purchases comprised guest room furniture consisting of a sofa, three or four chairs, a larger and a smaller smoker's table, all in steel and green plastic. Then there were kitchen and eating utensils, tea glasses, samovar, wash basin and appurtenant water jug of brass, European knick-knacks, paper flowers to put in china vases, satin for coats and waistcoat; chiffon, nylon, and tulle interwoven with metal thread for kirtles; artificial silk with interwoven metal thread or taffeta for the long baggy trousers. Artificial silk and satin for the shift was bought either at Baghdad or Sulaimani and distributed among the horse tailors, seamstresses and women at home to be made up.

To sum up, the bride price was expended on the bride's trousseau, household equipment, plus a bedroom suite in European style of the last century, very modern guest room furniture in functionalistic steel - in striking contrast to the furniture in the parental home, where the oldest things were

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

clumsy, high-legged, un-upholstered sofas and chairs, whilst the later pieces were covered in red velvet in the French fashion of the '80s.

Corresponding to all this for the bride's future home and for her personal use—purchased with the 400 Din. the bridegroom had to pay out of the bride price—the bride's family, a mixture of educated and uneducated urban environments, also expended about 150 Din. on gifts for the bridegroom and his relatives who arrived the day before the wedding.

The bridegroom received from his coming in-laws his wedding clothes, in this case a light European summer suit, and with it leather shoes, socks, ties, handkerchiefs, shirt, underwear, pyjamas, soap, shaving tackle, bath gown, small bath mat of velvet to sit on during the bath, and a box of sweets. All these were later wrapped in a hand-embroidered silk cloth[119], and delivered by a messenger, an elderly woman to whom he had to give a gift of money. Three of the bridegroom's closest female relatives, that is to say the mother and two sisters, were given printed cotton for kirtles. Seven of the bridegroom's male relations received gifts from the bride's family in the form of a shirt and a pair of drawers. Of the shirts three were European style, bought in Baghdad, accompanied by ties, socks and handkerchief, whilst the other four shirts were home-made, Kurdish type. The seven pairs of drawers were all bag-shaped and without fly, though the three pairs intended to be worn with the European shirt and European suit were not cut quite as wide as the others that were designed to be worn under a Kurdish dress. A large consignment of English greys was purchased for this purpose, being cut out in the home by a seamstress who took them away to be made up.

In addition to the expense on these gifts to the bridegroom and his family, came the value of the ornaments that the bride would receive from her family when paying her first visit in her family home a week after the wedding in order to take a bath. The value of these trinkets was said to be 42 Din. Thus the cost of the wedding was, according to my informants: bridegroom and his family 400 Din.; bride's family 192 Din., which latter roughly corresponded to half the bride price. To this came the cost incurred by the bride's family in entertaining the women who visited the bride the whole of the wedding day until she left.

Hay mentions that there is a difference between the urban and the village milieu in Kurdistan in regard to the expenses payable by the two families involved in a wedding. According to him[120] the young man in a Kurdish village must collect a certain sum in order to acquire a bride, whereas in the towns the bride's family gives her such ample equipment that it is unnecessary for the young man to save up in order to "purchase" her. This does not agree with my experience and the information I was given by Kurds.

As has already been shown, the position in Southern Kurdistan is that in villages the man pays a certain sum in money or cattle as the bride price or bride wealth in addition to a dress for the bride, receiving in return nothing whatever from the bride's family. To this extent my information agrees with Hay's—and with Lane's in regard to conditions in Egyptian villages[121]. When we come to urban conditions the bridegroom, in my experience, is obliged to pay a bride price, the distribution of which has been explained above, corresponding to the girl's social position. However, the bridegroom and his relatives, plus the bride, receive from the bride's family gifts costing about half as much as the amount paid out of the bride price. This does not accord with Hay, who, in the case of the towns,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

583 114 369 does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does I quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lets the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[125], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

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585 291 *Wedding preparations.* Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the house where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, then a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was smashed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

[111] The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English greys the shirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

585 302 515 The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girls, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[122]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[123] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "Shán shámer", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[124]. At another place Lane[125] refers to a depilatory, "noorah", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

[305] This removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[126]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[127].

585 291 197 In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connexion with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish woman's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

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585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 15. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[45], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[46], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[47], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[48]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[49], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseau, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing otherwise only saw among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 149). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dramatics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyer band system outside the home, religion and the peace of mind that goes with it—will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the woman's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children—there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even to-day in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[1], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

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[1] The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—in this case in Egypt—is stressed by Granqvist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the Arabic women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

4: Heinsen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Knvd MA11

were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that she is bought. Now people among whom bride price is customary do not understand the Western ideal; their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgement depends on custom, which is no certain or absolute measure of value"[6].

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various areas, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected and valued position; she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the only means whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state.

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West. In place of the clearly-crossed special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At the same time her efforts in the spheres that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly less prized.

As the industrialisation of the country progresses, a large part of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to trade with all its consequences, both good and bad. Her firmly-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by religion, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

In the event of divorce and the adoption of monogamy, the stationary home that has so far existed for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mother and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the community structure, as is about to be the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has now reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not obtain a place in the joint family, and the homes will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. The paramount demand concerning virginity is only logically justified provided a home exists where the girl can dwell, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself—arrange her marriage.

The older members of the family are deprived of the right and duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent improved security for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and what it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAN Kurd MAN

reduced brideprice, or none at all; so from the point of view of the potential groom, the incentive to cousin marriage is considerable. No rationalization of the pattern in terms of the Koranic approval of close kin marriage was ever advanced in conversations on the subject — in fact, the contrary was occasionally claimed. — We shall return later to some more basic factors relating to this marriage pattern.

Any special preference for FaBrDa as against the other three types of cousins was denied, and the higher incidence of FaBrDa marriages was explained by the fact that there «are more of them». This is in fact true, as far as the local village is concerned. A certain amount of inter-village marriage does take place. Marriage being neolocal in the man's village or occasionally patrilocal, all FaBr's children will be living in your own village, whereas a certain number of those related to you through a female will reside in other villages.

The frequency of marriage with actual, non-classificatory cousin is very high, ranging around 60 % in many of the villages studied (see Table 3). Considering that any irregularity in sex or age distribution of cousins must affect the opportunities for cousin marriage adversely, 60 % is probably close to the practical maximal frequency which such a marriage form can ever attain.

A second type of marriage is the *zhin-bo-zhin* (= sister exchange). In such cases of course the bride price is eliminated by the reciprocity of the two men exchanging their sisters with one another, and only the expenses immediately connected with the marriage celebration and trousseau remain. From the purely financial point of view, the sister exchange is thus advantageous, and may in a sense be regarded as an extension of the FaBrDa marriage pattern within the village community. In the non-tribal villages, such marriages are fairly frequent. On other counts, however, they are not considered too satisfactory. Where no close kin ties exist between the two men performing the exchange, the chances of disruption of the unions are increased: sibling loyalties are of the same order of magnitude as loyalty between spouses, so domestic difficulties in the one household are said to produce similar conflicts in the other household, in a vicious circle.

581 • [583] In the case of a marriage between non-relatives, where no direct exchange of women is arranged, the brideprice is quite high, running from £ 30 to 100 — and these prices are in fact paid. This is considered to correspond to the actual economic value of a woman, so no obligation — e. g. a return marriage in the next generation — remains. Because of the size of the sum involved, it is often vital for the young man to avoid full payment, and the high incidence of cousin marriage, as well as of sister exchange, may be seen partly as a result of this.

It is on the other hand more difficult to explain how the father can be willing to forego his right to a brideprice in the case of a nephew. His household is quite separate from that of his brother and nephew, and non-payment of brideprice constitutes a direct net loss. The origins of the rule might conceivably be sought in a now passed patrilineal extended family organization, where transfer of property between brothers would be meaningless. Today, the pattern is an established privilege of certain categories of relatives, enforced by those who profit from it. And the right is indeed enforced, as indicated by the statement of the father, cited above, and by the not infrequent murder of girls refusing their cousins (e. g. Hay, 1921 p. 71). Stories of such conflicts are very popular among Kurds, and the occasional forceful reminders serve to assure the privilege.

Probably the most fundamental consideration inducing a man to give his daughter to a brother's son has the character of a positive sanction, and is connected with the feud, and political power in general. In essence, it may be summarized as follows: A man's power is proportional to the number of riflemen he can mobilize to support his case. Especially in the feud situation, these alignments of younger men around an older leader are in lineage terms. If a man has alienated his nephews by denying them their traditional rights, he will have great difficulties rallying them in time of need. A marriage between his daughter and a brother's son contributes positively to prevent such alienation of collateral branches. No other son-in-law can fill this function, since a man is not regarded as responsible for his affinals *qua* affinals. The only persons who can be expected to give such political support are co-lineage males. — After a descrip-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

In the ideal, the Kurdish family which maintains ortho-cousin marriage and does not require the wife to change her place of residence on marriage forms what may be termed a "fratrilocal" group. Brothers are close neighbours or even share the same house. They frequently work their landholdings jointly, perhaps even in cooperation with their cousins. The marriage of ortho-cousins clearly serves to simplify and perpetuate such cooperation. Moreover in such a case the bride-price, whatever its nominal amount - and the Kurds are keen to flatter their wives by asserting that they have paid a quite fabulous price for them, - is in practice nothing but a sort of book entry, a transfer of assets from the right hand to the left. Even where the marriage to father's brother's daughter does not take place, there is still a strong tendency for a man to marry a girl from his own village - i.e. a classificatory "ortho-cousin" - if for no other reason than that the Agha must approve of all marriages and he has an obvious interest in keeping the group as closely unified as possible. Besides, a man of the commoner class would normally have competitively few opportunities of either meeting or bargaining for a girl from another village, still less for a girl of another clan or tribe. Startling romances and elopements do take place, but they are the exception and are usually followed by a killing and bloody trail of vengeance. For the commoner the general rule of marriage within the taifa is fairly well maintained. In this connection the building of the road will probably have important consequences for the Balik in the near future, since the ordinary tribesman can now much more readily make contact with groups other than his own immediate kinsfolk.

592. 582 [629] [628]

Marriage of Aghas

The foregoing applies however only to the marriage arrangements of commoner families (kurmanj). Quite different are the conditions that govern the marriage of the son of an Agha. Mohammedan law permits a man to have four wives at a time, and to effect divorce simply by the pronouncement of the word taleq three times. In practice scarcely any of the commoners among the Balik can afford more than one wife, and polygyny is the almost exclusive prerogative of the Aghas. The marriage to father's brother's daughter serves to simplify and concentrate the inheritance of cattle, implements and other items of 'capital' equipment within the economic working unit of the group household and to avoid friction over the inheritance of tenancy rights. But the Agha is not swayed by considerations of inheritance since, in the limited sense already described, he 'owns' all the available land anyway and there is no question of splitting up the territory at death. His aim rather is to gain prestige and live at peace with his neighbours. We find therefore that the marriages of Aghas tend to take the form of political alliances, rather after the style of the royal marriages of mediaeval Europe. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balesh for instance, who in the course of a long life has had 9 wives and 15 surviving children, appears to be related either by marriage or

622 581

277 4/2 effect of greatly reducing the ultimate return for the producer. Thus a cultivator who sold his crop for a cash advance at the time of sowing would only get about 60% of the market value of his ultimate crop. Merchants would pay substantial gifts - either in cash or kind - to the Agha for the right to trade and in return the Agha would in effect guarantee the contract. Thus if an individual cultivator failed to meet his contract the Agha could force him to sell his personal goods to meet the bond, though for reasons of kinship it seems likely that the Agha would in many cases prefer to meet the liability himself.

Marketing procedure 3. Detailed enquiries in Walash revealed that the tobacco surplus for that village is fairly small and is disposed of either through individual tobacco dealers operating from Erbil or else through the ordinary shop; terms of trade are for cash only, and there is no system of advances. From Dargala, where the tobacco cultivation is much more extensive, I unfortunately obtained no information concerning marketing methods.

Having dealt with the various individual contacts between members of the village and those outside it, there remain for examination those forms of exchange within the group itself which have an essentially social rather than an economic basis. Owing to lack of empirical data I can do little more than point out what are the principal occasions for these exchanges.

• 589 [584] Marriage. A bride price is payable by the bridegroom to the bride's father. I was told that if the wife ran away or otherwise misbehaved herself the husband could claim back part of the bride price, but the information was not specific. * In the event of a divorce the husband is responsible for the maintenance of his former wife at any rate during her pregnancy and frequently longer. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures concerning the amount of bride price paid. Hay quotes the figure of £300 for a wealthy Agha. There is a natural tendency to exaggerate the figures both as flattery for the lady and to create an air of affluence about the informant. When I pointed out that in the case of the marriage of ortho-cousins living as close neighbours in the same village the payment of bride price, whatever its amount, could be little more than a nominal transaction, this was admitted; nevertheless, it was argued, every girl's self

* Hay (p. 44) says the husband is responsible only for three months after divorce or during pregnancy whichever is the longer and this is good Mohammedan law. According to my interpreter important Aghas wishing to increase the number of their household will sometimes divorce one of their wives merely in order to marry a fifth; in such a case the divorced wife would remain a member of the Agha's household indefinitely, though whether her position would be that of concubine was not made clear. The situation however is hypothetical as I obtained no concrete examples.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

ostem demands that her price should be a high one. It would need a very intimate knowledge of all concerned to find out what real transactions take place within the village on the occasion of a marriage. Where the marriage is to someone outside the village the position is more clear, especially in the case of the Aghas, though here again there is a tendency to exaggerate the figures involved. A point of some interest is the frequency with which Aghas or their sons marry the daughters of townspeople. For instance a son of Sheikh Mohammed of Walash was married to a daughter of Mustafa Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz, and one of the wives of Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala was also a townswoman. Such marriages are socially approved of as it is considered that townswomen bring with them an air of culture and sophistication. The reciprocal marriage of Agha daughter to townsman's son is however most unusual, mainly because the townsmen considers the tribal girl raw and uncivilised. The one sided nature of the transaction thus represents a further periodic crash load to the tribal group without any compensating return.* It is not to be supposed that the bride price payment is the only economic transaction taking place on the occasion of a marriage. Near relatives on both sides send presents to the bridegroom; these may be in kind or cash and in the case of marriages between important Agha families may amount to substantial sums.

Death. Compared with normal Moslem usage the mourning ceremonies of the Kurds, at any rate for Aghas, are unusually prolonged. While I was staying at Walash the wife of Mustafa Agha, second son of Sheikh Mohammed, died. As Mustafa was the Agha of a neighbouring village I did not see the ceremonies involved. I was told that the proceedings consisted principally of the bereaved sitting at home in his Guest House and providing food and drink for all those friends and relatives who may think fit to come and condole with him. This would go on for a month. Moreover it was reckoned that as Mustafa had only a small Guest House all his less immediate kin would have to be accommodated at Walash. I gathered that the mourners would bring with them gifts which would at least approximately compensate for the cost of entertaining them, but the immediate economic strain occasioned by a death such as this may be considerable. As soon as Sheikh Mohammed heard the news he sent off riders to Rowanduz to fetch four sacks of sugar (96 kilos each), two bags of rice and a big roll

* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to sell their unmarried girl children to townsfolk. The girls were known as Kuniya. During adolescence she was a slave servant of the purchaser but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the mui tsai system of South China.

852 circumcised at about the age of seven.
304 Once more the relatives and friends gather, sweetmeats are produced, and there are two days of preliminary feasting and music to dim the pain of the operation. On the third day, when the operation is performed, the *reskdalat* (national dance) is danced, in which men and women stand arm in arm in a row swaying backwards and forwards while music and singing fill the night with sound.

• 583 The next great event in the life of the young Kurd is his marriage. When he reaches about eighteen years of age, or earlier among the tribes, he takes a wife. Among the poorer people a girl of one family is exchanged for a girl of another family, and a double marriage takes place; or if one girl is too young, she is set aside as the *dargyras* or fiancée of the boy until old enough to be married (that is, about 14 years old in the case of women). So for a poor family the only expense incurred is three days of feasting and the

• 583 price of cooking-pots, blanket and a carpet with which to set up the new household. The total cost of a poor man's wedding is between five and ten pounds sterling.

Among the richer families a girl may be bought instead of exchanged. The price may be anything, depending on the beauty of the girl and the willingness of the family to part with her (that is, on their ability to argue well). The wedding feast of a rich *agha* (chieftain) may involve feeding a thousand guests for a period of ten days.

462 In the nomadic tribe, however, the
583 situation is rather different. The women of the tribe do all the work while the men sit about talking and sleeping. By night they rarely sleep, as they sit around with their rifles ready to guard the box of money and valuables kept in the tent. Therefore the beauty of a young girl taken in marriage is a secondary consideration in determining her price. The nomad is rich in live-stock, if not in cash, and the cost of a girl may vary between

462 about forty and one hundred pounds.
583 Her value will depend on her utility—her physical strength for manual labour, and her ability to make carpets, rugs, clothes and other things.

562 Contrary to the practice in most Mohammedan countries the Kurdish woman goes about openly and unveiled. She carries herself with a quiet dignity rivalling that of her menfolk. Although women are still regarded as chattels, the women in a Kurdish family have an appreciable influence over their spouses. The symbol of triumphant womanhood in Kurdistan was the famous Adela Khanum, who on the death of her husband took over the reins of chieftainship of the Jaf tribe when it was at the height of its wealth and power. She ruled it with a wisdom and firmness rivalling that of Queen Elizabeth.

177 When education in a foreign tongue, 'European' clothes, and rattling typewriters are forced upon the Kurd by the threat of rattling machine-guns in the way

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER II.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

KÛRDISH maidens are, as a rule, allowed to choose 584
their own husbands, and the practice of courtship is not unknown. The father's consent is necessary, though couples sometimes dispense with it by running 583
away together when, for pecuniary or other reasons, it is withheld. Among the families of the chieftains, however, *mariages de convenance* are usual, and the parties are frequently comparative strangers to each other. The ceremony of betrothal consists of a 584
reception at which refreshments are served. The expression "To drink sherbet"[1] signifies with the [272]
Kûrds to celebrate a betrothal. The bridegroom's presence at this ceremony is not necessary, or even usual, and he is generally represented by a near relative, a brother if he has one, who brings with him the customary presents to the bride and her parents.

The great feature at a Kûrdish wedding is the 535
performance of the *tchopee*, or national dance, of which 585
the women are quite as fond as are the peasants of Macedonia and Bulgaria. During marriage festivities,

[1] This favourite Oriental beverage is made of the juice of fruits, cooled with ice or snow.

For the Kurds themselves, safeguard had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a vendetta, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own. 484 579 629

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Kurds. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the badalkhwin or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, so they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter 696 628 622 [583] 628 584 622 [684]

of generosity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most sanguine of vendettas could follow. 622 628 584

The integrity of its women is perhaps the primary facet of a family's honor. If a Kurd insults anything other than the women of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honor of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious enunciation cannot be taken lightly. The honor of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this second regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus sent to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or 577 562 554 [684] [585] 684 562

is terms of the three questions just noted above. While 565
in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, 557
defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant 565
struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for 584
their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This
mobility, which has a moderate degree of realization, does
not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for
example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would
never wed those of a servent, but is rather to be found
among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same 565
things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling 572
at an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of
a company may visit each other and in other ways express
their friendship, but an executive does not normally seek
out intimates among his workmen or pay visits to their
homes, just as in Rowanduz friends are to be found among
those of comparable status. This is clearly indicated by
jesting. A man can always have a joke at the expense of [522]
an inferior, but never the reverse. "Anwar, you do business
like a child," a merchant said to one below him at a
gathering in a chaykhana, evoking general laughter. The
person in question could only shake his head, laughing at
himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to
taunt in return nearer his own status. On the other hand, 565
as has been seen, servants, particularly those from the 367
village where almost all belong to the same social stratum,
think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

uncle (mam) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (khal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (pilk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the diwankhana

604 [584] [736] [576] [593] [589] 574 604

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself. 593 577 554

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [584]. 291 882 574 602 835 605

it seems likely that this is only permissable after the two have been engaged to be married. 605 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. 593 [183] In masculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence to social status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quickly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to [851] [606] [586] [592]

other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the maids are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the diwankhana with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

572 562 572 [357] [584] [882]

Turning now to the course of an individual of Rowanduz through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the diwankhana or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor.

844 [782]

There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, and both youths and maidens are wed by their parents soon after it is believed they have reached maturity, usually at sixteen years for the girls and eighteen for the boys. Strong feeling is also found against arranging the marriage of a daughter younger than one of her unmarried sisters. Romantic love, just as it is understood in Europe and America, is a prominent feature of adolescence, although there is little chance of any physical realization prior to the wedding. A youth and maiden in love may arrange rare meetings in secret, and exchange gifts, embroidered handkerchiefs, flowers, apples, or even rings. If both are literate, they may send notes to one another. Most of these affairs, however, are confined to the exchange of passionate glances at public festivals, such as a birth, a circumcision, or one of the religious feasts, and are ended by one or the other of the two parties being engaged to some other person. Several young men told of their love for girls in adolescence, and how their parents had ultimately betrothed them, youths and maidens alike, to persons they hardly knew or did not particularly desire. It is possible for either a youth or a maiden to balk at such arrangements, occasionally with success. "If a daughter loves a certain youth and her parents ask her to marry another, she may refuse them. She cannot reveal the identity of her loved one to her father or brother (sometimes the youth is unaware of this passion), but her mother usually knows the person of whom she is enamoured,

584 [885] [831] [836]

and, if suitable, tries to arrange the match.[2] As previously noticed, couples on the rarest occasions may elope, taking sanctuary with a chieftain who will arrange their marriage. Almost all, however, defer to the wishes of their elders. 584 ● [583]

When the choice of a bride has been made, by the youth and his parents or by the parents alone, two parties, one of male relatives and friends and the other of females, excluding the boy and his father and mother, are dispatched to the house of the girl, sending notice of their arrival in advance. At this house the men are ushered into the guest-room and the women gather in another room. Many idle pleasantries are exchanged, and the man of the youth's party, in a circuitous fashion, extoll his virtues at length until there is no doubt that the father of the girl understands their errand. No mention is made of a match, in order that the maiden's parent, if the alliance must be declined, may excuse himself gracefully. The parties then take their leave, after arranging a second meeting. The parents of the girl now discuss the matter with their daughter and other relatives of the household. The consent of all, particularly that of the son of the father's brother, must be obtained. At the second meeting with the representatives of the youth, the father of the maiden expresses his approval, if the match is agreed upon, and the important matter of the dowry is decided by relatives other than the parents of the pair concerned.

With this information, the party of the youth again departs, and, if the sums find approval, final negotiations, the dates of the payment of the mugeddam, the first part of the dowry, and the ceremony of betrothal are made. 584

It would be incorrect to relate the ceremonies of betrothal and wedding in Rowanduz to those commonly understood in contemporary Europe or America. In Rowanduz the betrothal corresponds to our civil registration of marriage and the ceremony performed by a priest or minister, and the wedding to our reception and the consummation of the match. For betrothal in Rowanduz, the first formality to be carried out is the civil contract. Representatives of the youth and maiden meet in the court of the judge, the hakim, from whom a document authorizing the marriage, with certain parts left incomplete, is obtained. On the day appointed for the betrothal, the mulla and two witnesses of his selection are summoned to the house of the girl. A party made up of the youth, his father, his male relatives, and friends arrives next. The youth and his father are seated on the floor facing the parent or deputy of the girl, the mulla on one side. The form of the interview, like inheritance, is a matter of religious law, but might be reviewed here briefly. First, the mulla, after reciting from the Quran, asks the father of the girl if he agrees to the match. Receiving an affirmative reply, he now directs that the girl be called. She stands behind a door, concealed from the company. The mulla inquires her name and if she also agrees. Again, receiving affirmation,

asks the same question of the youth. When the youth 584
onsents, the mulla requires the maiden's father or
puty to repeat a formula in which he formally gives the
irl in marriage. Taking up a pen, he then supplies, with
me flourish, the names of the parties concerned and the
ms of the dowry on the contract, and the document is
igned by himself, the two witnesses, the youth, and the
ather of the girl. The ceremony is completed by further
citation from the Quran by the mulla and mutual congratu-
tions. The youth usually kisses the hands of the mulla,
is new father-in-law, and the witnesses.

The festivities of the betrothal are small in com- 585
arison with those of the wedding. There are banquets at
he homes of the parents, and perhaps some dancing and
usic, but these only demand part of a day. The muqeddem, [583]
he primary fraction of the dowry, is typically paid to
he father of the maiden by one of the male relatives of
he suitor when the contract is signed. At the same time,
he mother of the youth sends an expensive gift of jewelry,
racelets and earrings, to the girl. The period between 584
he betrothal and the wedding varies, from several weeks
o a year, and the two persons engaged are permitted great
reedom in their relations. If the youth can meet secretly
ith his fiancée, he may kiss her and present her with a
ing, a plain piece of jewelry, sometimes setting a stone
r cut glass, usually worn on a finger of the right hand.
ome men wear such rings themselves. At the same time, most

girls exhibit shyness and what may be described as willfulness in their behavior. "If the young man is a guest at her house and asks her for a glass of water, she may refuse him and the other people will laugh." Both boy and girl are embarrassed by a certain amount of joking by their elders and companions, and chafing a young man about his coming wedding is a common form of amusement. During this period, the girl's father is expected to have doubled the sum of the muqqadam from his own resources, and it is expended on the clothing, household needs, and jewelry of the prospective bride. Both houses are scenes of intense activity in preparation for the wedding. 584 [522] [583]

When a day has been selected for the wedding celebration, one of the elder men of the youth's family makes a tour of the town, inviting relatives and friends of his household. A similar invitation is issued by the father and brothers of the maiden. Those invited send many gifts of food to the two houses. On the forenoon of the wedding, the mother and sisters of the bride bathe and dress her carefully, rebraiding her hair and staining her hands with henna. Members of her family take presents of henna to the townspeople with which the recipients paint their fingers. One can always recognize a wedding-guest for some weeks afterward by such marks. At the two houses, those of the bridegroom and the bride, parties of guests assemble, and refreshments and banquets are given throughout the day, the brother or most intimate friend of the youth receiving the 585 [302]

4: Hanaan E-5 (1957) 1961 MAII Kurd MAII

can be attached to what this young man said, so I prefer to stick to the facts available about his immediate family. In the humble village environment (Topzawa) I come across three examples of brides having been brought from Sulaimani as they gave prestige to the village. In the educated milieu, on the other hand, I met a strongly-expressed wish to be linked by marriage with good, prominent families.

Difference in the position of man and woman when contracting marriage. None of the brides in Kurdistan whom I had an opportunity to observe appeared as radiant as we are accustomed to see in our culture. The Kurdish bride either looked remarkably unaffected or else directly resigned. My interpreter's sister, whose wedding preparations and later wedding I witnessed, went about in the days prior to the wedding extremely unkempt and with an attitude of complete indifference. In reply to my question my interpreter told me that it is not the custom for brides to take any part in the preparations, and that out of regard for her future family no impression must be given of exploiting the working capacity of the young woman; in addition, the bride-to-be must not suggest, by paying too much attention to her appearance, that she is interested in being married.

In her study of weddings and marriages in Palestine, Granqvist probably provides an explanation applicable also to the Kurds, for she says[97] that it is the bridegroom who is happy, and with him his family and friends. Happiness prevails in the home of the bridegroom, the house of the wedding. A bride, on the other hand must bewail her fate. Is she not to leave her family home, and will not this home lose a member? Besides, Granqvist points out, it is considered highly unbecoming for a bride to evince happiness.

When, on the other hand, the marriage negotiations began in the case of my interpreter's brother and the wedding arrangements were being discussed, it was planned as a joyous festival, the house next door being borrowed and a dance arranged in its large courtyard. A later letter, dated 23rd August 1958, told me that 600 people were invited to the wedding, and that the dance had lasted from morning to night. As an unmarried son, his accomodation in the home was confined to a mattress which he spread out with the rest of the family, plus a niche behind a mirror for his few effects; his pyjamas (leisure and sleeping garment) lay, when not in use, rolled up on a chair in the guest reception room, which he also used for changing. In a word, he had had only a minimum of room at his disposal. When he married he and his wife would be allotted to their sole use one of the house's three living rooms. He and his wife, at all events initially, would form a cell within the family with a claim to space and a private life—a notable improvement of his position in the home.

Marriage policy and marriage negotiations. "Many families have wanted me", was my interpreter's reply to my question as to what possibilities she had had to be married. In other words she could boast of the fact that many *families* had applied to her's regarding the initiation of the marriage negotiations so essential a preliminary to a marriage in a Muslim area, where the world of man and woman is divided, and a young man meets no women other than his nearest relations with whom marriage is precluded.

In the family home of my interpreter at Sulaimani I had an opportunity of watching at close quarters the marriage negotiations conducted by the young man's family with that of a possible candidate.

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584 The initiative came from the young man himself. After a sister had left to be married, the son of the house, a 26 year old primary school teacher who naturally lived at home, began to conduct low-toned conversations with "my father's wife" (his stepmother), and with his sister my interpreter. These talks did not take place during the day, so to say openly, but in the evenings after many members of the family had gone to their rest. Confidential whispering went on between the two women and him as to whether they knew a suitable young girl in the homes they visited and whether they would not start negotiating with the mother of such a person. His savings, which he had put by penny by penny, were in the postoffice (not in the bank) and now amounted to a suitable bride price. I was told that the sum amounted to 500 Dinars, equivalent to £500. The reason why, in addition to his sister, he applied to his stepmother[19] rather than to his own mother was, I was told, because the younger wife of his father was better looking, a better conversationalist, and less old-fashioned than his own parent. The prospective bride was chosen from among the older pupils at the Goizha School for Girls where my interpreter was a teacher. As both the young man and the girl belonged to one of the better families in Sulaimani, they had never had anything to do with each other. Once, swathed in her *abá*, the girl had come to deliver a message at her teacher's home, and was told that the young man who had just left was her teacher's brother. This was all the contact the two had had. The girl was described as "very polite". This can be construed as meaning that her appearance was agreeable, her manners pleasing, and that she was well brought up and domestically capable. The families were unrelated to each other.

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As I was away on a trip with my interpreter, I unfortunately missed the first two conversations between the women of the young man's family and the girl's mother, but I learned that the young man's stepmother, accompanied by a female acquaintance of established position, esteemed alike for the wealth of her progeny and her worldly possessions, paid an introductory call on the mother of the young girl on Wednesday, 28th August (1957), and a second visit on Friday, 30th August. At the third visit in the girl's home, both my interpreter and I were present. On this occasion four women of the young man's family negotiated with the sole representative of the girl's family, her mother. The talks took place in the home's guest reception room, which lay at the side of the entrance hall and was entered without passing through the family rooms grouped around a wooded courtyard. No refreshments were offered, not even ice water, which stressed that the talks at that stage were not binding in any way. Whilst all this went on we were seated on a very high-legged, uncomfortable sofa and equally uncomfortable chairs in an otherwise bare room. A cousin of the girl concerned entered the room, but the object of the negotiations put in no appearance[20].

Two matters were discussed at the third meeting: the one was the character of the customary information collected by the girl's family about the young man's reputation, the other, the size and employment of the bride price, which, in my experience, was debated at this stage and not postponed until the drawing up of the marriage contract by the men. Whereas the young man's family had naturally obtained as much information as possible about the girl and her family before seeking contact, it is only after the first meeting that the other side could begin to investigate a possible son-in-law's reputation in the town where, as a man, he spent the major part of his leisure and working hours. In the case I had an opportunity of following, it had apparently been said that the young man

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was rather too interested in money, an Arab game of chance, at the tea house (Sura 5, verse 91 of the Coran forbids gambling). However, these rumours were denied in strong terms by my interpreter, the young man's sister, who invoked Allah to witness the truth of her refutation. The next question to be discussed was the amount of the bride price and how much of it was to be spent upon jewellery, household utensils and so forth. This bride price and its size was peripheralistically referred to by my interpreter as "what one will do for the girl". A third subject also came up for discussion: the young man's appearance. Curiously enough, no photograph was produced although there were photographers in Sulaimani. A plan was concocted whereby the girl's mother—clearly veiled of course—should drive in a car slowly past the small electrician's shop owned by the young man's father, where at the time (the summer holidays) the suitor was. In this way the girl's mother would obtain a glimpse of the person to whom she might decide to hand over her daughter.

It was the intention that the third meeting should be the final one between the women, and that the girl's mother would then place the matter before her husband to secure his sanction to the decisions reached by the women, whereafter the matter passes to the men. After that the girl's father would arrange a meeting between himself as his daughter's suit on the one hand and the young man and his father, possibly accompanied by some friends[*], on the other. In regard to similar situations in the villages, which, however, I had no opportunity to witness, I was told that at one place 130 men from a young man's village assembled to thank a girl's father for having sanctioned the union. These friends and guarantors for the young man's qualifications were served with tea by the girl's father, the prospective bridegroom having supplied the dearest item, namely the enormous quantity of loaf sugar, chopped into big lumps, used on such occasions. This may have been a Kurdish parallel to the engagement meal of the men of the two families that, according to Granqvist[*], is partaken by the Palestinian Arabs.

Incidentally, after this third and final meeting of women, my interpreter declared that it would be fitting if some time elapsed before the meeting between the men took place, as it did not look well for the young man's family to evince too great an eagerness after the marriage had been arranged. My return to Denmark stopped me from following the matter on the spot, but a letter from Mallin brought me further news. She wrote: *"Please you asked me about my brothers wife. She is not the same girl which we with you were to their house because we did'nt agree with the family, so we took another girl from the best Kurdish family. Her father is Sheikh Mahmoud's cousin which you met his son Baba Ali"*. From this letter it appears that it is possible for the young man's family to break off marriage negotiations at a relatively late date. It also seems from the words "*we took ....*" that it was not the young man himself, but the family, in the first instance its female members, which chooses the prospective bride. No mention is made of the girl's appearance or qualifications; the most important factor in the urban milieu apparently is to become related to a family of good repute and high social position.

To sum up the question of marriage negotiations in urban circles, it can be said that the bride need not be sought within the family. The father's brother's daughter marriage appeared to be practised by the village aristocracy. Marriage was a matter of family policy, weight being attached to the social prominence of the family with which a marriage alliance is sought. The women of the young man's

family select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[91], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have an *ex officio* right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[92].

In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities perceived as holding out as a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. While in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[93]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Halabja I lived in a home where the then 25 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 25[94]. Her first child was born 6-7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around Tawella, to which many families moved just for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, that, failing the protection afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11-12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6-7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour expected of her in her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what Kaberry[95] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9-11 is fully trained in the pattern of behaviour expected of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her wifely duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

No marriage contract. A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

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585 114 581 971 the deed is drawn up at the judge's residence and not in a mosque, which is a place of prayer and not (like Christian churches) a form of registration office. The same view is to be found in Blackman[586], who says that among Muslims no religious ceremony takes place—marriage is not a sacrament. Levy also states that "in Islām marriage is a secular contract and not a religious rite"[587]. This is not in accord with Kurdish conditions. That the drawing up of a marriage settlement here seems to be covered by religious precepts seems to be indicated by, for example, the presence of the *mulla*. According to *Jayakar*[588] matrimonial law and the rights of inheritance are generally considered more or less connected with religion, and within the dual legal system, spiritual and temporal, matrimonial and family rights fall to the spiritual judge. Islam is more than a religion, it is a whole system comprising all aspects of human life[589]. It would be highly remarkable if the drawing up of the marriage settlement should be a temporal act in view of the fact that the justification for the paying of a bride price is found in the Coran[590]. Rather can it be said that the drawing up of a marriage settlement within the *shari'at* rite of Islām, which the Kurds follow, is an act connected with religion. What on the other hand is distinct from the drawing up of the marriage settlement is the consummation of the marriage, which failing a better expression, what can be termed "the wedding". It has nothing to do either with the secular or spiritual authorities, being a purely private affair that sooner or later, often years after the drawing up of the marriage settlement, takes place in the form of a family festival with friends. This occasion, as opposed to the drawing up of the marriage settlement, can be said to be a secular, and particularly a quite private, action.

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584 369 *The social intercourse of engaged couples* in the event of prospective spouses knowing each other. In the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani I met one example of a couple who knew each other before marriage and had themselves chosen each other. This, of course, is the exception and was due entirely to their milieu.

The girl in the case was the 23 year old sister of my interpreter. Both she and the young man in question were primary schoolteachers who had met as colleagues and fallen in love. When the young man realized his interest in the girl he had applied to my interpreter, also a schoolteacher, as his family lived outside in one of the village areas from which no woman, mother or sister, was able to act as go-between. He told her that "he would like to be admitted to her family", and asked if she would act as his advocate and place the matter before her father. This had been done and the marriage settlement had been drawn up a year before my stay in Kurdistan. The wedding festival was imminent and took place whilst I lived with the family. In the months prior to the wedding I was able to study the pattern of behaviour applying to former colleagues now engaged, and the position of the prospective groom in the family he was to enter.

By the marriage settlement the young man became a member of the family to such an extent that he was able, with her 13 year old half-brother, to accompany my interpreter to the village of Tuqawa where she was to live with me in the sheikh's house. The night he spent there in order to act as an important escort and to investigate whether conditions there were sufficiently re-assuring, he was able to sleep in the same room as her half-brother and herself. My interpreter explained that she might

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sleep in the same room as those with whom marriage was precluded. After the drawing up of the marriage settlement he was thus considered as already her brother-in-law. (That engagements are just as binding as marriage is mentioned by Blackman[111] in regard to the Egyptian *fellāhīn*). On the other hand, he was never alone with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the two young people were talking together, and he did not very often pay a visit. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the white veil over her head when speaking to him, but at the same time went about in a remarkably slovenly way, attired in old, dirty clothes. The two young people were to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with that part of the paid-up bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture items were to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedroom suit in polished wood and so forth. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 15 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed at an Iraqi-Arab hotel in the main thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all four shared a room in which they had both slept and eaten their meals, prepared food having been bought at shops in the town. As at home there was no undressing at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 26 year old brother at the same hotel. Here also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay at Baghdad the young couple were never alone but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them.

When the prospective bride was on an excursion by car with the women of the house and her elder brother, she (and the other women) wore *abā* and veil, great care being taken that the veil was not lifted or shifted. It was explained that this was in order that nothing could be said about her either by her prospective husband or her future in-laws. There was no actual sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Granqvist[112] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people must not meet each other whilst they are engaged, and the prospective bride must hide herself when the young man pays a visit to the home. However, the young people in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their affianced state than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[113]. Its employment and sociological significance.

The bride price *mahr* is mentioned in the Coran, Sure 4, verse 4 and Sure 5, verse 3, as the ordained morning-gift, for it expressly lays down that the Faithful are permitted to take in marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the peoples who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1778 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from the Arabs in that greater pleasure was evinced at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could later be obtained for her, only a small trousseau being given her in return, whereas the Arabs and Turks expend the whole bride price on the bride's effects and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying: "many daughters are thus with them a source of wealth[114]".

In a humble village miller, Balkha, I was told that a 11–12 year old bride was acquired for a bride price of 20 Din., plus a dress for the bride. Whether the sum was paid out in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Bishop[115] says of the Bakhtiari that the bride price can be paid in the form of a

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As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

dream of not having to face a united women's front of, say, mother, wives (usually chosen by the women of his family), plus sisters, daughters half and fully grown, who ordered his life from start to finish. In an "educated wife" he hoped to obtain compensation for the social and emotional contact he was now forced to seek during the hours of day with other men.

This leads us to a discussion of the Islamic, and thus the Kurdish woman's marital position and the marriages arranged by the family. As already mentioned, the choice of a young man's married partner is practically always left to the women of his family, that is to say the mother or step-mother and sisters, whereafter the matter is laid before the father for approval. In regard to the fact that married couples in many cases have never seen each other before the marriage is to be consummated, the general Western idea is that it must be difficult for a young girl to be given to an unknown man. However, it must be equally trying for the young man. This is also pointed to by Granqvist when she says[4]: "In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man".

It was characteristic that the brother of Sheikh Taifûr in Topzawa, who was thinking of going to Europe, asked me if it really was true that one could walk up to any woman in the street and offer her marriage. That was his first impression of liberty of choice in Europe. He had never envisaged any sentimental basis for marriage.

The young woman is thus selected by the women with whom she will have to live and work, as the young couple usually dwells in the bridegroom's home. She must beforehand feel highly-prized by the bride price paid out on the contraction of marriage, which is expended to a greater or lesser degree on the luxury with which she is to be surrounded. In most cases she knows the women who are to be her daily companions and fellow-workers. From her own home she is well trained in the domestic work that can be expected of her. She has been brought up with the quite natural idea that her most important destiny and greatest happiness is to be allowed to bear children. From the years spent in the home among other women she has heard and witnessed everything worth knowing about the difficulties of matrimonial relations. She is not expected to be her husband's comrade on a spiritual or intellectual level. The basis for the joint family idea, with several generations housed within the the same building is a married life of a different nature, less organised than in our culture pattern. During the day the husband, even among the village aristocracy, has little opportunity of companionship with his wife, as the great boundary between the form of life of men and women compelled him to seek the society of other men, whilst on her side the woman enters the feminine half of the community. On entering marriage, a young woman, in addition to her own personal qualities, is regarded as a representative of a whole family, with which it has been felt desirable to become allied. She arrives in an aura of her own family's glory. She herself had no personal expectations beyond the advantages to be derived from the married state and the fulfilment of a woman's natural desire to have children. As young people in good families had not seen each other before marriage, it was obvious that no sentimental basis existed on which to start the union, but this did not mean that later on a high degree of sympathy might not develop between husband and wife and that this was quite

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 593 sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together, particularly because the culture pattern more or less separated the couple during the day. The young woman was thus faced with demands she was able to fulfil, highly-valued beforehand, with a prospect of a gain if greater sympathy or love was born between herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparison with other women, for in his outside life the husband never met them; the wives of his friends he never saw. In the home he met only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were thus not the chances that at his place of work or in society her husband met and fell in love with another woman, but were far more logically justified. If life together proved impossible, both husband and [586] wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage (see p. 121). Should she bear no children, or no sons, an extra wife was justified. This might mean that the family of the other wife stipulated that the first wife should be renounced, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family assured the bride beforehand as adequately as was humanly possible.

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584 The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps assisted by his family, for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should he not like his bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money in this disappointment, and secondly had to maintain his case against the women of his family, who had selected her. A new wife of the four sanctioned by the Coran, depending upon one's economic circumstances, was another unknown ticket in the marriage lottery.

593 562 [586] From the moment a man passed from the unmarried to the married state, he was for the rest of his life the head of a family. As the bride price was paid when marriage was contracted, the husband had not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[42] in the event of divorce. Quite small children, it is true, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father. In the event of a fresh marriage a man thus had no chance of leaving his children. The new wife, or [587] wives, who entered his home took over the work of looking after the brood of children that might already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is not always the case in the West. The constant factors in the home were thus, theoretically, the father and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children a mutual status quite different from the position of these three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women when one more of the four wives sanctioned by religion was acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when the home she entered had adolescent or adult 562 children. Nor has much consideration been given to the possibility that the stationary children, whom 586 the father is unable to marry off, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been renounced 593 by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and sent back to her family, leaving behind her three children aged about 6, 7 and 8 (see p. 137). When these children reached the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

592 case of bereavement and need. This obligation supposedly passes to nearest agnatic male relative, but practice is in fact very elastic, and follows «reasonable» arguments of residence and means.

Since each household is generally based on one elementary family, the marriage tie is the pivot on which household organization rests.
• 584 The verbalized theory on choice of spouse is quite simple. A man decides he wants to marry a certain girl — any girl. He chooses a reliable representative — preferably an older male relative — and the representative visits the father of the girl and makes the proposition. Considerable subtle diplomacy is performed by both sides in fixing a tentative brideprice. If the young man accepts the price, preparations proceed. The importance of the representative is evidently considerable. In one case, a laborer who was a transient in the area chose to send two representatives he did not know very well to a potential father-in-law whom he in fact knew better. The answer seems to lie in the better bargaining position of an outsider — he is freer to eulogize the virtues of the groom.

582 Theoretically, you may propose to marry any girl. In practice, there is a strong preference for FaBrDa marriage. Certainly a FaBrSo is considered to have first right of refusal. The case of the above mentioned transient laborer brings out the point: He was refused because, said the girl's father «I am afraid my brother's sons will kill me if I give her to you».[1])

The rationalizations and manifest reasons for this preferential marriage pattern are of several types. The father's interest in his daughter is used as an explanation for his preference of a BrSo as a son-in-law: he knows the nephew's possible shortcomings, which reduces the risk of mis-matching; furthermore, he would be able to exert some influence over the groom after marriage, through the agnatic kinship tie, to protect his daughter's interests. It is further usually said that «it is customary» for the nephew to pay only a

[1]) The same transient laborer had at a previous occasion in northern Iraq been refused a girl on similar grounds, although in this case *he* threatened to murder *her* if she was not given to him. The girl was indeed killed shortly afterwards, and the laborer spent a period of time in jail till he was released due to lack of evidence.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER II.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

KÛRDISH maidens are, as a rule, allowed to choose 584
their own husbands, and the practice of courtship is not unknown. The father's consent is necessary, though couples sometimes dispense with it by running 583
away together when, for pecuniary or other reasons, it is withheld. Among the families of the chieftains, however, *mariages de convenance* are usual, and the parties are frequently comparative strangers to each other. The ceremony of betrothal consists of a 584
reception at which refreshments are served. The expression "To drink sherbet"[1] signifies with the [272]
Kûrds to celebrate a betrothal. The bridegroom's presence at this ceremony is not necessary, or even usual, and he is generally represented by a near relative, a brother if he has one, who brings with him the customary presents to the bride and her parents.

The great feature at a Kûrdish wedding is the 535
performance of the *tchopee*, or national dance, of which 585
the women are quite as fond as are the peasants of Macedonia and Bulgaria. During marriage festivities,

[1] This favourite Oriental beverage is made of the juice of fruits, cooled with ice or snow.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

many come uninvited, bringing small presents to the bride in order to be able to take part in the *tchopee*. This national dance of the Kūrds is very similar to the Greek *hora*. The performers join hands in a semicircle, and balance their bodies backwards and forwards, marking time, first with one foot and then with the other, accompanying their movements with wild shrieks at intervals. The step is, however, less animated and varied than that of the *hora*, and has been described as "a soft undulating movement of the whole circle in harmony with the music, like a field of corn set in motion by the wind." During its performance, the Kūrdish warrior will affect the most sentimental and romantic expression of countenance, especially when dancing with his sweetheart, which is customary at small gatherings where no strangers are present. On other occasions the men and women dance separately, though the latter even then lay aside their veils, no matter how great the crowd of spectators.

The music to which they dance is chiefly that of the *bilwan*, a kind of reed-flute, several of which are played in unison. Its tones are soft and pleasing, though somewhat monotonous, Kūrdish music being in general, unlike Turkish and Persian, characterised by regular modulations. The airs are, for the most part, grave and melancholy, and would seem to be inspired by sentiments which one would hardly expect to find in the breasts of wild clansmen whose name has become familiar to us only in connection with violence and pillage.

At weddings, the *tchopee* is kept up for hours by

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

relays of performers, the men dancing first, and then the women. Mr. Rich thus graphically describes the part taken by ladies in this national recreation: 535 585

"The music struck up again the notes of the *tchopee*, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplendent with gold spangles and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to me, who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab tribeswomen are more scrupulous. [292]

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and wavingly round the enclosure, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The tune was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Sulimania." [291]

The Kūrds, being nominally Moslems, the marriage contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an *imām*. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a 585 [293]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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K 585 capture of the bride is simulated, though she is in reality purchased by the presents sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kûrds are K 595 practically monogamists, and divorce, though per- 586 mitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., well illustrates their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

Y 595 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, 583 like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages 586 with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is K made to divorce as with the Moslem Kûrds. Their Y 585 weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, 793 the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower Y grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *kawwals*, [793] perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâzir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 764 A Kûrdish funeral, although it forms a striking

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ex post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshhold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

detailed, examination will show. 262

Meat is used in the larger household almost every day. Beef is rare, as is the biryani, a whole roasted lamb stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, and spices, only appearing on the occasion of great feasts, such as the marriage of a chieftain's daughter. On the other hand, smaller quantities of lamb, mutton, or goat-meat, charcoal broiled on iron skewers (kabab, if diced, and tika, if whole pieces of flesh and fat), are everyday favorites. The same type of meat is also prepared as a stew with the addition of vegetables, and, diced and mixed with rice, used to stuff cucumbers, grape leaves, marrow, and tomatoes which are baked. Chicken and chikaw, the mountain partridge, are generally boiled, and the broth is served as a soup. Eggs are either fried in oil or boiled. Most of this cooking is accompanied with a great quantity of gi, clarified butter or vegetable oil, although in summer the townspeople try to avoid greasy foods. 262 252 [585]

Bread and rice have great importance, some of the latter produced locally, but the better grades imported from Iran. Rice must first be washed to remove dirt and pebbles, while a strong fire is built in the earthen cooking pit. A metal pot is placed over the flames and a quantity of oil and water are added. When this mixture boils, the rice is poured in and the whole is left until most of the liquid has boiled off. When this point is reached, the larger pieces of firewood are removed, and the pot is allowed to

of generosity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most sanguine of vendettas could follow. 622 628 584

The integrity of its women is perhaps the primary facet of a family's honor. If a Kurd insults anything other than the women of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honor of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious enunciation cannot be taken lightly. The honor of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this second regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus sent to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or 577 562 554 [684] [585] 684 562

he asks the same question of the youth. When the youth consents, the mulla requires the maiden's father or deputy to repeat a formula in which he formally gives the girl in marriage. Taking up a pen, he then supplies, with some flourish, the names of the parties concerned and the sums of the dowry on the contract, and the document is signed by himself, the two witnesses, the youth, and the father of the girl. The ceremony is completed by further recitation from the Quran by the mulla and mutual congratulations. The youth usually kisses the hands of the mulla, his new father-in-law, and the witnesses. 584

The festivities of the betrothal are small in comparison with those of the wedding. There are banquets at the homes of the parents, and perhaps some dancing and music, but these only demand part of a day. The muqqadam, the primary fraction of the dowry, is typically paid to the father of the maiden by one of the male relatives of the suitor when the contract is signed. At the same time, the mother of the youth sends an expensive gift of jewelry, bracelets and earrings, to the girl. The period between the betrothal and the wedding varies, from several weeks to a year, and the two persons engaged are permitted great freedom in their relations. If the youth can meet secretly with his fiancée, he may kiss her and present her with a ring, a plain piece of jewelry, sometimes setting a stone or cut glass, usually worn on a finger of the right hand. Some men wear such rings themselves. At the same time, most 585 [583] 584

girls exhibit shyness and what may be described as willfulness in their behavior. "If the young man is a guest at her house and asks her for a glass of water, she may refuse him and the other people will laugh." Both boy and girl are embarrassed by a certain amount of joking by their elders and companions, and chafing a young man about his coming wedding is a common form of amusement. During this period, the girl's father is expected to have doubled the sum of the muqaadan from his own resources, and it is expended on the clothing, household needs, and jewelry of the prospective bride. Both houses are scenes of intense activity in preparation for the wedding.

When a day has been selected for the wedding celebration, one of the elder men of the youth's family makes a tour of the town, inviting relatives and friends of his household. A similar invitation is issued by the father and brothers of the maiden. Those invited send many gifts of food to the two houses. On the forenoon of the wedding, the mother and sisters of the bride bathe and dress her carefully, rebraiding her hair and staining her hands with henna. Members of her family take presents of henna to the townspeople with which the recipients paint their fingers. One can always recognize a wedding-guest for some weeks afterward by such marks. At the two houses, those of the bridegroom and the bride, parties of guests assemble, and refreshments and banquets are given throughout the day, the brother or most intimate friend of the youth receiving the

people and supervising the entertainment. A party of men is assembled at the home of the bridegroom, and the bridegroom himself is seated on a horse. This group, leading the animal, makes its way through the town, accompanied by shouting, music, and the noise of rifles fired in the air. Arriving at the house of the maiden, the bridegroom dismounts and is led inside with his followers to be offered food and drink. A second group, made up of the bride and her female relatives and friends, is formed, and the bride also mounts an extravagantly caparisoned horse. A more striking procession now begins, headed by the bridegroom and his men. Following these are the bride, her relatives and friends, and the rear is brought up by donkeys and porters carrying the new household goods, clothing, and other treasures in brightly painted chests. The Kurds take great delight in discharging firearms on such occasions, and permission for this must be obtained from the government. When the bride of a chieftain was taken by automobile to Batas from Rowanduz, several thousand rounds were fired in the air along the route. The bridegroom arrives at his parental home before the bride, and takes up a station on the roof or balcony, furnished with a tray filled with grain, coins, and candy. When the bride is led up on her horse, he showers the contents of this tray over her and her women. As she dismounts, a sheep is slaughtered before the door of the house and her shoe is dipped in its blood before she can enter.

585 [492] [411] [656]

The consummation of the marriage is usually deferred

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the sha'i, a round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, holding each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

585 ● [535] [534] [431] [292] [431] [272]

initial advance, and he must slap her or draw his knife with a threatening gesture. This done, sometimes seriously, the couple may retire to their bed. 585

The virginity of a maiden must be attested, and from the white undergarments and bedding the maid who makes up the room in the morning is able to report on her "virtue," for the only test is the blood of the hymen. Occasionally the youth will smear a handkerchief with this blood and present it to his mother. In either case, the mother kisses the girl on the forehead and praises her for her chastity. The stained handkerchief, accompanied by an expensive gift, may be sent to the mother of the girl. If no blood is in evidence, a suspicious husband can return the girl to her father's house, and her relatives are more or less obligated to kill her. If, however, the youth's father is "pious," he requests his son to pardon the girl and to say nothing. After the bride has remained for seven days, a delegation of women from her father's house escorts her to her old home for a visit of several days. Her husband comes to take her a second time, on this occasion with no ceremony, and exchanges gifts with his father-in-law at this meeting. The feasting and dances which accompany the wedding can endure for a week or more, but most townspeople consider two or three days sufficient. The marriages of the poor are conducted with less ostentation, although relatively high sums may be expended, and those of the Kurdish aristocracy with the greatest display, the slaughter of dozens of animals [586] [627] [684]

and delegations of guests from all parts of Kurdish Iraq. 585 ●
When a woman, divorced or widowed, is married a second 587
time, the festivities are meager compared with those
described above, confined to informal banquets for the two
households concerned.

Divorce, like inheritance and betrothal, is a matter 586
of religious and civil law, and the townspeople and the [671]
Kurds in general, inasmuch as they seem to follow no customs
which contravene the code, have nothing to do with these
formulations. For a man, divorce is a simple proceeding
in Muslim Iraq, for he need only come into the presence of
the judge or the mulla or priest, with two witnesses, and
subscribe to one of the several formulae, of which the
simplest is saying, in Kurdish, to his wife, tallagum
bo dayt (the verb from Arabic tallaqa, "to divorce,"),
"I divorce you." According to Islamic prescription, a
husband can divorce his wife twice in this fashion and
each time take her back, but the third recitation is
absolutely binding. Only if the woman marries a third [587]
party and is subsequently divorced by him can she rejoin
her first spouse in another marriage. If a man wishes to
make the divorce final on the first occasion, he repeats
the formula three times. Of the minor separations, those
of the first or second occasions, there are two types.
In the first of these the woman asks no compensation, and
the divorce admits of easy reunion. In the second, the
woman demands and is paid the mu'akhar, that part of the

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Fig. 41. European wedding dress (cf. p. 71/73). Educated urban environment, Bukkuwati.

[838]

and night dress were obtained. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes sunbathing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with bikini are the most important dress elements. The Kwakiutl elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Shoulders has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Bukkuwati a short European shoulder-less part of the calico is twisted together and placed like a bandle over the bikini. This way of carrying it,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hurd MA11

can be attached to what this young man said, so I prefer to stick to the facts available about his immediate 582
family. In the humble village environment (Tamarrut) I came across three examples of brides having 582
been brought from Sekhmani as they gave prestige to the village. In the educated milieu, on the other hand, I met a strongly-expressed wish to be linked by marriage with good, prominent families.

Difference in the position of man and woman when contracting marriage. None of the brides in 585
Kardiman whom I had an opportunity to observe appeared as radiant as we are accustomed to see in our cultures. The Kurdish brides either looked remarkably unaffected or else directly resentful. My interpreter's sister, whose wedding preparations and later wedding I witnessed, went about in the days prior to the wedding extremely unkempt and with an attitude of complete indifference. In reply to my question my interpreter told me that it is not the custom for brides to take any part in the preparations, and that out of regard for her future family no impression must be given of exploiting the working capacity of the young woman; in addition, the bride-to-be must not suggest, by paying too much attention to her appearance, that she is interested in being married.

In her study of weddings and marriages in Palestine, Granqvist probably provides an explanation applicable also to the Kurds, for she says[1] that it is the bridegroom who is happy, and with him his family and friends. Happiness prevails in the home of the bridegroom, the house of the wedding. A bride, on the other hand must herself her fate. Is she not to leave her family home, and will not this home lose a member? Besides, Granqvist points out, it is considered highly unbecoming for a bride to evince happiness.

When, on the other hand, the marriage negotiations began in the case of my interpreter's brother and the wedding arrangements were being discussed, it was planned as a joyous festival, the house next door being borrowed and a dance arranged in its large courtyard. A later letter, dated 23rd August 1938, told me that 600 people were invited to the wedding, and that the dance had lasted from morning to night. As an unmarried son, his accommodation in the home was confined to a mattress which he [554]
spread out with the rest of the family, plus a niche behind a mirror for his few effects; his pyjamas (leisure and sleeping garment) lay, when not in use, rolled up on a chair in the guest reception room, which he also used for changing. In a word, he had had only a minimum of room at his disposal. When he married he and his wife would be allotted to their sole use one of the house's three living rooms. He and his wife, at all events initially, would form a cell within the family with a claim to space and a private life—a notable improvement of his position in the home.

Marriage policy and marriage negotiations. "Many families have wanted me", was my interpreter's 584
reply to my question as to what possibilities she had had to be married. In other words she could boast of the fact that many families had applied to her[2] regarding the instigation of the marriage negotiations so essential a preliminary to a marriage in a Muslim area, where the world of men and women is divided, and a young man meets no women other than his nearest relations with whom marriage is precluded.

In the family home of my interpreter at Sekhmani I had an opportunity of watching at close quarters the marriage negotiations conducted by the young man's family with that of a possible candidate.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

584 369 family select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[82], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

[671] The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have as *wali* the right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[83].

562, 584 In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities persisted in holding out as a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. Whilst in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

582 In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[84]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Halabja I lived in a home where the then 25 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 25[85]. Her first child was born 6–7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around Tawella, to which many families moved out for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, that, failing the protection afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11–12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6–7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

[221] It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour expected of her in her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what Kaberry[86] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9–11 is fully trained in the pattern of behaviour expected of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her wifely duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

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585 [191] *The marriage contract.* A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Within Islam the contraction of marriage is signalised by two things: the drawing up of a marriage settlement and the wedding festivities. 585

The drawing up of a marriage settlement is, as Levy points out[97], the main—I am tempted to say the basic—feature of a contracted marriage. According to what my interpreter told me, a marriage settlement drawn up by Kurds in the urban milieu of Sulaimani demands the presence of four male members of the bride's family, the most important of whom is the bride's guardian, as a rule her father. Four male members of the prospective bridegroom's family, that is to say the groom and three others, must also be present. There is also a *mulla* and the *qādī* by whom the marriage settlement is drawn up[98]. My interpreter informed me that the prospective bride might also be present, though closely-veiled and in a somewhat passive role. Whereas the bridegroom thus has no opportunity of seeing the bride until the marriage is consummated, the bride apparently is afforded a chance of seeing her future husband. I was also told that on this occasion she is asked whether she agrees and that it is then open to her to refuse to go on with the marriage, her father being unable to force her. According to the *shafi'i* rite the bride must agree to the marriage[99]. The marriage settlement is not concluded between the bride and bridegroom, but between the bride's *wali* and the bridegroom with the others present as witnesses[100]. The bridegroom agrees to pay the bride price, its size is finally fixed, and with it the decisive point: how great a part of it is to be immediately available, before the wedding, and how much is to be held back for payment in the event of a divorce, that is to say if a man repudiates his wife (a right not shared by the latter), or in case of the husband's demise. When my interpreter's sister contracted marriage, I was told that the sum set aside for the contingency of divorce or widowhood was not, as normally[101], a half or a third, but if I understood aright—nearly four times the sum paid out. 1500 Din. = £1500. The paid up part of the bride price was 400 Din. = £400. This large sum my interpreter's family demanded guaranteed to assure the sister's marital position and to prevent any repudiation in the event of another wife[102]. I cannot say whether the sum was made larger than in fact it was in order to add prestige to the family's economic reputation. 585 369

With the drawing up of the marriage settlement the man, in addition to paying out the bride price, undertakes to support his wife, give her food, clothes, and attendance commensurate with the standard obtaining in her family home[103]. A breach of this marriage settlement gives the wife grounds for divorce. The other possibility a woman has to obtain divorce is the re-payment of the bride price. Apart from these instances the right to dissolve marriage lies with the man, who utters three times the word *talāq*, "I repudiate thee", or better, in Juynboll's[104] translation: "I renounce all rights over thee", as in some cases when drawing up the marriage settlement certain clauses, *ta'līq*, can be inserted or attached so that definite lapses or positive actions on his part nullify his rights over the wife, thus providing her with one more possibility to obtain a divorce. On contracting marriage the wife undertakes to bear the husband children who belong to the husband, also in the event of divorce. Here it is true, the woman takes the children with her so long as they are quite small, but is obliged to send them back to the father's home when the boys are six and the girls eight years old. 585 586

As mentioned, the drawing up of the marriage settlement takes place at the *qādī*, the judge. (It was stated that in the villages only the local *mulla* was necessary). This has caused Ostrup[105] to declare that the drawing up of a marriage settlement is a civil act, advancing as proof of this assertion that 585 114 [693]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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the deed is drawn up at the judge's residence and not in a mosque, which is a place of prayer and not (like Christian churches) a form of registration office. The same view is to be found in Blackman[106], who says that among Muslims no religious ceremony takes place—marriage is not a sacrament. Levy also states that "in Islām marriage is a secular contract and not a religious rite"[107]. This is not in accord with Kurdish conditions. That the drawing up of a marriage settlement here seems to be covered by religious precepts seems to be indicated by, for example, the presence of the *mulla*. According to Juynboll[108] matrimonial law and the rights of inheritance are generally considered more or less connected with religion, and within the dual legal system, spiritual and temporal, matrimonial and family rights fall to the spiritual judge. Islam is more than a religion, it is a whole system comprising all aspects of human life[109]. It would be highly remarkable if the drawing up of the marriage settlement should be a temporal act in view of the fact that the justification for the paying of a bride price is found in the Corsn[110]. Rather can it be said that the drawing up of a marriage settlement within the *shāfi'i* rite of Islām, which the Kurds follow, is an act connected with religion. What on the other hand is distinct from the drawing up of the marriage settlement is the consummation of the marriage, which failing a better expression, what can be termed "the wedding". It has nothing to do either with the secular or spiritual authorities, being a purely private affair that sooner or later, often years after the drawing up of the marriage settlement, takes place in the form of a family festival with friends. This occasion, as opposed to the drawing up of the marriage settlement, can be said to be a secular, and particularly a quite private, action.

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584 369

The social intercourse of engaged couples in the event of prospective spouses knowing each other.

In the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani I met one example of a couple who knew each other before marriage and had themselves chosen each other. This, of course, is the exception and was due entirely to their milieu.

The girl in the case was the 23 year old sister of my interpreter. Both she and the young man in question were primary schoolteachers who had met as colleagues and fallen in love. When the young man realised his interest in the girl he had applied to my interpreter, also a schoolteacher, as his family lived outside in one of the village areas from which no woman, mother or sister, was able to act as go-between. He told her that "he would like to be admitted to her family", and asked if she would act as his advocate and place the matter before her father. This had been done and the marriage settlement had been drawn up a year before my stay in Kurdistan. The wedding festival was imminent and took place whilst I lived with the family. In the months prior to the wedding I was able to study the pattern of behaviour applying to former colleagues now engaged, and the position of the prospective groom in the family he was to enter.

By the marriage settlement the young man became a member of the family to such an extent that he was able, with her 13 year old half-brother, to accompany my interpreter to the village of Topzawa where she was to live with me in the sheikh's house. The night he spent there in order to act as an important escort and to investigate whether conditions there were sufficiently re-assuring, he was able to sleep in the same room as her half-brother and herself. My interpreter explained that she might

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

583 114 369 does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lets the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "gahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[121], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

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585 291 *Wedding preparations.* Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, thus a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was smashed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck. [MM]

The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English greys the shirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

585 302 515 The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girls, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[122]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[123] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "libán shámee", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[124]. At another place Lane[125] refers to a depilatory, "noorah", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

[305] This removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[126]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[127].

585 291 197 In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connexion with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish woman's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds 834

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were exceedingly modest. Modesty, on the other hand, was of a type different from what we are accustomed to in our pattern of behaviour.

They felt dislike at displaying the naked body. All changing of clothes during the day among women took place in a squatting position without the body at any time being uncovered. An sleeveless European summer dress in which the daughter of the Sheikh of Topzawa had wanted to be photographed caused her to break off the sitting and to dash into the dark cookhouse in the courtyard, where she sat hunched up in the corner with her naked arms slung protectively around her bare legs, when two peasant women from the village, fetching water, happened to pass the gate to the courtyard. In the urban milieu, when my interpreter and I took a steam bath together in the bathroom, she always kept her hand covering her lap when the sitting position on the small wooden stools whilst being doused was not sufficiently concealing.

On the other hand shyness did not apply when relieving nature. This took place collectively and in the presence of other women fetching water from the basin, where water was available for the subsequent washing, whether in the garden basin of the sheikh's houses at Topzawa and Serkan, at the more private well-like shaft in the courtyard of the Sheikh's house at Sargalu, or at one of the big public washing basins for women in the villages. This was done discretely sheltered by the ampleness of women's costumes, but was not a private but a joint undertaking, in which solitude and peace was neither sought nor expected.

The wedding. Lane[128] says that Arabs have a special preference for Mondays and Fridays for the celebration of weddings—that is to say the day on which the bride is handed over to the bridegroom—whereas, according to Hangi[129], the Turk-stamped Bosnian Muslims favour Sundays and Thursdays.

To judge by the four wedding feasts I had an opportunity of witnessing, wholly or in part, in Southern Kurdistan, the Kurds appear to follow the Turks in this matter. In the villages the two weddings took place on Sundays (16 June and 14 July, 1957), the third on a Wednesday (22 May, 1957), whilst the one wedding I was present at at Sulaimani was celebrated on a Thursday (8 August, 1957). Later my interpreter informed me by letter of her brother's wedding, which took place on a Monday (25 August, 1958). No rule can be discerned from such sparse material, merely the negative one that the Arab predilection for Friday—the most important day of the week for Islam—as the day for the handing over of the bride does not apply in the case of the Kurds. The weddings I witnessed in Topzawa and its neighbouring village, Rakawa, took place in a humble village milieu. The upper class village milieu wedding was not celebrated during my stay in Southern Kurdistan.

At two of the three village weddings I was able to observe the men's role in the festivities, at the third the women's. In all three cases, however, I was in the bridegroom's home to which the bride was brought. In none of the cases did I have an opportunity to see what went on in the bride's home.

The fetching of the brides, *bût*, who all came from outside, was a matter for the men[130]. At 6 in the morning a cortège of hired cars filled with men left the village for the bride's residence. Among the men, most of those in the village, was the bridegroom's father, but not the bridegroom, *zâwâ*.

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With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family house which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[131], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[132]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[133]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semicircle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[134]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[135] and from the Bakhtiari[136], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in this group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth stuck up under his waistband. The drum[137] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[138] had a funnel-shaped head, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topuwa one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventeen tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

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Fig. 92. Wedding dance. Men dance in a row to the music of a drum and a clarinet. Rakawa.

harmonization, so, as Ølstrup[139] points out, this music to us sounds flat and false. Other instruments include a 20–30 cm. long shepherd's pipe, both single and double (E. 2280–81), referred to by Hay[140], one of which I acquired though I did not hear it played.

To sum up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's rôle comprises fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there. (At the one wedding in Rakawa it was said that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a chain dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the villages, pay for the cars used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance.

The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's cortège, including the bride's car, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the clay roof covering the entrance hall to the house,

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 13. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[141], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[142], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[143], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[144]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[145], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing I otherwise only saw among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

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Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new home with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Sulaimani, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[146]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was partaken of by the women. This was carried in on large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

The women's rôle in the village milieu thus comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the fowl released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let is loose. In this connexion it may be of interest that Granqvist reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[147] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's house.

Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, *jinns* and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[148]. In regard to Islamised Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Krohn calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the precautionary measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grenard, Krohn writes: "Es handelt sich sich danach nur um Massnahmen, die Frau aus ihrem Sippenkultverband auszulösen und in einen neuen, den der Sippe des Mannes, aufzunehmen"[149]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[150]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy stick.

The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost seriousness, an act that to the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull but which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Krohn's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Granqvist refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the hand which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Granqvist quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolic act that are to assure

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585 [082] [177] that the husband will have the future mastery in the home[131], an explanation I did not hear given for the blow suffered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the fowl and the blow given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture. As Nikitine points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[132].

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585 369 In urban circles in Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding viewed from the opposite angle to that last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an educated milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergencies in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

At this wedding the family's own men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people most concerned, who both belonged to the educated milieu, wanted some months later to seek positions as school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding this house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken, only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and loggia of this quite small house that the groom's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled to some extent because the arrangement of the two rooms and loggia was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister to such an extent that she locked the three arranged rooms: the bed-room, the guest reception room and the small windowless store room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from upsetting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village aristocracy. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accomodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and in hired cars to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and [262] [271] received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and *širbit*, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception [292] [179] room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

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585 369 [292] [147]

Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a clumsy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red ochre silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious. [822]

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride. [831]

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connexion with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amouting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter. [931]

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831 684

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[133], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus ran the same risk as brides I had seen in the village, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

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831 684 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the metre of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a named bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 562 684 831 Hay[154] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *nāmūs* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[155] says that is was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume consistant à mettre sur le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("pyaîr"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 171 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Feilberg[156]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[157], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Nerreter's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1703: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[158].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Coran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[159], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[160].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talāq*: "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the *'idde*-period[161] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[162]. By *talāq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

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turban, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured head veil. Nikitine refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil cast over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le visage de la fiancée est couvert avec une mouchoir rouge pour que ... les jours de sa vie familiale qui commencera soient rouges (c'est-à-dire heureux)"[6]. Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as is also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it must not be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[7], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that reach up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Granqvist in the case of Palestinian Arabs[8]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sash, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a caftan hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the ochre-coloured veil was used in the other feminine milieus.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent red-ochre "bridal" veil, used in the humble village milieu, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the escorting cars were closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[9].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's car is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil seen in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the woman's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an appurtenant over-garment, the Arab *abā* worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Bosnia in 1938 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the over-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognised by it[10].

Sure 24, verses 30-31[11] of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

852 leader, if he has a son who is being circumcised, to pay for the sons of poor people, and to give the feast. There is thus a tendency for the headman's sons to be circumcised in a common ritual with a large number of boys. This might be thought of as reminiscent of some form of age-grades, and may be vaguely symbolic of loyalty ties within such generations of village boys.

When a child loses his first *deciduous tooth*, a special dish is commonly prepared and given to the neighbors «because the parents are very proud that their child has become so big».

302 883 When a girl feels she is growing up, she may, with a few friends, decide she wishes to be *tattooed*, usually only moderate small designs on face or hands. This is performed by an old woman specialist rarely a resident of the village, but is, everyone insisted, now going out of use as a practice. There is no formal rule as to the age at which this is done, but a girl presuming at too early and age would probably be ridiculed. The controls seem essentially the the same as those on the use of cosmetics in Western society, and the time of tattooing does not correspond to puberty in any one-to-one relation as a rite de passage.

• 585 *Marriage* is one of the most exciting festivals of the village, and usually takes place in the autumn after the harvest, to ensure plentiful supplies. The process of choosing a spouse has been discussed above (pp. 26 ff.) — the ceremony itself is most colorful in the case of marriages that connect two villages, since then the aspect of conspicuous exhibition of wealth is most stressed, and the bridal procession from the girl's to the husband's home most impressive. The celebrations should traditionally last three days, and involve all one would expect of eating, smoking, and dancing, offering opportunities for all kinds of informal social activities. Unless excessive factionalism interferes, the whole village takes part in the festivities.

765 *Death.* After a death, the members of the bereaved household remain at home for three days, and friends and relations come visiting, express their sympathy, and are served food and tea. After three days, the throats of two or three sheep are cut, in honor of the deceased, and the meat is «given to the poor» — that is, distributed

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

765 of cigarette papers. The scale of entertainment naturally varies
574 greatly with the status of the deceased; moreover the death of a male is
491 in every case far more serious than the death of a female. So far as I am aware the ceremonial commiseration is similar in the case of commoner families though on a smaller scale.*

The Mulla

793 The Mulla has his part to play in the ritual both on occasions
• 585 of marriage and death, and gains some appropriate reward. His interest
431 in the marriage ritual is on the decline. Government regulations now require that marriages must be registered with the police, and the marriage is legal without any religious ceremony. The tendency is therefore to give presents to the police rather than the Mulla.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to nomad tribes; I was told that among the Herki the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day. The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Moslem type.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MH10

K 585 capture of the bride is simulated, though she is in reality purchased by the presents sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kûrds are K 595 practically monogamists, and divorce, though per- 586 mitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., well illustrates their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

Y 595 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, 583 like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages 586 with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is K made to divorce as with the Moslem Kûrds. Their Y 585 weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, 793 the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower Y grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *kawwals*, [793] perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâzir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 764 A Kûrdish funeral, although it forms a striking

and the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch as the greater number of husbands do not anticipate divorce, a profit realized in business may be presented to their spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for the wife, not solely from the decorative point of view. Only land and precious metal have real and lasting value in the popular mind. A laborer in Rowanduz whose monthly earnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20) related how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and subsequently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars ($224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The jewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with her if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she pleases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells it to reinstate him or support the family, and may subsidize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in the same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of the gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly different in style from that produced for the lower classes in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that some of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type, such as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and bangles of precious metal are made up into more or less complex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the most expensive items is a collar or necklace of concentric circles of gold chain joined together by flat bangles of various geometric shapes, and another, the gurs or disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

301 [583]

301 454

[586]

301 [306]

his lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the 423
inexorable character of the civil code reinforced by 426
scripture, how one heir might be completely cut off in
favor of another, and no examples could be elicited. If 428
a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful
event, he could do this best by leaving his property to
the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest,
a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the
equality of the claims of sons.

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, 421
tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although 562
there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well.
Lali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprison-
ment of her closest male relatives, offers a case in
point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding
property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and
household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the 583
generality of Islamic society, and at Rowanduz, is paid in 421
money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the
girl. It consists of two parts, the muqaddam and the
mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The
first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid
in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to
the parent of the bride who is responsible for its adminis-
tration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must [584]
be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will
or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for

greed with them and went beyond them in the estimation 583
f her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could 554
realise their demand. One of them was kind enough to
ake me aside and to explain that there was a substantial
ifference between the documentary amount, published to
he townspeople, and that which must actually be paid."
t is perhaps for this reason that the mu'ajjal, the
mount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much
arger proportion of the dowry than the mu'akhar, that which [536] •
ust be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in
art the social fiction and the latter a more realistic
economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions
trongly as an argument against heedless separations, and
en men, having invested a substantial part of their own
r their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake
ivorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use un-
ual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of [301]
recious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, [593]
t the same time, further insurance against divorce or [454]
inancial catastrophe.

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is 582
ecessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, 534
he first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or
arriage between certain relatives is also governed by
he religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence
iscuss anything from contemporary Kurdish society which
ill provide a functional or final explanation of the
pecific determinants of these proscriptions. There is

seems likely that this is only permissable after the 605
e have been engaged to be married. 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly 593
riable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. [183]
asculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying
r husband's wishes as though they were commands and ob-
rving the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father.
e husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as
ight his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise,
r there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who
ot, and there appears to be little correspondence to
cial status in situations in which the wife achieves a
inant position over her husband. The status of a bride [851]
thin the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of
r first son, and she may thereafter command much greater
ntion and respect from her husband and relatives by
rriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until [606]
is event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces [586]
e less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The [592]
fe is the mistress of her household and receives money
m the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient
the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a
rtain amount of potential independence. Beyond these
rks it is difficult to go further. A number of
rriages were described in which the women quietly assumed
ost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their
useholds. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of
r father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

initial advance, and he must slap her or draw his knife with 585
a threatening gesture. This done, sometimes seriously, the couple may retire to their bed.

The virginity of a maiden must be attested, and from the white undergarments and bedding the maid who makes up the room in the morning is able to report on her "virtue," for the only test is the blood of the hymen. Occasionally the youth will smear a handkerchief with this blood and present it to his mother. In either case, the mother kisses the girl on the forehead and praises her for her chastity. The stained handkerchief, accompanied by an expensive gift, may be sent to the mother of the girl. If no blood is in evidence, a suspicious husband can return [586] [627] [684]
the girl to her father's house, and her relatives are more or less obligated to kill her. If, however, the youth's father is "pious," he requests his son to pardon the girl and to say nothing. After the bride has remained for seven days, a delegation of women from her father's house escorts her to her old home for a visit of several days. Her husband comes to take her a second time, on this occasion with no ceremony, and exchanges gifts with his father-in-law at this meeting. The feasting and dances which accompany the wedding can endure for a week or more, but most townspeople consider two or three days sufficient. The marriages of the poor are conducted with less ostentation, although relatively high sums may be expended, and those of the Kurdish aristocracy with the greatest display, the slaughter of dozens of animals

: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

nd delegations of guests from all parts of Kurdish Iraq. 585
hen a woman, divorced or widowed, is married a second 587
ime, the festivities are meager compared with those
escribed above, confined to informal banquets for the two
ouseholds concerned.

Divorce, like inheritance and betrothal, is a matter 586
f religious and civil law, and the townspeople and the [671]
urds in general, inasmuch as they seem to follow no customs
hich contravene the code, have nothing to do with these
ormulations. For a man, divorce is a simple proceeding
n Muslim Iraq, for he need only come into the presence of
he judge or the mulla or priest, with two witnesses, and
ubscribe to one of the several formulae, of which the
implest is saying, in Kurdish, to his wife, tallaqum
e dayt (the verb from Arabic tallaqa, "to divorce,"),
I divorce you." According to Islamic prescription, a
usband can divorce his wife twice in this fashion and
ach time take her back, but the third recitation is
bsolutely binding. Only if the woman marries a third [587]
arty and is subsequently divorced by him can she rejoin
er first spouse in another marriage. If a man wishes to
ake the divorce final on the first occasion, he repeats
he formula three times. Of the minor separations, those
f the first or second occasions, there are two types.
n the first of these the woman asks no compensation, and
he divorce admits of easy reunion. In the second, the
oman demands and is paid the mu'akhar, that part of the

ury withheld until this time, and a new contract must 586
signed if the pair are to come together again. In the
jor separation, that of triple divorce, the woman also
ceives the mu'akhar and her personal possessions. A
rtain length of time, the idda, corresponding roughly to
ree menstrual periods, must elapse, and, if the woman [843]
becomes pregnant during it, her former husband is respon- [851]
ble for the maintenance of herself and the child.
ildren usually remain with the mother in divorce, but
eir father may claim them after they have reached a
rtain age. In addition to divorce, a husband may go
the court or the mulla with witnesses, and obtain a
rtificate that his wife has been "refractory," in which
se he is entitled to "put her away." A woman can only [562]
itiate divorce proceedings with difficulty, and is
ually forced to renounce her dowry. She also may ob-
in a certificate of "refractory" behavior for herself
d by this means leave her husband, although the latter,
om perversity, may later refuse to grant her a divorce.
here are, as one might expect, a host of legal subtleties
these cases, and, as an extensive body of Islamic
risprudence deals with them, there is no need to treat
em in detail here.

The principal causes of divorce in Rowanduz are in-
mpatability and barrenness. In the first case, the
adge or mulla and the relatives of the pair attempt to
reconcile them, because, for the relatives, financial trans-
actions of a large scale, sometimes embarressing, usually

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to pay the mu'akher, always a considerable sum, and the father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations of varying length are thus as common as divorce, during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed, one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in those matches in which he had little to do with his choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not countenance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not believe that because a woman has been childless in one marriage she will remain so in the next.

586● 842 586 [595]

The life of adults in Rowanduz, once the problems of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood, and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats

461 [58].

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Within Islam the contraction of marriage is signalised by two things: the drawing up of a marriage settlement and the wedding festivities.

The drawing up of a marriage settlement is, as Levy points out[97], the main—I am tempted to say the basic—feature of a contracted marriage. According to what my interpreter told me, a marriage settlement drawn up by Kurds in the urban milieu of Sulaimani demands the presence of four male members of the bride's family, the most important of whom is the bride's guardian, as a rule her father. Four male members of the prospective bridegroom's family, that is to say the groom and three others, must also be present. There is also a *mulla* and the *qāḍī* by whom the marriage settlement is drawn up[98]. My interpreter informed me that the prospective bride might also be present, though closely-veiled and in a somewhat passive role. Whereas the bridegroom thus has no opportunity of seeing the bride until the marriage is consummated, the bride apparently is afforded a chance of seeing her future husband. I was also told that on this occasion she is asked whether she agrees and that it is then open to her to refuse to go on with the marriage, her father being unable to force her. According to the *shafi'i* rite the bride must agree to the marriage[99]. The marriage settlement is not concluded between the bride and bridegroom, but between the bride's *wali* and the bridegroom with the others present as witnesses[100]. The bridegroom agrees to pay the bride price, its size is finally fixed, and with it the decisive point: how great a part of it is to be immediately available, before the wedding, and how much is to be held back for payment in the event of a divorce, that is to say if a man repudiates his wife (a right not shared by the latter), or in case of the husband's demise. When my interpreter's sister contracted marriage, I was told that the sum set aside for the contingency of divorce or widowhood was not, as normally[101], a half or a third, but if I understood aright—nearly four times the sum paid out, 1500 Din. – £1500. The paid up part of the bride price was 400 Din. – £400. This large sum my interpreter's family demanded guaranteed to assure the sister's marital position and to prevent any repudiation in the event of another wife[102]. I cannot say whether the sum was made larger than in fact it was in order to add prestige to the family's economic reputation.

With the drawing up of the marriage settlement the man, in addition to paying out the bride price, undertakes to support his wife, give her food, clothes, and attendance commensurate with the standard obtaining in her family home[103]. A breach of this marriage settlement gives the wife grounds for divorce. The other possibility a woman has to obtain divorce is the re-payment of the bride price. Apart from these instances the right to dissolve marriage lies with the man, who utters three times the word *talāq*, "I repudiate thee", or better, in Juynboll's[104] translation: "I renounce all rights over thee", as in some cases when drawing up the marriage settlement certain clauses, *ta'liq*, can be inserted or attached so that definite lapses or positive actions on his part nullify his rights over the wife, thus providing her with one more possibility to obtain a divorce. On contracting marriage the wife undertakes to bear the husband children who belong to the husband, also in the event of divorce. Here it is true, the woman takes the children with her so long as they are quite small, but is obliged to send them back to the father's home when the boys are six and the girls eight years old.

As mentioned, the drawing up of the marriage settlement takes place at the *qāḍī*, the judge. (It was stated that in the villages only the local *mulla* was necessary). This has caused Ebersp[105] to declare that the drawing up of a marriage settlement is a civil act, advancing as proof of this assertion that

831 684 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the metre of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a named bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 562 684 831 Hay[134] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *nâmûs* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[135] says that is was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume consistant à mettre sur le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("yyslik"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 191 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Feilberg[136]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[137], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Niebuhr's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1703: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[138].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Quran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[139], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[140].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talâq*: "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the 'idda-period[141] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[142]. By *talâq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[163]. Should he have pronounced *talāq* three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be renounced by this "straw husband" before the husband can take her back[164]. The Coran forbids the promise of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *ẓihār* (*ẓahr* = back)[165]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[166], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being renounced (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shāfi'i* rite to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four homes of the village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Bergalo, Shadala and Serkan. Soane[167] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[168]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shadala. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

565 595 children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[169] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[170]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

[584]

587 595 Two half-grown 13–14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 369 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children—a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[171] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

[584]

595 565 [463] There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bycyles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Koran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes—when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Koran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

[611] [582]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

595 a hand with the housework, look after her future children, and keep her company when the husband,
565 as is the custom in Islamic areas, spent a large part of the day in company with other men. This arrangement, I was told, was purely due to practical considerations. The presence of the second, younger wife in the home in Sulaimani with her nine children (one, a daughter, was married), who with the three adult children of the elder wife, plus the husband, brought the size of the family up to 14. All the girls over a certain age had, as opposed to their mothers, gone over to an educated milieu away from the home, and left behind a colossal burden of work, particularly in the winter, in the form of cooking, baking, washing, etc., for the two wives at home. This burden was equally divided between the two wives, which was too much for the elder. By moving out to the village with her newly-married daughter she would obtain a far easier life. In the home in Sulaimani it was apparently not possible for the one wife to leave an undue amount of work to the other; on the contrary they appeared to share it all loyally. The one making tea made it for the whole family, the one cooking or washing clothes did the same. Similarly, the two wives certainly seemed to share the daily work in the house, and their children showed equal affection for both mother and stepmother.

595 In this case, then, the husband had seen in a village a beautiful, stronglimbed girl with whom, to
586 use a European term, he fell in love; showing due consideration for his first wife he had made her his second. The divorce here was due to the fact that the two women could not agree.

A young wife with two quite small children, who was returned to her family by the husband, was quoted as an example of incompatibility of temperaments. The husband was much older and very wealthy, but, it was said, incredibly miserly, and the wife refused to submit to this. Before I left I heard that the man had regretted his repudiation which apparently had not been triple and final. He now wanted her to return before the expiration of her 'idde-period.

A man of my interpreter's family, a half-brother of her stepmother, was married to a woman of about 25, who since she was married to him (at the age of 11), had borne him four daughters, two of whom (7 and 2) had survived. As all the children had been female, and under pressure from friends and neighbours, he was seeking a second wife who would, he hoped, be able to bear him sons. Three times marriage negotiations had been initiated on his behalf but for various reasons had broken down. The man was now at the end of the thirties. His wife appeared to be reduced to despair by the situation; and it would be difficult for the new wife to cooperate with her; furthermore she faced the prospect of the new woman demanding her divorce before consenting to matrimony, or that, cooperation failing between the two wives, she would later be cast out.

595 To sum up: Polygamy exists among Kurds in the uneducated urban milieu, but the number of
565 wives does not exceed two. Successive marriages, with children of earlier marriages as members of
369 the family, exist among the village aristocracy. Monogamy prevailed in the humble village milieu, perhaps mainly for economic reasons. Monogamy also prevailed in the educated urban milieu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 593 sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together, particularly because the culture pattern more or less separated the couple during the day. The young woman was thus faced with demands she was able to fulfil, highly-valued beforehand, with a prospect of a gain if greater sympathy or love was born between herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparison with other women, for in his outside life the husband never met them; the wives of his friends he never saw. In the home he met only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were thus not the chances that at his place of work or in society her husband met and fell in love with another woman, but were far more logically justified. If life together proved impossible, both husband and wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage (see p. 121). Should she bear no children, or no sons, [586] an extra wife was justified. This might mean that the family of the other wife stipulated that the first wife should be renounced, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family assured the bride beforehand as adequately as was humanly possible.

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584 The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps assisted by his family, for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should he not like his bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money in this disappointment, and secondly had to maintain his case against the women of his family, who had selected her. A new wife of the four sanctioned by the Coran, depending upon one's economic circumstances, was another unknown ticket in the marriage lottery.

593 562 [586] From the moment a man passed from the unmarried to the married state, he was for the rest of his life the head of a family. As the bride price was paid when marriage was contracted, the husband had not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[42] in the event of divorce. Quite small children, it is true, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father. In the event of a fresh marriage a man thus had no chance of leaving his children. The new wife, or [587] wives, who entered his home took over the work of looking after the brood of children that might already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is not always the case in the West. The constant factors in the home were thus, theoretically, the father and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children a mutual status quite different from the position of these three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women when one more of the four wives sanctioned by religion was acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when the home she entered had adolescent or adult 562 children. Nor has much consideration been given to the possibility that the stationary children, whom 586 the father is unable to marry off, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been repudiated 593 by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and sent back to her family, leaving behind her three children aged about 6, 7 and 8 (see p. 137). When these children reached the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

277 442 effect of greatly reducing the ultimate return for the producer. Thus a cultivator who sold his crop for a cash advance at the time of sowing would only get about 60% of the market value of his ultimate crop. Merchants would pay substantial gifts - either in cash or kind - to the Agha for the right to trade and in return the Agha would in effect guarantee the contract. Thus if an individual cultivator failed to meet his contract the Agha could force him to sell his personal goods to meet the bond, though for reasons of kinship it seems likely that the Agha would in many cases prefer to meet the liability himself.

Marketing procedure 3. Detailed enquiries in Walash revealed that the tobacco surplus for that village is fairly small and is disposed of either through individual tobacco dealers operating from Erbil or else through the ordinary star; terms of trade are for cash only, and there is no system of advances. From Dergala, where the tobacco cultivation is much more extensive, I unfortunately obtained no information concerning marketing methods.

Having dealt with the various individual contacts between members of the village and those outside it, there remain for examination those forms of exchange within the group itself which have an essentially social rather than an economic basis. Owing to lack of empirical data I can do little more than point out what are the principal occasions for these exchanges.

583 [564] Marriage. A bride price is payable by the bridegroom to the bride's father. I was told that if the wife ran away or otherwise misbehaved herself the husband could claim back part of the bride price, but the information was not specific. * In the event of a divorce the husband is responsible for the maintenance of his former wife at any rate during her pregnancy and frequently longer. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures concerning the amount of bride price paid. May quotes the figure of £500 for a wealthy Agha. There is a natural tendency to exaggerate the figures both as flattery for the lady and to create an air of affluence about the informant. When I pointed out that in the case of the marriage of ortho-cousins living as close neighbours in the same village the payment of bride price, whatever its amount, could be little more than a nominal transaction, this was admitted; nevertheless, it was argued, every girl's self

* May (p. 44) says the husband is responsible only for three months after divorce or during pregnancy whichever is the longer and this is good Mohammedan law. According to my interpreter important Aghas wishing to increase the number of their household will sometimes divorce one of their wives merely in order to marry a fifth; in such a case the divorced wife would remain a member of the Agha's household indefinitely, though whether her position would be that of concubine was not made clear. The situation however is hypothetical as I obtained no concrete examples.

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions 582
differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. 834
Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from [595]
having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, [587]
is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, 582 608
and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowanduz [853]
she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowanduz provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and [601]
"mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister- [606]
in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are [607]
also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly dis- 611
cussed in two ways, through the blood (khwa) of the parents and through the milk (shir) of the mother. Great [853]

Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

d delegations of guests from all parts of Kurdish Iraq. 585
an a woman, divorced or widowed, is married a second 587
me, the festivities are meager compared with those
scribed above, confined to informal banquets for the two
useholds concerned.

Divorce, like inheritance and betrothal, is a matter 586
f religious and civil law, and the townspeople and the [671]
rds in general, inasmuch as they seem to follow no customs
ich contravene the code, have nothing to do with these
rmulations. For a man, divorce is a simple proceeding
Muslim Iraq, for he need only come into the presence of
e judge or the mulla or priest, with two witnesses, and
bscribe to one of the several formulae, of which the
mplest is saying, in Kurdish, to his wife, tallaqam
dayt (the verb from Arabic tallaqa, "to divorce,"),
divorce you." According to Islamic prescription, a
sband can divorce his wife twice in this fashion and
ch time take her back, but the third recitation is
solutely binding. Only if the woman marries a third [587]
rty and is subsequently divorced by him can she rejoin
r first spouse in another marriage. If a man wishes to
ke the divorce final on the first occasion, he repeats
e formula three times. Of the minor separations, those
the first or second occasions, there are two types.
the first of these the woman asks no compensation, and
e divorce admits of easy reunion. In the second, the
man demands and is paid the mu'akhar, that part of the

al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public. 792 212

To illustrate further the character of the darwish, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rowanduz. The story was recorded in the garden of Shakir Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iran disguised as a Jew, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology. 159 792 [124]

My real name is Mustafa Aziz, but my name as a darwish is Khalifa Hajji Mustafa Rowanduzi. I am now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rowanduz who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is Aziz who helps in my shop and the other is an infant. [551] [587]

I was born in Rowanduz and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Aziz Hasan 'Uthman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the schoolboys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had [557]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

583 sum of money or in cattle, according to the circumstances of the family. Similarly, in a humble village milieu (Topzawa) 200 Din. was paid for a bride from Sulaimani, the bride's father, it was said, retaining one quarter for himself; possibly this was the share kept in hand in the event of divorce or widowhood. The residue, 150 Din., was spent on jewellery and three complete outfits for the bride, on dinner service, mattresses and quilts for the bridal bed, plus a bridal chest. The bridegroom also presented the bride with a battery wireless set. Of gifts in return from the bride's family were mentioned six complete dresses for the bride (but nothing to the bridegroom's family).

[587] It was stated that the bride price for a widow or a divorced woman was less than that for a young girl, which corresponds to what Lane reports about the Egyptian Arabs[134].

In Sulaimani the highest bride price I heard of was 1500 Din., to which must be added the part deposited for payment in the event of the wife being divorced or widowed, which must have been at least about 500 Din. if a third, and 750 Din. if a half of the full bride price. As already mentioned, my interpreter's brother had saved up 500 Din., whereas the paid out part of the bride price given by the brother-in-law for her sister was 400 Din. In the meantime I was told that the girl's family had made it a condition that 1500 Din. be deposited.

As an example of the way the paid up portion of the bride price is expended, it may be of interest to review the purchases made with the sum of 400 Din. above-mentioned. As regards jewellery for the bride, turban chains with precious stones, and agates, plus chin chain with coins for securing the cap - all parts of gold - were ordered from a Sulaimani goldsmith. Compared with a similar set of ornaments I saw worn by the wife of the sheikh of Topzawa, we can assume that this set amounted for at least 100 Din.

583 352 The purchases in Baghdad were: a bedroom suite consisting of a polished wooden double bed with a spring mattress, a double wardrobe, dressing table with oval, adjustable mirror, two night tables, a stool, a large silk-lined, fitted beauty box covered with pink velvet, and a dumb waiter. In addition a spangle-embroidered rose satin bed-spread, material for a silk-embroidered rose quilt, white gauze bed-spread for use in great heat, rose satin curtains, two ornamental cushions sewn over with sequins, a rose satin hot-water wrapper studded with sequins, and rose satin for a pouch in which a copy of the Koran was to be hung[135]. Bales of cotton, plus material for covering pillows, an extra mattress for the double bed and two single mattresses for use on the roof and for sitting on were also bought, as well as bed linen: sheets, eiderdown cover and pillowcases. Other purchases comprised guest room furniture consisting of a sofa, three or four chairs, a larger and a smaller smoker's table, all in steel and green plastic. They there were kitchen and eating utensils, tea glasses, saucepans, wash basin and appurtenant water jug of brass, European knick-knacks, paper flowers to put in china vases, fabric for coats and waistcoats, chiffon, nylon, and tulle interwoven with metal thread for brides; artificial silk with interwoven metal thread or taffeta for the long baggy trousers. Artificial silk and satin for the shift was bought either at Baghdad or Sulaimani and distributed among the home tailors, seamstresses and women at home to be made up.

To sum up, the bride price was expended on the bride's trousseau, household equipment, plus a bedroom suite in European style of the last century, very modern guest room furniture in functionalistic steel - in striking contrast to the furniture in the parental home, where the oldest things were

831 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured bridegroom, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the women gynaecologist to discover whether the bleeding proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the excess of white cotton material that comprised the sexual, detachable, bridal shirt would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" seems to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride shirt would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and most therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young virginal, equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting women, who roughly drive the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a married bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 Hay[184] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who subordinates herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of subordinating herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's whole or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal shirt custom, Nikitine[185] says that it was falling into desuetude as early as 1925, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume condamnée à mettre fin à la fois aux nouveaux mariés au Sujet blanc ("pyjable"), qu'on nomme ensuite une guenille de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 191 The use of the bridal shirt with the levirate Law is mentioned by Fellowy[186]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[187], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being shrewd enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Thomson's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1785, that it is evident that the unfortunate bride suffers, "down she whom Khosi"[188].

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595 Polygamy and divorce. According to the Coran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[189], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[190].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing public "I repudiate thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the "idda period"[191] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[192]. By going a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he repeat his act, one without further

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[583]. Should he have pronounced *talāq* three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be renounced by this "straw husband" before the husband can take her back[584]. The Coran forbids the promise of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *zihār* (*zahr* = back)[585]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[586], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being renounced (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shāfi'i* rite to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four houses of the village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Bargalu, Shadala and Serkan. Soane[587] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[588]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1943, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shadala. There appears have to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

595 595 children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[595] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizaiy", who, 50 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lorr[595]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife in accordance to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 595 Two half-grown 13-14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargala marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorce, succession of marriage, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 369 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children—a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Tegnawa, and a male baby and girl of 3, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations to regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[369] at the sheikh's homes in Tegnawa and Serkan. That the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a baby or babies is in the nomadic village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter was monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 595 There remain conditions to what is called the modernized urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influences. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bicycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Koran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes—when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Koran—both substantial wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

[illegible] sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together, particularly because the earliest guidance given or law appointed the couple during the day. The young woman was then faced with domestic duty was able to fulfil, highly-valued fatherhood, with a prospect of a gain of greater sympathy as love was itself increased herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparisons with other women, for in the outside life the husband never met them, the wives of his friends he never saw. In the home he met only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were then not the chances that in the place of work or in society her husband met and fell in love with another woman, but were far more logically justified. If life together proved impossible, both husband and wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage (see p. 123). Should she bear no children, or no male [illegible] was justified. This might mean that the family of the wife who stipulated that the first wife should be maintained, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family secured the bride beforehand or subsequently an even favourable position.

The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps received by his family, for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should he not like the bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money in this disappointment, and secondly had to maintain his new opinion the censure of his family, who had selected her. A new wife of the four mentioned in the Quran, depending upon each's [illegible] was [illegible] at the marriage ceremony.

From the moment a man passed from the unmarried state, he was for the rest of his life the head of a family. As the bride price was paid when marriage was contracted, the husband had not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[1] in the event of divorce. Quite small children, it is true, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father. In the event of a Arab marriage a man then had no chance of having his children. The new wife, or wives, who entered his home took over the work of looking after the brood of children that might already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is not always the case in the West. The essential factors in the home were then, theoretically, the father and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children a mutual status quite different from the position of these three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women's when one more of the four wives mentioned by religion was acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when she entered [illegible] children. Her two most considerable fears given to the possibility that the stationary children, whose [illegible] she had to marry all, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been ousted by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and sent back to her family, leaving behind her three children aged about 6, 7 and 8 (see p. 123). When these children reached the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

tion of the Kurdish lineage organization we shall return to a more 581
complete discussion of these interrelations (pp. 49 ff).

Plural wives are rather uncommon in the villages, though they are 587 •
thought to be a quite desirable investment for the men who can [595]
afford it. The average incidence for 34 men in 4 villages runs c. 4 %.
The levirate is not infrequently practised, but more as a convenience
than as an established rule or right. Unless the widow has a well
established father or brother, she tends to remain in the house of
her late husband under the protection of her brother-in-law, in
which case he might as well have some return for his expenses. Strict
observance of the Islamic rule of unlawful conjunction however
prevents him from doing this if his first wife is a close relative of
the widow (and where cousin marriage is common, this will be a
fairly frequent limitation). The sororate is not known as a marriage
practice.

KINSHIP.

593

A patrilineal system of rights and privileges organizes the house-
hold group. Following Islamic ideals, the adult male has complete
control, and can make any decisions as to the [illegible]
seems slightly to exceed Kurdish popular feeling on the matter. It
is very difficult to obtain any impression of the internal workings of
a Moslem family, but one has the feeling that Kurdish women have
considerable influence in the close family circle. Occasionally this
even carries outside the kinship group, so a woman may come to
occupy a high political position. Similarly, the father's absolute
authority is strongly questioned by the sons, as indicated by the
frequency of combined residence. There are almost invariable tensions
connected with the setting up of an independent household for a
married son — the father tends to resist this reduction of his power,
and for the son it is taken as the mark of breaking free and becoming
fully adult. However, with moral sanctions and de-facto power
supporting him, the father certainly occupies the central position as
authority and organizer of the group.

In the case of a widow with one or several sons, the household is
named after the major son, and the actual position of authority

The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his [illegible] use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Asia Shakir Hajjria (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Baba Rawand," the father of Rawand, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exogamous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between unrelated families.

uncle (mzg) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children.' They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees.' As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (khal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. 'Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children.' In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (xalk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the [illegible]

ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The department required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange mal is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a 957 592 [834] 589 357

wealthy widow, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the wall of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of those unmarried, the teachers and lesser officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The gaimmaqam, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skull-cap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic <u>'a-dh-dh-n</u>, after <u>adhan</u>, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowanduz this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

238 wool with this type of weaving. The weft is beaten in with a hand-shaped iron comb fitted with a cylindrical wooden handle mounted at right angles, *kétéré*[38].

[191] This vertical loom, known also from Aremiéré[39], is used for the making of the plain woollen rugs that are used to cover the heaped bedsteads during the day. One such rug (E. 2215), measures 1.40 m. × 2.80 m., has a warp of sheep's wool, *sibé* (?), and a weft of goat's wool, *fété*. This type of loom I only saw worked by women. So far as I could ascertain there is only one female weaver in each village. At Tapoarou the loom was owned by a widow, who apparently possessed no family and kept herself and her daughter by working the loom with the wool spun by the women of the village. The loom in the twin village of Rakoma was worked by an elderly woman whose son, with whom she lived, was the village smith.

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[191] The horizontal loom is a pit-treadle loom[40]. According to Ling Roth[41] it is the normal Hindu loom. Leach provides an excellently-drawn and thorough description of a loom of this kind in the Rowanduz district[42], though on a few points it differs from the example brought back from Tahoua (E. 2249a–c). The loom type is a hand-treadle loom with finite warp. On being set up the floor forms a horizontal plane through the loom's mechanism, so certain parts of the loom, such as the warp-beam, the middle-beam, a wood that swings back the sley-wood, and the cloth-beam rest on the ground, whilst a pit under the loom houses the treadles and the weaver's legs which are thus below the surface of the floor. At the same time the heddle, counter-heddle and sley-rood hang from the ceiling over the loom. The cord that keeps the warp taut passes from the warp-beam, fastened to the floor, up to a hook on the ceiling. From there the cord runs down by the side, or rear, of the weaver where it is fastened so close to him that it easily can be lowered, thus prolonging the warp, as the work proceeds[43].

The individual parts of the loom are as follows. Nearest to the weaver is the square-sectioned cloth- or beam-beam, which, in an oblong groove, takes the approx. 0.42 m. long rod, hidden by the wound-up material, to which the warp is fastened. The *cloth- or beam-beam*, 0.720 m. in length, attached to a pair of small uprights, can be locked at each revolution. The suspended sley-rood can be swung towards the weaver. The *sley*[44] is a rectangular frame 0.59 m. × 0.29 m. that can be dismantled so that combs or reeds, idem, of various degrees of fineness can be changed. The sley-rood is mounted between two split bamboo sticks, 0.595 m. long, connected with two forked uprights on an 0.83 m. long transverse stick, fastened to the ground, which serves to swing back the sley-rood when this is released by the weaver. The sley-rood is suspended from a rope 2.60 m. long that passes through a hook in the ceiling. The other end of the rope carries two pear-shaped pulley-blocks which again carry by a short rope the heddle and counter heddle, each consisting of two transverse sticks with threads between. In the middle of the heddles there is an eye through which passes the thread of the warp, which is led through a reed in the sley-rood, so that every other warp thread passes through an eye on the one shaft and every other one through an eye on the other. From the lower transverse stick on the shafts hang two transverse wooden sticks round which leather straps are stretched which in turn carry the treadles, a pair of wooden blocks about 0.22 m. long connected by a transverse stick. By alternately depressing these treadles the warp is divided so that every other warp thread is raised

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Rowandus, it is unnecessary to describe in detail those of the official class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Rowandus a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

by himself or his paternal relatives. If, however, the children of two brothers who live under the same roof marry, the newly-wedded pair may remain at home. The people who might thus be expected to be found in the mal or "house" may include a man and his wife, his paternal grandparents, his paternal uncles and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunts, his parents, his brothers and their wives, his unmarried sisters, and the children of the males of this group, boys and unmarried girls. Strictly speaking, such a unit has little realization among the townspeople. There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, both male and female, and most girls leave their parental home for that of a husband soon after reaching maturity. When there is more than one son, it is commonplace for the younger, when he marries or soon afterward, to occupy a new establishment, provided either by his own labor or by a subsidy from his parents. For the lower classes, the size of the dwelling precludes too extensive a gathering. The household of Shakir Effendi is made up of Shakir Effendi, his wife, three sons, a daughter-in-law, a grandson, and a number of servants. Shakir Effendi's daughter is married and lives in the home of her husband. Ra'uf Effendi's son died in childhood, a victim of the "evil eye," and his mal thus contains only himself, his wife, his two unmarried daughters, and the servants. The aristocratic establishment of Mohammed 'Ali Agha of Jindian is much like these, save that one of the sons has already been provided with a separate domicile.

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his father's brother's daughter is held as an immutable rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are married to his mother and mother's sister respectively, and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up third and fourth couples. If two things are envisaged, patrilocal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence, the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother, after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are described by the same kinship term, xalê. On the other hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated, called mam and xhal respectively. The first lives under the parental roof of the individual concerned, and the latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle, as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house as his married sister, and in the system imagined here, one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided, each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share. If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his sister, wed to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a emotional conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both fully-educated teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses on which we were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, while the wardrobe, filled with trunkfuls, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family unit would, after the birth of the first child, divide the women entering the women's world of the home, the men the men's world outside — the furnishings would be confined to the sombrous, flexible, nomadic pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing an large a number of family members in a house with relatively so few rooms, is to use them to accomodate both for meals and for sleeping. It

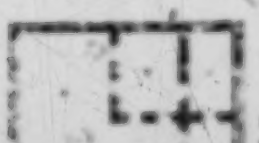

Fig. 11, 12, Fig. 11 and 12. Ground plan of house for newly-married couple. Kalkunzeh. Scale 1:200.
a, central living room, because it is sleeping room in some cases; b, cooking and eating facilities in courtyard; c, storeroom; d, latrine; g, guest room.

585 [391] With one or two other young men [illegible] he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either [illegible] or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège [illegible] comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who went as far the mother[12], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal [illegible] and as evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which [illegible] guests] was made, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote child-bearing. On arrival at the house the [illegible] and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men [illegible] on the flat roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, seats [illegible] and borrowed, and the [illegible] meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal [illegible] attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host – in this case the [illegible] father of the bridegroom – must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[13]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the eaters and serve [illegible][14]. No woman [illegible] herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups [illegible] place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven [illegible] between the houses. The wedding festivities [illegible] lasted for more than one day.

585 585 The men's dance is a chain dance in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and, at the same time place their [illegible] round that of the other men so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the [illegible] waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semi-circle, and the steps take place [illegible], to commence the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semi-circle slowly move sideways. [illegible] dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by [illegible][15]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[16] and from the Bakhtiari[17], [illegible] to similarity to the Greek Syrtos[18] is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran [illegible] men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other [illegible] by the hand.

[411] 584 585 The accompanying music is [illegible] by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in the group of itinerant musicians [illegible] money thrown or tied by the spectators which he kept in a cloth sack up under his waistband. The drum[19] being on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, a [illegible] of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were held on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[20] had a [illegible] bowl, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed [illegible] the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played [illegible] men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two kerosene pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Turkestan one evening with accompanying amateur chain dance by the sheikh's son with an American or European amateur of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventeen tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

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562 In some of the Orient female environments as far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 369 571 In the Greek and Arab female environment, the enclosured urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory. As opposed to their enclosured sisters the enclosured also restricted seclusion. Dodging in their daily activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were handed from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the interior of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, enclosured women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the more urban feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much on returning and washing places, etc., here in the homes. In the enclosured feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the man's and woman's worlds, not only in homes but also in working homes.

[illegible] 591 565 For a man married to one or two wives in the enclosured woman's milieu in a town like Sulaimani, one friend when [illegible] described as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... the real home is either the shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual contact ...".

562 352 In the enclosured feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home, with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operations to the home of a neighbour. There there was a medium, pre-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the ovens two doors had over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 384 403 Visits and errands made sometimes the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the aforesaid errands to the home only made purchases of the day and then only of materials, spices, of meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were several, who in this way contributed towards their living. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, or lack any expression was previously the same as Westermarck's, who writes: "... as a rule the enclosure deprives women in the east [illegible] ... [illegible] lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty [illegible]".

562 423 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of enclosured urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ap-

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the 271
boldness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at
night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form,
but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the
tekeroukhie, or cloak, is of a darker shade of blue, with
white stripes round the bottom, the corners being
knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small
cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the
face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kurdish women 271
do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In 542
large towns like Sulimaniah the ladies wear a blue
checked sheet, and a screen of black horsehair, like
the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however,
seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest
rank, who may wish to pass through the streets
incognito; and the lower class women generally go
about with their faces uncovered. The village women
veil themselves when they leave their houses; and
the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their
faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Messengers 191 •
are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms 179
occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors
are freely received by the assembled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom 191
of manners, Kurdish women conduct themselves with 542
the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither
the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the for-
wardness too often seen in the behaviour of the
Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, 434
exceptionally high among the races of the country.

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or xalt, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Hagy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shakir Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (gholam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes shubang). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bawil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 957 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (ster), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the ster is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowanduz for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowanduz, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 [554] [426]

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Rowanduz, it is unnecessary to describe in detail those of the official class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Rowanduz a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

is seem likely that this is only permissible after the 605
two have been engaged to be married. 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly 593
variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. [651]
In moslim theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying
her husband's wishes as though they were commands and ob-
serving the same type of deference exhibited to her father.
The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as
he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise,
for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who
do not, and there appears to be little correspondence be-
tween status in situations in which the wife achieves a
dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride [651]
within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of
her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater
attention and respect from her husband and relatives by
marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until [604]
this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces [586]
are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The [592]
wife is the mistress of her household and receives money
from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient
of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a
certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these
remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of
marriages were described in which the women quietly assumed
almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their
households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of
her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The department required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange <u>mû</u> is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, more in the occasional case of a 957 [834] 589 597

earthly wishes, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the wall of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of these unmarried, the teachers and lower officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The prisoners, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

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shielded him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household.

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Friendships contracted outside the pai, as outlined in the discussion of society, are, in childhood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is subsequently married, the other acts as his "servant," receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." Male companions of this sort visit with each other in the hanut or the mosque, and exchange calls at their houses. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the divankhane or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of kneel and salt, termed nimek, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each

349 a ramp forming the exterior edge of each step. These steps are exceptionally high and narrow[1]. Some of the houses in Sabbarani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of sundried clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. When the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The one-storeyed houses had a staircase which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a luxury model of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargahi, incidentally the most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

[21] Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of women's life within the two different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential types surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Ta'lat's property in the village of Tajarane will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Sabbe. The two urban environments, the "communal" and "unchanged" were found within the walls of a single house, that of my interpreter's family at Sabbarani. The pattern of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, beforehand by women representing both strata.

● 592 Sheikh Ta'lat's house at Tajarane is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, with 46, three sons, 18, 13 and 9, two daughters, 17 and 9, a daughter, 13, of another wife now divorced in her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 35, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 22 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a consequence of a crisis that had no entrance into the house was a great subject with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 13—17 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Ta'lat's house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay above [34] [36] [37] [38] [39] [40] [41] [42] [43] [44] [45] [46] [47] [48] [49] [50] [51] [52] [53] [54] [55] [56] [57] [58] [59] [60] [61] [62] [63] [64] [65] [66] [67] [68] [69] [70] [71] [72] [73] [74] [75]

[77] wages from the work on the Dukan dam), water vessels, sacrificers, mill vessels, lighters, wash benches, transports, and granaries.

342 [343] A stone small house in the village of Bahia has been chosen as an example of the house owned the wife of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house, like similar built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, one was 6 detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was on sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, slag-covered type, with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the side room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the two weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the exposed side, with the small door in front of the winter room. It was something between a loggia and a roof box.

[164] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a holiday peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was split upon it. Glazing was women's work, and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no feminism in this milieu. Oil was lived on the floor, on the rag rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows going as back rests. Clean is quite right when anyone: "One can be just as comfortable cowlight as daylight on the floor as in the chair". Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the ovenpot, smaller iron sheet, all or alike, on which the bread sheets, saj, was baked were placed on the fire. The cooking [342] [343] implements were not used here, since to the human function. Water, with the possibility of washing the persons, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, open-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water current and a group of open streams—which led this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the [363] household. Drinking water, then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour. From a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down on their visits. The latrine in the house [364] was the goat stable. Cleaning was done with the sheep and suspended from a tripod. Across in the [373] roof, which was then an unpleasant discard of sheets, was at night closed by bulky brushes, as their mother the grey, long-haired sheepdog was safe from the opossums could find their way in.

Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani, left: wall of house inside, Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. West wall with entrance to living room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table, Sulaimani.

The home was to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, in the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he resided in these modern things the business was fixed up like one of the larger booths in the city with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small working table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 33 and 31, and eleven children. Of these they were sons: 20, 15, 9, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters: one stepdaughter, 23, the others 23, 17, 14, 12 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Shaikh property on Tripoleva, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although and resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part, built of sun-dried clay bricks, and of a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong cave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was concentrated around a courtyard. Apart from the one entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

representatives of the "semi-urbanized" urban women, as likely as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the lives of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continued conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the home, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the urbanized section of the family.

As an example of a new home intended solely for an urbanized urban woman we can take one planned by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my landowner's former hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storerooms. In front of these rooms was a closet with a cooking pit in the one corner and a stump in the centre. By the longer wall there was a kachel to the front of a bedded room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted wood furniture, and the loggia settlement to sit on were also intended for sleeping on at the end. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this urbanized couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increased, the flexible mode of life results in the disinclusion of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wash-table, filled with towels, was left in ordinary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the rare it lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably suppose a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. In the young couple, after having been an independent family unit would, after the birth of the first child, divide - the women covering the woman's world of the home, the men the man's world outside - the furnishings would be reduced to the contrary, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing as large a number of family members in a home with especially on five rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. In

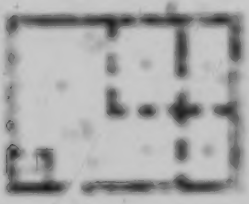

Fig. 11, (1) figg. 10 and 11). Conception of home for newly-married couple. Reference: Scale 1:200

a united living room, the room is sleeping room, a store room, or cooking and living (bedroom or storeroom) or (bedroom) ... 5 families in open room.

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

village environment. In Tegaama the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the house's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter or Ohg in the early evening hours in the morning. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. After a meal daily in the home. Before is observed every morning. The churning work is being up on a basis in the conditioner or on a basis

Fig. 43. Woman smashing kaffir-corn for the Tegaama.

[illegible] in the wall just outside the way down to it. The pig used to hang up in the door opening here to the [illegible] common the supply for drinking cows out and water to drink. Sacks with water for sheep also [illegible] hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used [illegible] for cooking. The making of ran is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases [illegible] a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought [illegible] in by the men or sent by the boat-bus from Sukhumari.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the house, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother [illegible] and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, [illegible] and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Tatyanova). The [illegible] daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Barbara). Water is found within the [illegible] premises of the house (Tatyanova, Bangalia).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. In Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river [illegible] by donkey and then emptied into pitcher sans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the male servant of the house who has [illegible] with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by man with donkeys [illegible] (Tatyanova). Washing-up is done by the servants. There can be other male (Bangalia, Barbara) or female [illegible]

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies [illegible] to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up, the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village environment assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats [illegible] in the case of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village wells. The fetching of water to the wells once is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different houses. The wells were can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was only on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where two [illegible] doors were used instead of rooms, taking was done at home by the individual households alone.

The movements of wells. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations when [illegible] during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the [illegible] quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning pail being suspended from a frame [illegible] outside the house.

The making of ran could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, pail-like and goat-skins from adjacent water basins far from the [illegible] houses by women. It would be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 gumshins [illegible] had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, [illegible] or as in Mirza Rustam when water in general has even to be fetched from the river over 300 yards from the village houses.

Sulaiman, who had to make some sacrifices and gifts on the occasion of the wedding, agreed one evening at my interpreter's home. He hung up in the courtyard the wedding *burnt* with which he would thoroughly beat the widow, converting the black grey lumps into white, very lasting. Later in the afternoon the bone-cracking widow was put into the room made by the women and the upholsterer then completed the sorting. This work, which took a whole day, was done in the women's section of the house. The upholsterer left notes during the day to have his meals in the town.

Very occasionally a lower caller, an old man, was admitted to the house to measure out for a quilted cotton. Certain goods, such as rugs, etc., were brought by vendors to be viewed. However, these men never entered the women's premises, never getting further than the front door, and when going out to see them the women tied a head cloth tightly round head and neck. The same thing happened when a man with three donkeys came up the three steps of the house into the tiled hall to unload the supply of wheat for the coming winter. This was brought in bags, sixteen pounds were weighed, and was unloaded behind the curb in the hall. I never saw the men whom in my interpreter's home go to a shower. During garden borders, on the day devoted to family visits, they accompanied their common husband on more visiting visits.

The part of their daily activities brought them outside the home or into contact with the man's world. Their contacts with the women's world in the town were on the other hand unlimited. This fourth Sunday environment thus maintained complete exclusion, that is to say them external ring, our Western world symbolizing with a position of bondage.

CONTRASTIVE DOMESTIC LIFE

The distribution of authority and man's position in the home. The family's economy among the village aristocracy was naturally grounded on by the men. It was also he who decided whether or not a 10 year old son could go on a family visit from Tripoline to Gabes or Baghdad. Equally, it obviously rested with the Shaikh of Tripoline to say whether or not he would accept me, my interpreter and her young brother on paying guests.

Like all rural women, the women of the village aristocracy were completely illiterate, whereas their husbands and sons had been able to acquire at all events some book learning. Despite lack of schooling a woman could be extremely intelligent. This was evinced by the way she arranged her complicated daily tasks and ran the home, children, and husband. Besides, she bore her job, was highly qualified domestically, worked as housewife and worker from an early age. Within the home she was certainly man's equal. The family rooms were her domain where the husband was accepted and shown the correct place. In the room where the child's intelligence was greater than the husband's, it is even quite relative the man could be said to possess an equal status in the home. Key suggests as much when writing about conditions in Southern Kurdistan: "Most chiefs are in a greater or less extent under the thumbs of their womenfolk."[1]

In regard to Sweden, that Western concept now which accepts are made to adapt features of an exactly different social pattern like the Islamic, it was to said the women of the village aristocracy were

and "love", being subjected to an electrically-practised seduction. The more they flee to shores that [illegible], but for their master the more more lure to no further case; both were subject to the decision of the family.

As mentioned earlier, women's realms of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, as far as I could see, they were not as much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders; work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening. Drawing water and fuel from afar, walking to the rice-fields, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fish plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the women in an inferior position.

In regard to the advanced urban milieu in Seoul where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much so, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

Within the unadvanced urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connection with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was controlled by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say as regard to the persons entering and leaving the home. In my interpreter's home—within the two which belonged to the unadvanced milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the autumn of 1957, and refused to allow several persons in the family being taken by car to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

During periods outside the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult relative, one of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Pyongyang. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a brief call on another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reprimanded for this by her husband. Here must a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was we fully explained. Faced by a settled hostility from of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to bear an unconditional retreat. As Granet says about conditions in a Muslim home of the East: "L'homme y sortir sur l'ordre de ses femmes, et toutes celles des femmes voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... exercent d'abondance, exercent et multiplient", and goes on to say: "... Ce silence tyran, à maître de femme, avait de pouvoir absolu et des droits de plus exorbitants, d'en proclamation le mari à plus mangé qui soit au monde ..."[4]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the unadvanced urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a considerably strong position, and the husband, despite the right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women.

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, the realm of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, frequented tea-halls, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimaniyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, wage, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the house. (This is in no sense a matter of concern, but it held no parallel in any of the other three millieux.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village millieu, on the other hand, the men spent few leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or clustered with groups on the village bands. Village men donned shoes some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some conveniences who had arrived. In the village millieu there were far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Moslim areas—was circumscribed.

As they might a common life within the home was to be expected in the urbanized urban millieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea houses, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the urbanized urban millieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits or which we were never present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home was betrothed to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being entertainment to, and not quite happy about, the situation, adopted one of non-ridiculous for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village millieu, the urbanized urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way.

This division appeared to be passed down in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only occupied home to eat the meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in the small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure

7: Earth 8-5 (1951) 1953 %11 Kurd %11

§§5 ably, the labour might even be borrow enough money to procure a
29: shoulder, and thus be in a position to take on more work and thus increase his income. When the labourer with access to such capital in fact does, however, is to become a tenant farmer by obtaining the minimal equipment necessary for farming. He then rises one notch in the class hierarchy, and may employ labourers in the peak season of the harvest.

A class distinction is thus constantly reinforced within each village by class dispositions of capital and labor, dividing it into the distinct groups of tenant farmers and labourers — sajwar (harvesters) in Kurdish terms. Prerequisite to being a tenant farmer is a minimum capital (1951) of ca. £ 10: 2 oxen at £ 10-15, plowing equipment £ 10, seed pr. dunum of land ca. £ 1. In addition comes the normal stock of productive animals for household use, of which the harvesters also generally have a certain number.

The frequency of tenant farmers doing all or a major part of the agricultural work themselves was not ascertained, but it is certainly quite high. Thus the daily routine of field labor, and similarly the organization of household units, is essentially similar for the two classes, the tenant farmers and the labourers.

This two-class distinction is sufficient as far as the tenant village is concerned. The landowner and his family, occupying a third class position, are usually residents of a nearby larger town. In the tribal village, a similar two-class distinction tends to grow up between freeholding tribal farmers and conquered non-tribal tenants, though often the situation becomes more complex (see below).

HOUSEHOLDS

• 77; [76] The division of labor in the village is due to a certain extent regulated by a two-class system. But the main division of economic roles and responsibilities is found within each household unit. The household is economically independent, and consists typically of one elementary family: husband, wife, and their children. Among these, the economic roles are distributed along the same lines that will be familiar from rural Europe. It should be unnecessary to enumerate these in detail. The male finds most of his work in the fields, he

The male Kurds spend most of his work on the fields, but he also has the privilege of looking after the home. The other animals are tended by the women, who do the milking and preparing of food, and other household duties, including total plastering of the house interior every fall. The roof on the other hand is kept in repair by the men. In the busy season the women also assist in the fields, especially during the grain harvest and in tobacco picking. The smaller children share in these home tasks, and, among less well-to-do people at least, serve as shepherds for the smaller flocks. There is also a series of smaller jobs, such as collecting dung for fuel about the yards and cow-sheds.

Table II.

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR KURDISH VILLAGES

	non-tribal		tribal		totals
	Barzan Kurd	Gundesen	Barzan Kurd	Tiyari	
widow and children	5	10	0	0	15
elementary family					
(and plural wives)	29	25	7	6	67
" " husband's mother	5	5	1	5	6
" " husband's mother and unmarried siblings	1	1	—	—	2
" " husband's unmarried siblings	—	2	1	1	4
" " husband's father and unmarried siblings	2	—	—	—	2
patrilineal extended family	2	4	1	1	8
other (incomplete families)	—	3	2	1	6
Total number of families					110

The general form of the Kurdish village households may be seen in Table II. Only 10 % of the households could be called patrilineal extended families, ca. 71 % consisting of an elementary family or a group of dependents maintained by an elementary family. Each household is an independent economic unit, except for a certain amount in the form of the obligation to support survivors in

• [illegible] case of homosexuality and incest. This obligation supposedly pertains to nearest agnatic male relatives, but practice is in fact very elastic, and follows considerable arguments of weakness and means.

Since each household is generally based on one elementary family, the marriage tie is the pivot on which household organization rests. [illegible] The verbalized theory on choice of spouse is quite simple. A man decides he wants to marry a certain girl — any girl. He chooses a reliable representative — preferably an older male relative — and the representative visits the father of the girl and makes the proposition. Considerable subtle diplomacy is performed by both sides in fixing a tentative bridegrice. If the young man accepts the price, proportions present. The importance of the representative is evidently considerable. In one case, a laborer who was a transient in the area chose to send two representatives he did not know very well to a potential father-in-law whom he in fact knew better. The latter seems to be in the better bargaining position of an outsider — he is freer to relegate the virtues of the groom.

[illegible] Theoretically, you may propose to marry any girl. In practice, there is a strong preference for FaBrDa marriage. Certainly a FaBrDa is considered to have first right of refusal. The case of the above mentioned transient laborer brings out the point: He was refused because, said the girl's father «I am afraid my brother's sons will kill me if I give her to you.»[1])

The rationalizations and manifest reasons for the preferential marriage pattern are of several types. The father's interest in his daughter is used as an explanation for his preference of a BrSo as a son-in-law: he knows the nephew's possible shortcomings, which reduces the risk of mis-matching; furthermore, he would be able to exert some influence over the groom after marriage, through the agnatic kinship tie, to protect his daughter's interests. It is further usually said that it is customary for the nephew to pay only a

[1]) The same transient laborer had at a previous occasion in northern Iraq been refused a girl on similar grounds, although in this case he determined to murder her if she was not given to him. The girl was indeed killed shortly afterwards, and the laborer spent a period of time in jail till he was released due to lack of evidence.

419 law, the Beneljee are such a branch, which has split off from the parent, Shaikh 'Imail tive. The Shaxi group of tives, on the other hand, are all sons of one father, and so one of the tive takes precedence. Such groups have more than mere legendary unity. Firstly, as shareholders, they have the right of inheritance to each others' pastures and campsites, in the case of one of the tive dying
423 out. There is also a minimum of political coordination: in the case of war or other far-reaching decisions, the leaders of all Shaxi tive meet in a council. So that no one of them should have an advantage, this council meets in the tent of a rich follower, not in the tent of any one Rais. The council reaches agreement by discussion, and has, as a body, no formal powers.

421 *KHEL.* Through the tive holds grazing rights in common, it will rarely camp in one unit, but generally divides into several separate encampments, each called a *khel*. The *khel* may vary in size and composition, but may roughly be regarded as a lineage segment. It is, however, held together by economic as well as lineage ties. Hired shepherds etc. may thus belong to a specific *khel* without being members of the *jal ashiret*, an economic partnership between persons of different lineage segments may temporarily influence *khel* membership. The *khel* is led by an older man, more or less informally elected or granted authority because he is the person with the greatest power and prestige. The *khel* is thus primarily a residence unit, and is less permanent in its composition than the larger units which are based on descent only.

HOUSEHOLDS. Each *khel* encampment is made up of a number of households, frequently some 20—30, each inhabiting a separate tent.
• 422 The households seem to have roughly the same size and composition as those of the sedentary village Kurds, described above. If a father can afford the necessary expenses in tent and utensils, he will set up an independent household for his married son. Poor people, on the other hand, may find this impossible. — Marriage is preferably with FaBrDa or other close relatives, very rarely outside the tive. Brideprice varies from £ 200 to occasionally nothing in the case of close relatives. Payment may take any form, either in kind or cash, but is computed in terms of money.

7: Barth 8-5 (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

771 then at present. The route from the Sulaimani area went by caravan
999 to Basra in the Persian Gulf, by ship to Jiddah (or even by caravan across the Arabian peninsula) and on foot from Jiddah to Mecca — involving often more than a full year of travel. Today, the time expended is in the neighborhood of two months, travel being by bus to Baghdad and across to Beirut, ship through the Suez to Jiddah, and bus up to the walls of Mecca. Total expenses average some £ 200. The pattern is generally one of group travel — in 1948, a group of approximately 60 persons from the Sulaimani area journeyed together.

777 The moral-religious status connected with the title of *Hadji* is of negligible importance. There is some feeling that in situations of petty conflict, a *Hadji* should arrange to mediate, and that higher moral standards are to be expected from him. More important is its connections with wealth as a type of conspicuous consumption, and in this it parallels the widely distributed type of honorific title dependent on having gone through a «pre-Inshe series of feasts»[1]). However, in the competitive and informal Kurdish village organization, the honorific title of *Hadji* is not by itself of any appreciable consequence in the de-facto power hierarchy, and must be supported by a continued position of relative wealth.

KINSHIP

• 772 In addition to the formal hierarchies governing the political, the economic, and the religious fields, there remains the field of kinship. It might be pointed out that the household organization, and attendant kinship obligations, described above pp. 29 ff, represents a hierarchical organization of basically the same type, but relating to a unit smaller than the village, in contrast with the other, more extensive organizations. Needless to say, the patriarch of a large household gains prestige and is vested with de-facto power by

[1]) An example from a culturally and geographically parallel area is offered by the Kafirs of Afghanistan, where the whole social structure of the village community is based on a hierarchy of such honorific titles, attained by giving stipulated numbers of feasts (cf. G. S. Robertson, 1896, pp. 474 ff).

• 592 virtue of his position in the household — prestige and power that contributes very significantly to his total status in the village community.

SCALES

539 I have used the term office for an actual formal position in an organizational hierarchy; status and part-status for this position *and* the prestige that belongs with it. In a system where the rights and privileges connected with a political office are not clearly defined, and a separation of a person's private vs. official capacities is impossible, the power of a political official, or other person in a status hierarchy, will in large part depend on the particular person holding the position. In a sense, there is negligible prestige attached to the position itself; an individual must, in his private capacity, embody the prestige that is necessary to fill the position successfully. Thus the variegated sources of prestige *outside* the formal hierarchies become important to an understanding of how the formal structure functions in the village.

One may, as suggested above, profitably think in terms of certain *scales* by which persons are evaluated, high rating on these scales conferring prestige to the individual. Such scales are of several types, some connected with the life cycle of the individual, or related to the degree to which certain attributes are found in a person, others measuring the degree to which an individual approaches a certain ideal stereotype in his behavior. They may in part define conflicting or mutually exclusive ideals. — Put differently, this means that the prestige derived from high rating on one of these scales may be particularly relevant in a certain organization or role, as in the case of sanctity and its relation to the *Shaikh* status. Other scales are more universally applicable, as that of relative age. However, no matter what its sources may be, *the prestige of a person qualifies him for a certain relative power position in the village, potentially or actually formalized as a named status position.*

Obviously, any number of these scales may be constructed, and the present list pretends to do little more than summarize certain

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

In the ideal, the Kurdish family which maintains ortho-cousin marriage and does not require the wife to change her place of residence on marriage forms what may be termed a "fraternal" group. Brothers are close neighbours or even share the same house. They frequently work their landholdings jointly, perhaps even in cooperation with their cousins. The marriage of ortho-cousins clearly serves to simplify and perpetuate such cooperation. Moreover in such a case the bride-price, whatever its nominal amount - and the Kurds are keen to flatter their wives by asserting that they have paid a quite fabulous price for them, - is in practice nothing but a sort of book entry, a transfer of assets from the right hand to the left. Even where the marriage to father's brother's daughter does not take place, there is still a strong tendency for a man to marry a girl from his own village - i.e. a classificatory "ortho-cousin" - if for no other reason than that the Agha must approve of all marriages and he has an obvious interest in keeping the group as closely unified as possible. Besides, a man of the commoner class would normally have comparatively few opportunities of either meeting or bargaining for a girl from another village, still less for a girl of another clan or tribe. Startling rumours and elopements do take place, but they are the exception and are usually followed by a long and bloody trail of vengeance. For the commoner the general rule of marriage within the taifa is fairly well maintained. In this connection the building of the road will probably have important consequences for the Balik in the near future, since the ordinary tribesman can now much more readily make contact with groups other than his own immediate kinsfolk.

Marriage of Aghas

The foregoing applies however only to the marriage arrangements of commoner families (kawasy). Quite different are the conditions that govern the marriage of the son of an Agha. Mohammedan law permits a man to have four wives at a time, and to effect divorce simply by the pronouncement of the word taleq three times. In practice scarcely any of the commoners among the Balik can afford more than one wife, and polygyny is the almost exclusive prerogative of the Aghas. The marriage to father's brother's daughter serves to simplify and concentrate the inheritance of cattle, implements and other items of 'capital' equipment within the economic working unit of the group household and to avoid friction over the inheritance of tenancy rights. But the Agha is not swayed by considerations of inheritance since, in the limited sense already described, he 'owns' all the available land anyway and there is no question of splitting up the territory at death. His aim rather is to gain prestige and live at peace with his neighbours. We find therefore that the marriages of Aghas tend to take the form of political alliances, rather after the style of the royal marriages of mediaeval Europe. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balesh for instance, who in the course of a long life has had 9 wives and 15 surviving children, appears to be related either by marriage or

622 38
592 through the marriage of his sons to nearly every important Lesdan, tribal, religious,or townsmen, within fifty miles radius. Here humble Aghas are content with one or two alliances with neighbouring notables, while the rest of their offspring are married off to members of their own community, thus further strengthening the bonds of kinship between the Agha and his followers. It is interesting to examine the effect of this in greater detail.

> Sheikh Mohammed of Balosh was one of 9 surviving brothers he himself has had nine wives and has six surviving sons, and several daughters

> Mir Ismail Amin of Dergala has had 6 wives and 24 children of which there survive 9 sons and 5 daughters.

If we consider the male side of the town only, it would appear that the average reproduction rate of a "princely" Agha is of the order of 6 surviving sons. If we assume that the total population of the villages remains very roughly stationary we must reach the conclusion that the effective birthrate is very heavily loaded in favour of the Aghas. The effect of this would seem to be that in many of the smaller villages the Agha is not only of the same clan as nearly everyone but actually quite closely related to about half the population. I was unable to make any accurate census of a village but my observations at "Balosh were I think reasonably accurate, and tend to confirm this calculation.

622 There appeared to be twelve separate households, of which four
• 592 are accounted for by the Agha's fortress and the establishments of his third and fourth married sons and of a brother. [The two eldest sons have been established as Aghas in their own right over neighbouring villages]. The population I estimated at ninety, in the proportion twenty five men, thirty women, thirty five children. The Aghas household appeared to consist of about twenty persons including his younger children and personal servants; while the households of his married sons and his brother contained about eight persons each. In this case therefore quite half the population of the quad was in immediate kinship or economic relationship with the Agha. The case may be exceptional, but serves to explain why a rental of 5% of the yield of the land does not in practice prove entirely extortionate.

622 Comparison of these observations and those of Bay

614 The foregoing account shows the interrelationship of the
114 political and kinship organisation among the Dalik Kurds. As a commentary upon sociological method it is interesting to note what

"This village would appear to be fairly average so far as size is concerned, though centres such as Dergala and Barge are vastly larger. Balosh however is in some respects the private fortress of Sheikh Mohammed and its kinship organisation may not be typical.

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1960 Will Hurd Will
Rewarded

Land Ownership, House Construction and Fluidity

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The indications are that land resources are for the most part as fully utilized as present technical equipment permits; the amount of marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement is small. Except on the scattered swampy areas (Dalua where conditions are too severe, chert is cultivated wherever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shallow permits subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried far up into the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the food supplies grown are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

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Land scarcity appears the most plausible explanation for the very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes on at Bolnak and at Bayet the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the situation of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village. As can be seen from photograph No. 5 the houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is an exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconvenience of such close proximity it would hardly be otherwise. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which complicates any effort on the part of the Ngha to reorganise the system of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

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One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the limitations of water supply radically affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. What follows applies only to the villages of the

[illegible]

1: Current B-4, 9 (ca. 1889) 1891
MA11 Kard MA11

649 Not being sure of the day of his wife's return home,
509 he had not been anxious at her non-arrival, but had been spending the evening with a party of friends. A question had arisen regarding his bravery; and, to vindicate it, he had accepted a wager to go alone at midnight to the Bas Khan, and leave there a token of his visit. He had been searching for a safe place in which to leave this token, unawed by the ghastly missiles hurled at him, as he supposed, by some hamlits who had taken up their abode in the khan.

489 Mr. Rich, when travelling in Kurdistan, met a
543 girl of the Bulbassi tribe who had killed with a spear
179 a Turk who insulted her. This young Amazon was dressed like a man, and served the chief, Faraklah Elkasli, as his faithful henchman, accompanying him on all his expeditions. The women of this tribe are particularly lively and intrepid. They sometimes take to the road as brigands, and unlucky is the trader or traveller who falls into their hands. Not content with robbing him, they strip him, excite him to make proposals to them, and then punish him for so doing with every species of mild torture which their lively imaginations can suggest, such as pinching, scratching, and scourging with thorns.

542 In the domestic circle the women are treated as
513 equals by the men, who are most affectionate in their relations with their parents, sisters, and children, and in the character of husbands most considerate, kind, and forbearing. As an illustration of this latter trait, and at the same time of manners generally among the sedentary Kurds, I cannot do better than give the following charming story.

sought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Slapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to scold him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as Xal, "uncle," or xiz, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Tomms or "Aunt" Nanny prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rawanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

servants, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shaikh Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Kawandos to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lalli Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lalli Khan's people servants," one man told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isam'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (ghulam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes ghulaug). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Kawandos. The House of Isam'il Beg has a number, that of Hadi Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Hasin Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bewil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realise their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, published to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the mountain, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'ajjal, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against headless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these prescriptions. There is

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lail Khan was so stricken by the death of Imam'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The caravanserai of Imam'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shaikh Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect towards their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the unit, little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

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although he often counsels the solicitous of his heir and 593 ●
wife, much more than any other person in the family, as the disciplinarian. The son is required to stand in his [574]
father's presence until bidden to seat himself and the latter's directions have the effect of absolute law. As his heir, the son must seek his father's aid and counsel in financial matters and all affairs of importance, such as a career or a marriage. The father, however, is not a confidant until the son has married and passed well into adulthood. The mother, in contrast, is the general repository of her son's secrets and a friend and companion. "If a son is in need of money, he sometimes goes to his mother and obtains it from her secretly. If he smokes, she furnishes him with cigarettes." It is through the influence of the mother with her spouse that a youth attempts to obtain his wishes from his father. If a young man desired a new suit of clothes and had reason to believe his father might demur, he carries his problem to his mother who exerts her influence on his behalf. A man need not exhibit deferential conduct toward his mother, as in the case of the father. The relationship between father and daughter is similar to that between the former and his son. She must rise when her father enters the room and observe [575]
respectful behavior toward him. "She must never reply harshly, and must always say 'yes,' rather than 'no.' If her reply is sharp, her father may beat her. If her mother intervenes, both may be beaten." On the other hand, in return for gracious conduct, such as bringing

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his kin or mates and a capable to wash his hands, the father often provides the daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As is the case of the son, the mother is the general spokesman of the girl, keeping her accounts and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all rise his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson bathes his grandfather and, in summer, carries him on the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Kwandon by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to the back, and then pressing the open kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law.

The connections between an individual and his uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal

uncle (ssa) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is sick, he looks after his nephews and nieces, washing them clothing and soap, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (shi) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's treatment of her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (sisi) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the house of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the <u>simbizha</u>

guest-room, apart from all of the rooms of the house.

The eldest brother occupies a position over his brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He shares to some extent in the parental authority and is responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger brothers their *poniuau*, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest brother makes a journey to Hilo or a similar place he issues their savings and purchases them something they desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all of his directions must be carried out by their junior to him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, the younger children are supposed to stand, although this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and the care of the younger children. In several families observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels

of childhood, usually below 10's. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the will, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of the mother. The well mature is between couples of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even sleep together in a room. There are, of course, some of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [516]

is seem likely that this is only permissible after the two have been engaged to be married.

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. In association theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of deference exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence between overt status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quietly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

life-development than one of inner status. 891

The department employed of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. In actual theory, he may address his relatives by marriage by the names he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has not taken a siblings may be initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alienate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if rejected.

The presence of servants in the wealthier household and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a

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must be the mosque, in a wooden stand on which are to be found books of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mosque, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Rowanduz, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East.

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to outline the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the dwelling and in the size and splendor of its entertainment. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowanduz, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance

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or marriage, have their home in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this class, which regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should believe things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a politically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in England or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behaviour of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Ba'ud Effendi, like so many elders, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Kawawaba is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
of the government elite, not those of the town, but others
encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
can break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
the official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
commoners or aristocrats of Rowanduz, that alcoholism and [565]
suicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowanduz at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowanduz is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowanduz, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowanduz district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1908.

369 512 representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a emotional conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both fellaheen teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the east corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family unit would, after the birth of the first child, divide the woman entering the women's world of the house, the man the man's world outside — the furnishings would be included in the minimum, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a house with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

Fig. 11, 421 figg. 24 and 26. Ground plan of house for newly-married couple. Fellaheen. Scale 1:200.
a, central living room; b-c-d, sleeping rooms; e, store room; f, cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; g-i (facades); i-j (latrine); g, guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

It, therefore, The object of the changeover is removed from the home, as children about 5 [illegible] for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Bishop[17] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stocks[18] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child became a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

Activities	Village Community		Suburb		Provincial town		Metropolitan town	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	+		+		+		+	
Work outside home				+				+
Schooling		+		+		+	+	+
Street life		+		+		+	+	+

A contrast to girls in all four female environments in existence in the home according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help in the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys training is the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urban/semi-urban village milieu the boys are sent away to school to learn like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the most urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the parents the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

subsistence that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[29] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..., and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[30].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[31]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. At the same time the Coran recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[32]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[33], are: father's brother's daughter, amikal, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, pûrkal, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, xalkal, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, pûrkal, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the houses I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[34] and Barth[35] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Tuqozaw the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sergalu. In Serkaw two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[36]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as someone in Islam wrote.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taher's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Tuqozaw said further that a man in his station was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

not "free", beingsubjected to an absolutely-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their spouses, but for the matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decisions of the family.

As mentioned other, women's realms of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the one hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their usual superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their daughters, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, walking in the mountains, ploughing ad harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lck of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharin of the work put the women in an inferior position.

In regard to the balanced urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

Within the mentioned urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the mentioned milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor o hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

During quelt hainbe the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. In the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Cuvelier says about conditions in Oriental homes of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes tellesdes harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville .... conditions effroyables, assurément et inqualifiable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maître du harem, arrivé de pouvoir abuser et des droits le plus revoltants, n'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ...."[1]. As I see it, a woman belonging to the mentioned urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

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THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women. 562 592

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his realm of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, inspected his fields, paid visits to other villagers and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimaniyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, urge, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the home. (This is to assess a matter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the men spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or chatted with groups in the village booth. Village men danced alone some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some musicians who had arrived. In the village milieu there was far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—as characteristic of Muslim areas—was accentuated. 562 369 517 565

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home thus belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, original out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way. 562 369 519

This division appeared in its purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure 562 593

4: Human E-4 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

His leisure

562 593 [883] 517 hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the souks. The division applied also to the adolescent sons, who in their leisure hours were sent out from the homes to obtain a "street education" (see p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 5 to 6 years of age still belonged to the home, that is to say, the women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From tea houses, booths, or on benches men saw only anonymous, concealed figures hasten past. No woman's face or form was visible. When Oberg[2] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home meet the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual content, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the man also meets in other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social connections of Kurdish men evinced at times a homosexual tinge; they could be seen walking together with arms round waists, holding hands and interlacing fingers.

[838] Within the home there seemed to be remarkably little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for his clothes, a place on the floor by the meal tray, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided to sleep – that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A woman's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 26 year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses and shawls, their black over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to rush simultaneously to obtain their abā and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but insurmountable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over wide pants for the older man and pyjamas for the younger. Re-appearing, they once more slunk past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

593 595 562 The way this home was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However, there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, twin houses at Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's home it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or retired to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a house possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate both a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dokan Dam site: who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit ... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there .... It is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As [redacted] man[1] says of the Egyptian *fellahin* woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practice they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands .... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between men and women, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of certain elements inside the four milieus.

Certain elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unreported	reported	unreported	reported	unreported	reported	unreported	reported
Face veil and shid	(+)	(+)	(+)	- (+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	-	-	-				+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	+

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the terms "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MAIL Kurd MA11

dream of not having to face a united women's front of, say, mother, wives (usually chosen by the women of his family), plus sisters, daughters half and fully grown, who ordered his life from start to finish. In an "educated wife" he hoped to obtain compensation for the social and emotional contact he was now forced to seek during the hours of day with other men.

This leads us to a discussion of the Islamic, and thus the Kurdish woman's marital position and the marriages arranged by the family. As already mentioned, the choice of a young man's married partner is practically always left to the women of his family, that is to say the mother or step-mother and sisters, whereafter the matter is laid before the father for approval. In regard to the fact that married couples in many cases have never seen each other before the marriage is to be consummated, the general Western idea is that it must be difficult for a young girl to be given to an unknown man. However, it must be equally trying for the young man. This is also pointed to by Granquist when she says[6]: "In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man".

* It was characteristic that the brother of Sheikh Taffie in Tsqurva, who was thinking of going to Europe, asked me if it really was true that one could walk up to any woman in the street and offer her marriage. That was his first impression of liberty of choice in Europe. He had never envisaged any sentimental basis for marriage.

The young woman is thus selected by the women with whom she will have to live and work, as the young couple usually dwells in the bridegroom's home. Her most beforehand but highly-prized by the bride price paid out on the construction of marriage, which is expended to a greater or lesser degree on the luxury with which she is to be surrounded. In most cases she knows the women who are to be her daily companions and fellow-workers. From her own home she is well trained in the domestic work that can be expected of her. She has been brought up with the quite natural idea that her most important destiny and greatest happiness is to be allowed to bear children. From the years spent in the home among other women she has heard and witnessed everything worth knowing about the difficulties of matrimonial relations. She is not expected to be her husband's comrade on a spiritual or intellectual level. The basis for the joint family idea, with several generations housed within the the same building is a married life of a different nature, less organised than in our culture pattern. During the day the husband, even among the village aristocracy, has little opportunity of companionship with his wife, as the great boundary between the form of life of men and women compelled him to seek the society of other men, whilst on her side the woman enters the feminine half of the community. On entering marriage, a young woman, in addition to her own personal qualities, is regarded as a representative of a whole family, with which it has been felt desirable to become allied. She arrives in an aura of her own family's glory. She herself had no personal expectations beyond the advantages to be derived from the married state and the fulfilment of a woman's natural desire to have children. As young people in good families had not seen much other before marriage, it was obvious that no sentimental basis existed on which to start the union, but this did not mean that later on a high degree of sympathy might not develop between husband and wife and that this was quite

562 593 sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together,particularly because the culture pattern more or less separated the couple during the day. The young woman was thus faced with demands she was able to fulfil, highly-valued beforehand, with a *peasant of a* gain if greater sympathy or love was born between herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparison with other women, for in his outside life the husband never met them; the wives of his friends he never saw. In the home he met only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were thus not the chances that at his place of work or in unity her husband met and fell in love with another woman, but were far more logically justified. Life together proved impossible, both husband and [584] wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage(see p. 121). Should she bear no children, or no sons, an extra wife was justified. This might mean that the family of the other wife stipulated that the first wife should be renounced, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family assured the bride beforehand an adequately as was humanly possible.

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584 The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps assisted by his family, for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should he not like his bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money in this disappointment, and secondly had to sustain his case against the women of his family, who had selected her. A new wife of the four sanctioned by the Coran, depending upon one's economic circumstances, was another unknown ticket in a marriage lottery.

593 562 [586] From the moment a man passed from the unmarried to the married state, he was for the rest of his life the head of a family. As the bride price was old when marriage was contracted, the husband had not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[6] in the event of divorce. Quite small children, it is true, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father. In the event of a fresh marriage a man thus had to chance of leaving his children. The new wife, or [587] wives, who entered his home took over the way of looking after the brood of children that might already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is not always the case in the West. The constant factor in the home were thus, theoretically, the father and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children a mutual status quite different from the position of those three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women when one more of the four wives sanctioned by religion were acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when the home she entered had adolescent or adult 562 children. Nor has much consideration been give to the possibility that the stationary children, whose 586 the father is unable to marry off, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been renounced 593 by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and went back to her family, leaving behind her three children aged about, 7 and 8 (see p. 137). When these children reached the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[1] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Mohammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sura 24, verse 31 of the Koran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Koran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[2]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their hall of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *sûq*, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the shrewd life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

Q. Hainaux E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA13

were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that she is bought. Now people among whom bridal price is customary do not understand the Western ideal; their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgement depends on customs, which is no certain or absolute measure of value"[9].

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various areas, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected and valued position; she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the only means whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state.

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West. In place of the clearly-stressed special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At the same time her efforts in the spheres that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly less prized.

As the industrialisation of the country progresses, a large part of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to trade with all its consequences, both good and bad. Her firmly-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by religion, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

In the event of divorce and the adoption of monogamy, the stationary home that has so far existed for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mother and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the community structure, as is about to be the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has now reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not obtain a place in the joint family, and the homes will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. The paramount demand concerning virginity is only logically justified provided a home exists where the girl can dwell, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself—arrange her marriage.

The older members of the family are deprived of the right and duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent improved security for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and what it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women

reduced brideprice, or none at all; so from the point of view of the potential groom, the incentive to cousin marriage is considerable. No rationalization of the pattern in terms of the Koranic approval of close kin marriage was ever advanced in conversations on the subject — in fact, the contrary was occasionally claimed. — We shall return later to some more basic factors relating to this marriage pattern.

Any special preference for FaBrDa as against the other three types of cousins was denied, and the higher incidence of FaBrDa marriages was explained by the fact that there «are more of them». This is in fact true, as far as the local village is concerned. A certain amount of inter-village marriage does take place. Marriage being neolocal in the man's village or occasionally patrilocal, all FaBr's children will be living in your own village, whereas a certain number of those related to you through a female will reside in other villages.

The frequency of marriage with actual, non-classificatory cousin is very high, ranging around 60 % in many of the villages studied (see Table 3). Considering that any irregularity in sex or age distribution of cousins must affect the opportunities for cousin marriage adversely, 60 % is probably close to the practical maximal frequency which such a marriage form can ever attain.

A second type of marriage is the *zhin-bo-zhin* (= sister exchange). In such cases of course the bride price is eliminated by the reciprocity of the two men exchanging their sisters with one another, and only the expenses immediately connected with the marriage celebration and trousseau remain. From the purely financial point of view, the sister exchange is thus advantageous, and may in a sense be regarded as an extension of the FaBrDa marriage pattern within the village community. In the non-tribal villages, such marriages are fairly frequent. On other counts, however, they are not considered too satisfactory. Where no close kin ties exist between the two men performing the exchange, the chances of disruption of the unions are increased: sibling loyalties are of the same order of magnitude as loyalty between spouses, so domestic difficulties in the one household are said to produce similar conflicts in the other household, in a vicious circle.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

tion of the Kurdish lineage organization we shall return to a more 581
complete discussion of these interrelations (pp. 49 ff).

Plural wives are rather uncommon in the villages, though they are 587
thought to be a quite desirable investment for the man who can [595]
afford it. The average incidence for 94 men in 4 villages runs c. 4 %.
The levirate is not infrequently practiced, but more as a convenience
than as an established rule or right. Unless the widow has a well
established father or brother, she tends to remain in the house of
her late husband under the protection of her brother-in-law, in
which case he might as well have some return for his expenses. Strict
observance of the Islamic rule of unlawful conjunction however
prevents him from doing this if his first wife is a close relative of
the widow (and where cousin marriage is common, this will be a
fairly frequent limitation). The sororate is not known as a marriage
practice.

KINSHIP.

593 •

A positional system of rights and privileges organizes the house-
hold group. Following Moslem ideals, the adult *male* has complete
control, and can make any decision he sees fit. This Islamic rule
seems slightly to exceed Kurdish popular feeling on the matter. It
is very difficult to obtain any impression of the internal workings of
a Moslem family, but one has the feeling that Kurdish women have
considerable influence in the close family circle. Occasionally this
even carries outside the kinship group, so a woman may come to
occupy a high political position. Similarly, the father's absolute
authority is strongly questioned by the sons, as indicated by the
frequency of neolocal residence. There are almost invariable tensions
connected with the setting up of an independent household for a
married son — the father tends to resist this reduction of his power,
and for the son it takes on the color of breaking loose and becoming
fully adult. However, with sacred sanctions and de-facto power
supporting him, the father certainly occupies the central position as
authority and organizer of the group.

In the case of a widow with one or several sons, the household is
named after the major son, and the actual position of authority

603 passed on in the male line. But the mother does generally retain some recognized and actual authority by virtue of her parental position. There is a general feeling that the ties between mother and son should be close and intimate. In the case of divorced or discarded plural wives, the woman will normally, if she has an established son, become an honored member of her son's household. But the seminal succession should certainly pass in the male line, and only where there is no male member above puberty will the household carry a woman's name. If only for economic reasons, this is a quite rare situation.

The daughter is entirely subject to her father's authority. He functions as her marriage guardian, and even has the right to impose marriage on her — according to Islamic law only before puberty, but in practice also later. The position as marriage guardian — giving the right to receive the brideprice — passes on the death of the father to the girl's nearest male agnatic relative. In *Shafi* law, this is first to her grandfather, second to her brother. Only father and grandfather, however, have the legal right to impose marriage.

Between brothers, relations of supra- and sub-ordination are determined by relative power. In the early years, this means physical power, and is closely connected with relative age. There is, however, no rule of succession, either primo- or ultimogeniture, and the relative positions of brothers are at any time decided by de-facto power and force of personality.

603 This positional system has further kinship ramifications, best seen in connection with the actual system of kinship terminology, Diagram 2. a) The child's relations with the grandparents are usually mediated through one of the parents, e. g. the son accompanies his mother on her frequent visits to her paternal household. In this situation authority and control over the child remains with the mother, and the relationship grandmother-grandchild is generally indulgent. The term *mamik* or *nanna* then also has an extended usage as a term of endearment to all older women of the village. Relations with the grandfather, especially the paternal grandfather will be 604 more tempered with respect. b) The other special relationship is with *mam*, father's brother. This term again is used in an extended meaning towards older men to indicate a relationship o closeness

[text continues on p. 32]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MN10

K 585 capture of the bride is simulated, though she is in reality purchased by the presents sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kûrds are K 585 586 practically monogamists, and divorce, though permitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., well illustrates their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

Y 585 583 586 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is K V 585 made to divorce as with the Moslem Kûrds. Their 743 weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower Y [743] grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *kawwals*, perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâsir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 764 A Kûrdish funeral, although it forms a striking

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowandus she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowandus provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are extended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and "mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister-in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly discussed in two ways, through the blood (xiwn) of the parents and through the milk (shir) of the mother. Great

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse 611
of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is 853
the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune
in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been 582
nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a 834
youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his 609
wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, 611
one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be 853
subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some
woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of
these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through
"blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of
marriage between two generations. To amplify this state-
ment, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been
nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not
apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he 595
so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents
many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First,
he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry,
as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and
maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive under-
taking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the [854]
prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, [878]
the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or
more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the
Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and
in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such
a situation

a situation. The tendency is for most persons to remain 595 ●
monogamous, and the usual reason for taking a second wife
is the failure of the first to produce a male heir when, [841]
at the same time, the husband is loathe to divorce the
barren woman in question. Ra'uf Effendi was 'thinking' of
marrying a second wife who could replace the son he had
lost, because the woman to whom he had been married for
many years had passed the stage of child-bearing. He has
not, however, carried out this intention yet. Sometimes a
wife herself will suggest suggest the second marriage. In
Rowandus, in 1951, there were no men with a plurality of
brides. It was said that some of the chieftains in older
times had been able to maintain a number of wives in
separate establishments, but most of this seems to have
disappeared.

The preferred form of marriage is that between a 582
man and his father's brother's daughter. If the father
and the uncle live under the same roof, it can be seen that
such a match prevents the dowry from being paid into a
strange hand, and in marriages of this type the stipulated
sum of the dowry is often highly fictional. In Kurdistan
a man always has the first claim on his paternal uncle's
daughter, and his consent must first be obtained if she
is to marry someone else. A bitter feud can ensue if the [578]
parents of the maiden, in view of some advantageous alliance,
override this prerogative. If an idealised situation is
imagined in which the prescription that a man must marry

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to pay the mu'akher, always a considerable sum, and the father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations of varying length are thus as common as divorces, during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed, one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, for a man's desire for a male heir can easily overrride his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in those matches in which he had little to do with his choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not countenance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not believe that because a woman has been childless in one marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rowandus, once the problems of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood, and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats

4: Nausch E-5 (1937) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ...."[6]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[7]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni mentioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane[8] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[9] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ....".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[10]. Khanum Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[11] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Baganda family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qa'im maqam* in Halabja. Even while he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin, Sarkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes, Sarkan. (See p. 10).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh houses in Topzawa, Shaqlawa, Sargala and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rastam and Shaikha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rastam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the uppermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 35 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband subjected to neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[56], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[57], by sewing triangular amulet pockets onto its clothes, and by fasting ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Juynboll[58] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Østrup[59], circumcision is performed on the 9th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a *mulla*, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Havva (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'fer, Karim, Kemâl, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qâsim, Sa'id, Sardâr, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Atîya, Gulla, Maliha, Nahîd, Nâhida, Sahiha*.

In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[60]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifûr. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Sheikh Taifûr* and his brother, usually called "*Mâm(a)-Xâl(a)*", but whose real name was *Abdul Qâdir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert. There was also a third brother, *Kâka Rizâ* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rizâ*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Sheikh Taifûr was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardâr*. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[61] and Lees[62], both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[63] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[64]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[65].

Additions like those, used in Arabia and Iran:[66] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[67]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Sheikh Taifûr's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Maliha Khan.

The Kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child. As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

accompanying us on our trips, without there being the slightest suspicion of difficulty with him. We literally scarcely realised his existence so well did he fit into the various situations. In the over-populated home at Sulaimani, however, I once saw my interpreter's mother, the elder of the two wives, run through the room with a glowing twig from the fire to hit him with it for some reason or other. My impression was that the woman unjustifiably had demanded some service or other from the lad, which he had refused, and that it was she who was in the wrong.

In another urban milieu, an absolutely uneducated one insofar as the woman was concerned, I once came across what we should term a difficult and malicious girl of 6–7 years of age. She was the elder of two girls, two others having died, and the mother was clearly unbalanced because the husband, pressed by neighbours and possibly also by personal proclivities, had several times been about to obtain another wife who would bear him the son refused to the present wife. The child was a visible manifestation of the mother's conflict situation, and can, in my opinion, only be considered an exception among the Kurdish children I had an opportunity of observing.

By reviewing the activities of the children in and outside the home in the four different female environments I learned to know in Southern Kurdistan, an attempt will be made to give an impression of their adolescence and upbringing.

Small girls of the village aristocracy took part in women's house work according to their age and ability. They assisted in rolling out the dough for baking from the age of three. They kept the sheep still when being milked in the courtyard, and kept the flies away when their elders were at meals. They helped to pick the vegetables in the field. They assisted adult men and women in the washing of hands, which took place in a squatting position whilst water from a jug was poured over the hands. They filled the samovar with charcoal and took part in washing-up. Last, but not least, they participated in the serving of tea, as it was the children, or, if none was present, the humblest in the company, who fetched the tea glasses from the samovar and returned with them when they were empty (cf. p. 48). This was done with seriousness and decorum, and with no little pride at having reached the stage where that was entrusted to them. They attended to the small brothers and sisters, helped them to eat, and had small ones on their backs when they left the house. School attendance was not part of their life pattern. A *mulla*, however, told me that he had a daughter attending the village boy's school where he taught (Balkha), but that was an exception[72].

Small girls of the village aristocracy were, when grown up, fully trained in the skills expected of them. They were well-acquainted with house work, the care of children, and with decorous behaviour.

In Sheikh Taifir's home at Topzawa most of the house work was done by a 17 year old daughter, who also stood in attendance if, for example, her mother wanted to take a bath in the *hammâm*. It was said that until one of the sons—the eldest of whom was only 18—came home with a daughter-in-law, the mother did not wish to give away in marriage the indispensible working power represented by her daughter.

The boys within the village aristocracy were sent to school. As they reached a suitable age, the sons of the sheikh at Topzawa were sent to relatives' homes at Kirkuk or Sulaimani in order to attend school[73]. During these years they glided out of the village milieu, only returning to it during their

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA 11 Kurd MA 11

831 684 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the metre of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a named bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 562 684 831 Hay[134] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *nâmûs* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[135] says that is was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume consistant à mettre sur le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("pyslâr"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 191 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Feilberg[136]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[137], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Nerreter's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1703: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[138].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Coran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[139], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[140].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talâq*: "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the *'idda*-period[141] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[142]. By *talâq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

4: Hanaen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[163]. Should he have pronounced *talāq* three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be renounced by this "straw husband" before the husband can take her back[164]. The Coran forbids the promise of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *ẓihār* (*ẓahr* = back)[165]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[166], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being renounced (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shāfi'i* rite to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four homes of the village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Sargalu, Shadala and Serkan. Soane[167] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[168]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shadala. There appears here to have been a *succession* of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

565 children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated
595 that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[169] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[170]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first
[586] wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 Two half-grown 13–14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of
595 an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic
369 reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children —a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[171] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage),
[586] and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the
565 old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The
[463] milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bycycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the
[611] Coran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes—
[582] when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Coran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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the highest and richest in the present Arab countries and Turkey, until Kemal Atatürk and the revolution in the 1920s.

In the home I stayed in at Kirkuk the order that both wives should be treated in the same way; was punctually fulfilled. The wives lived in two dwellings[172] which were the reflection of each other, each consisting of bedroom and a reception room divided by a corridor that led from the entrance door to the vine-covered courtyard. In each house this courtyard was surrounded by cookhouse, latrine, bathroom, etc. Cement steps led up to a flat roof. The two dwellings were built together, into one house, but with separate entrances from the street. There was no connexion within between the two women's domains. The women were of about the same age, about 35, and childless (abortions, operations etc.). Both had been sent separately on a pilgrimage. Their house furniture was identical. The husband attended to the daily household purchases, and took it in turn to spend a day and a night with each, that is to say as much of that period as a man spends in his home, which in this case meant the morning and evening meal, plus the night. The women visited each other, but led, or at all events could lead, an existence quite independent of each other. My main impression was that it was two women's houses I visited, where a man alternately paid a visit—not what one imagines in connexion with a man's house with two wives.

The other home also with two wives was that of my interpreter in Sulaimani. Here there was a divorce history, with complete information concerning the acquisition of a new wife. The elder wife in 1957 was in the middle fifties. It was difficult to obtain accurate particulars about age, as women only reckoned with before or after the change of life. She had passed her climacteric. The eldest living child was 26. The younger wife was in the end of the thirties; her eldest child was 19. The father had been out in a village as a trader, seen the young woman and asked her family if he might have her to wife. However, this was not done until he had conferred with his first wife, whom he had promised that the new wife would help in the house where the two women were to live together with the small children of the first wife. However, the two women had not got on well together. The first or elder wife had been returned to her home with all her effects, but leaving behind three children who were over 6–7 years of age. When they had reached maturity they had demanded that the father should take back their mother. This had been done after she had, as the law demands, gone through a pro forma marriage with another man and been repudiated by him. My interpreter told me, however, that her father did not live with her mother, but as at the time I was there she was in the mid fifties this was not of immediate importance. How was daily life between the two wives now? On family visits during *qurbān bairām* the husband took both his wives. Wife No. 2 conducted the marriage negotiations for the son of No. 1 wife. Wife No. 1 rocked the cradle and looked after No. 2's lastborn child, an infant 4 months old. The newly-married daughter of No. 1 paid a visit to the home in mourning clothes (that is to say devoid of ornaments) when the baby of No. 2 died. My interpreter, who was a daughter of No. 1 treated her small half-sisters with the same care, both sentimentally and economically (in regard to the purchase of footwear, gifts and children's clothing in Baghdad), as she showed to her adult brother and sister. When the daughter of No. 1 was to be married and the women of the family were planning the future life of the young couple as a pair of teachers in one of the villages, it was suggested that the bride's mother, that is the elder wife, should move out and give her daughter

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

595 565 a hand with the housework, look afte her future children, and keep her company when the husband, as is the custom in Islamic areas, spet a large part of the day in company with other men. This arrangement, I was told, was purely dueto practical considerations. The presence of the second, younger wife in the home in Sulaimani with er nine children (one, a daughter, was married), who with the three adult children of the elder wif, plus the husband, brought the size of the family up to 14. All the girls over a certain age had, as opposed to their mothers, gone over to an educated milieu away from the home, and left behind a colossal burden of work, particularly in the winter, in the form of cooking, baking, washing, etc., for he two wives at home. This burden was equally divided between the two wives, which was too much or the elder. By moving out to the village with her newly-married daughter she would obtain a far easier life. In the home in Sulaimani it was apparently not possible for the one wife to leave an undueamount of work to the other; on the contrary they appeared to share it all loyally. The one making tea made it for the whole family, the one cooking or washing clothes did the same. Similarly, thetwo wives certainly seemed to share the daily work in the house, and their children showed equal affection for both mother and stepmother.

595 586 In this case, then, the husband had seen in a village a beautiful, stronglimbed girl with whom, to use a European term, he fell in love; showing due consideration for his first wife he had made her his second. The divorce here was due to the fact that the two women could not agree.

A young wife with two quite small children, who was returned to her family by the husband, was quoted as an example of incompatibility of temperaments. The husband was much older and very wealthy, but, it was said, incredibly miserly, and the wife refused to submit to this. Before I left I heard that the man had regretted his repudiation which apparently had not been triple and final. He now wanted her to return before the expiration of her *'idda*-period.

A man of my interpreter's fa[illegible] a half-brother of her stepmother, was married to a woman of about 25, who since she was married to him (at the age of 11), had borne him four daughters, two of whom (7 and 2) had survived. As all the children had been female, and under pressure from friends and neighbours, he was seeking a second wife who would, he hoped, be able to bear him sons. Three times marriage negotiations had been initiated on his behalf but for various reasons had broken down. The man was now at the end of the thirties. His wife appeared to be reduced to despair by the situation; and it would be difficult for the new wife to cooperate with her; furthermore she faced the prospect of the new woman demanding her divorce before consenting to matrimony, or that, cooperation failing between the two wives, she would later be cast out.

595 565 369 To sum up: Polygamy exists among Kurds in the uneducated urban milieu, but the number of wives does not exceed two. Successive marriages, with children of earlier marriages as members of the family, exist among the village aristocracy. Monogamy prevailed in the humble village milieu, perhaps mainly for economic reasons. Monogamy also prevailed in the educated urban milieu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory. 369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily 571 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apart- [594] ments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other houses. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani, 595 one found what Østrup[23] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his house is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home, 252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a sunken, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the convex iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the 574 educated women in the house only made purchases in the *sūq* and then only of material, never, of 443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[24].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of 463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind up-

4: Ihmen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

His leisure

562 hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the streets. The division applied also to the adolescent
593 sons, who in their leisure hours were sent out from the homes to obtain a "street education" (see
p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 5 to 6 years of age still belonged to the home, that is to say, the
[883] women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused
517 the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From tea houses, booths, or on benches men saw only anonymous, concealed figures hasten past. No woman's face or form was visible. When Ostrup[28] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home meet the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual content, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the man also meets in other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social conventions of Kurdish men evinced at times a homosexual tinge; they could be seen walking together with arms round waists, holding hands
[838] and interlacing fingers.

Within the home there seemed to be remarkable little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for
593 his clothes, a place on the floor by the meat tray, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided
562 to sleep—that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A woman's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 26 year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses
[352] and clumsy sofas, their black over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to rush simultaneously to obtain their *abā* and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but insurmountable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over wide pants for the elder man and pyjamas for the younger. Re-appearing, they once more stole past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

593 The way this home was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the
595 husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However,
562 there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, twin houses at Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's home it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or retired to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a house possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate how a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dokan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit ... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there ... it is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[1] says of the Egyptian *fellāhin* woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practise they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands ... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of culture elements inside the four milieus.

Culture elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and *abā*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

tion of the Kurdish lineage organization we shall return to a more complete discussion of these interrelations (pp. 69 ff).

Plural wives are rather uncommon in the villages, though they are thought to be a quite desirable investment for the man who can afford it. The average incidence for 94 men in 4 villages runs c. 4 %. The levirate is not infrequently practiced, but more as a convenience than as an established rule or right. Unless the widow has a well established father or brother, she tends to remain in the house of her late husband under the protection of her brother-in-law, in which case he might as well have some return for his expenses. Strict observance of the Islamic rule of unlawful conjunction however prevents him from doing this if his first wife is a close relative of the widow (and where cousin marriage is common, this will be a fairly frequent limitation). The sororate is not known as a marriage practice.

KINSHIP.

A positional system of rights and privileges organizes the household group. Following Moslem ideals, the adult *male* has complete control, and can make any decision he sees fit. This Islamic rule seems slightly to exceed Kurdish popular feeling on the matter. It is very difficult to obtain any inpression of the internal workings of a Moslem family, but one has the feeling that Kurdish women have considerable influence in the close family circle. Occasionally this even carries outside the kinship group, so a woman may come to occupy a high political position. Similarly, the father's absolute authority is strongly questioned by the sons, as indicated by the frequency of neolocal residence. There are almost invariable tensions connected with the setting up of an independent household for a married son — the father tends to resist this reduction of his power, and for the son it takes on the color of breaking lose and becoming fully adult. However, with sacred sanctions and de-facto power supporting him, the father certainly occupies the central position as authority and organizer of the groun.

In the case of a widow with one or several sons, the household is named after the major son, and the actual position of authority

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

APPENDIX.

601 Note on Table of Kinship Terms

General. The Kurdish language spoken in the Rowanduz area has much in common with old Persian, but contains far fewer Arabic importations than does modern Persian. In both languages the kinship terms show a blending of Indo-European and Semitic roots but there is no close correspondence.

Terms:-	Kurdish	Persian	Arabic
Grandfather	bapir	jadd	jidd
Father	bap	pidar	ab
Mother	dayk	madar	umm
Uncle (paternal)	mamo	'amu	'amm
" (maternal)	khalo	khal	khal
Brother	bra	biradar	akh
Sister	khushk	khahar	ukht
Son	kurr	pisar	ibn
Daughter	kich	dukhtar	bint

It may be significant however that in both Kurdish and Persian Semitic words are used to describe the two types of Uncle.

Table 1. As explained elsewhere in the text, the term mamo (father's brother's child) appears to be used in a classificatory sense to include all members of Ego's tira. The colloquial use of the English word 'cousin' is closely analogous to this. It is not clear whether terms such as mardikhushk (literally 'husband of sister') are merely descriptive in the sense of 'my sister's husband', or whether they are actual terms of colloquial reference such as 'brother in law'.
Buk - 'daughter in law' - literally means 'bride'
Zawa - 'son in law' - " " 'bridegroom'
Nawa - 'grandchild' - seems to have an extended meaning in the sense of 'descendants'.

Table 2. Note that in a system of ortho-cousin marriage, 'mother's brother' may frequently be married to 'father's sister', so that the 'khalosa' may also be members of Ego's own tira.

Table 3. Khin - 'wife' - and mard - 'husband' - mean literally simply 'woman' and 'man' respectively.

[595] It is not clear how any of these tables are affected in a situation of Polygyny. Thus Jalal Beg, eighth son of the Mir of Dergala told me that he had only one brother - i.e. by his own mother. He said he addressed his step-mothers as dayk, but if he wanted to be more specific would add a name; thus dayk Fatim - 'mother Fatima'. I do not know whether any distinction is made between uncles who are full brothers of Ego's father and those who are only half brothers.

tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the male family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 565

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is _fesiliya_, puzzling in its similarity to the Latin _familia_. The same noun is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and _sayyids_, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (_sajara_, from Arabic _shajara_, "tree"). In the case of the _sayyid_ the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowandiz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include _beg_, _agha_, and _mir_, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times _pasha_ was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic _shaykh_, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, 565 596 [173] 64 565 85 554

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Rowandus, it is unnecessary to describe in detail those of the official class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Rowandus a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

by himself or his paternal relatives. If, however, the children of two brothers who live under the same roof marry, the newly-wedded pair may remain at home. The people who might thus be expected to be found in the mal or "house" may include a man and his wife, his paternal grandparents, his paternal uncles and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunts, his parents, his brothers and their wives, his unmarried sisters, and the children of the males of this group, boys and unmarried girls. Strictly speaking, such a unit has little realization among the townspeople. There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, both male and female, and most girls leave their parental home for that of a husband soon after reaching maturity. When there is more than one son, it is commonplace for the younger, when he marries or soon afterward, to occupy a new establishment, provided either by his own labor or by a subsidy from his parents. For the lower classes, the size of the dwelling precludes too extensive a gathering. The household of Shakir Effendi is made up of Shakir Effendi, his wife, three sons, a daughter-in-law, a grandson, and a number of servants. Shakir Effendi's daughter is married and lives in the home of her husband. Ra'uf Effendi's son died in childhood, a victim of the "evil eye," and his mal thus contains only himself, his wife, his two unmarried daughters, and the servants. The aristocratic establishment of Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian is much like these, save that one of the sons has already been provided with a separate domicile.

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The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his house, and, on the other, to his family. The Kurds do not use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Aziz Shakir Mujjrim (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Baba Mawsad," the father of Mawsad, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exogamous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between unrelated families.

unrelated families. For the townspeople, then, the mal is both a building and the group of relatives who live therein. A townsman who occupies a new dwelling, although he retains his connection with his parental home and may speak of himself as a member of that mal, has formed a new unit which becomes a mal in the social sense in its own right.

The matter of the chieftains and a few large and wealthy families of social pretension is otherwise. It is customary, as in the case of commoners, to refer to an aristocratic household as a mal, for example, the "House of Isma'il Beg," but a chieftain belongs to a fxmilira, an extended patrilineal group in which a much wider and more exact accounting of kin relationships is kept. The chieftains, as has been said, are, with the exception of seyrids or descendants of the Tribe of the Prophet, the only persons who memorize genealogies, and this, more than anything else, is the distinguishing feature of the fxmilira. Like the mal, this group is endogamous and exogamous, and is not formally named. The point of reference in its genealogy is some more or less illustrious forebear. Thus the deceased Isma'il Beg and his mother Lali Khan (who was a collateral relative of Isma'il Beg's father) are referred to as "descendants of Kor Pasha," that famous revolutionary chieftain who achieved a temporary independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The nucleus of this genealogy is a list of patrilineal ancestors in a direct line ascending some seven or eight generations, a

half-share of the holdings of his father. Such a system 428
is immediately divergent, because, although there is an 582
exchange of marriages between cousins in one's own generation, 604
the strains divide in the next. A man's children must
intermarry with those of his brother, and would not, for
example, espouse those of his cousins. The larger proper-
tion of the property, the full male shares, follow the
same divergent lines.

Such an idealized system, however, does not seem to 582
exist. A man is permitted to marry any of his other
cousins, the daughters of his paternal aunt, maternal
uncle, or maternal aunt, or, as often happens, can take a
wife completely unrelated to him. In Rowandux, unlike
certain other groups reported in the Middle East, there
does not appear to be any hierarchy of preference among
the cousins after the daughter of the father's brother. It
was not possible to compile a list of marriages extensive
enough to permit definitive comment on the relative fre-
quency of these five types of marriage. Nevertheless, from
examples, there appeared to be a high percentage of matches
between unrelated persons. Coupled with this was the in-
ability of most persons in the town to name their relatives
beyond their grandparents, uncles and aunts, first cousins,
and immediate family. This group, incidentally, corresponds
closely with that outlined as making up the mi or "house" 596
in its most extensive sense. In addition, they were able
to name the parents, some of the uncles, aunts, brothers,
and sisters of their wives. A scattering of the in-laws of

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 596
the patrilineage, expressed in the mal or "house," strongly
overrode the lateral calculation of relations to extend or
broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rowanduz was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
first World War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popula-
tion had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 621
villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arbitrarily, 602
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriages characteristically
cause divergence in forming new family or mal-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Rowanduz, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1. Ba bir	("Old Father")	Grandfather
2. Da dir	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3. Bab	("Father")	Father
4. Dey	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or pilk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowandus is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions 582
differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. 834
Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from [595]
having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, [587]
is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, 582
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and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowanduz [853]
she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowanduz provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and [601] ●
"mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister- [606]
in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are [607]
also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly dis- 611
cussed in two ways, through the blood (khun) of the parents and through the milk (shir) of the mother. Great [853]

his father's brother's daughter is held as an inexorable rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are married to his mother and mother's sister respectively, and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up third and fourth couples. If two things are envisaged, patrilocal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence, the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother, after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are described by the same kinship term, pilk. On the other hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated, called mam and khal respectively. The first lives under the parental roof of the individual concerned, and the latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle, as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house as his married sister, and in the system imagined here, one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided, each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share. If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his sister, wed to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

582 428 582 604 [591] [601]

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2.	Da pir	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3.	bab	("Father")	Father
4.	Dak	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

Figure 4. Kurdish Kinship System, Consanguineal
The abbreviations are A, grandfather; B, grandmother; C, father; D, mother; E. paternal uncle; F, maternal uncle; G. aunt; H, brother; I, sister; J, son; K, daughter; L, grandchild; O, husband; P, wife. Two abbreviations paired together indicate that the second is in the genitive, for example, PE means "wife of paternal uncle." The chart is recorded for a male speaker, but the terminology is the same for Ego's sister. Kurdish equivalents may be found in the text and the appendix. △=male, and ○=female.

Figure 5. Kurdish Kinship System. Affinal
The abbreviations are M, father-in-law; N, mother-in-law; O, husband; P, wife; Q, son-in-law; R, daughter-in-law. Others are as in Figure 4. Those paired together indicate that the second is in the genitive, for example, IO means "sister of husband" and OI "husband of sister." The chart is recorded for a male speaker. The abbreviations in parentheses are the terms used by Ego's wife for her husband's consanguineal relatives. Kurdish equivalents may be found in the text and the appendix.

5.	Mam	-	Father's Brother
6.	Khal	-	Mother's Brother
7.	Pûk	("Aunt")	Parent's Sister
8.	Bra	("Brother")	Brother
9.	Khushk	("Sister")	Sister
10.	Kurr	("Boy")	Son
11.	Kich	("Girl")	Daughter
12.	Nawa	("Grandchild")	Grandchild

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Two of these have been borrowed from Arabic, mam and khal, cognate with 'amm, "paternal uncle," and khal, "maternal uncle," respectively. On the other hand, the Arabic words for the paternal and maternal aunts, 'amma and khala, have not entered the Kurdish system. The reasons for the adoption of these two terms are difficult to discern. The two uncles are differentiated with respect to residence and their relationships with the individual to a much greater degree than the aunts. One might suspect that for these causes, or the use of Arabic in religious and legal documents, such as wills, over the centuries, the displacement of the original Kurdish names took place. This, however, cannot immediately explain why a similar adoption of Arabic for such words as "father" or "brother" did not also occur. The mechanism of diffusion, then, must await further study. [174]

The second group of terms, six in number, indicate affinal relations, those created by marriage:

1.	Khazur	-	Father-in-law
2.	Khazu	-	Mother-in-law
3.	Mard	("Man")	Husband
4.	Zhin	("Woman")	Wife
5.	Zawa	("Bridegroom")	Son-in-law
6.	Buk	("Bride")	Daughter-in-law

As noticed above, a man may address his wife's relatives by

those words he uses to describe his own. There is variability at certain points. If one marries his father's brother's daughter, he can alternately call his father-in-law mam, "father's brother," bab, "father," or khazur, "father-in-law." Similarly, the father's brother, in such a situation, can term his son-in-law kurri mam, "father's brother's son," kurr, "son," zawa, "son-in-law," or mardi kich, "daughter's husband." Generally speaking, however, the consanguineal term which had prior usage in such cases, for example, mam, rather than bab or khazur, continues in use and has a greater frequency than the others. 60)

The kinship system is of the sort commonly called "descriptive," that is, a term describes a single type of relationship and all others are made up of the basic list of twelve consanguineal and six affinal words. It contrasts with the "classificatory" system in which a term comprehends many different types of relationship. Thus, the daughter of the father's brother's son is kichi kurri mam, literally, "daughter of son of father's brother," or the husband of an aunt's daughter is mardi kichi pilk, "husband of daughter of parent's sister," and the way in which others are formed may be seen in the accompanying diagrams. As noted above, however, certain extensions are rarely used. The great-grandson of the father's brother is kurri kurri kurri mam, "son of son of son of father's brother," although the townspeople explained that never,

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in their experience, had there been occasion to calculate to this degree. The "generation principle" is observed throughout, in that, unlike certain primitive nomenclatures in which a cousin, for example, may be called "uncle," one never finds the use of terms applicable to one generation of kindred in another. In addition, there is no difference in the terminology for a male or female speaker, as in some systems in which a woman has different terms for the same relative than those of a man. It is difficult to say to what extent kinship terms replace proper names in popular speech, but their usage seems extremely frequent. Just as in our own society, a person customarily addresses relatives of the generations above him as "grandfather," "father," and the like, while he calls those below him by their proper names.

The investigator feels called upon to compare his own list with that recorded by E. R. Leach for the Rowanduz "area."[1] This last, however, in Leach's work comprehends not only the Rowanduz district, but also extensive locales surrounding Shaqlawa and Erbil. Leach has not indicated in his text at what place within this large field of investigation his information was compiled. The points of divergence, as will be seen, are not of a serious nature.

	Masters	Leach
Father's brother	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's wife	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's son	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father's brother's daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]

[1]Leach, 1940, pp. 63-64.

Father's sister	pilk		pilk
Father's sister's son	kurri	pilk	purrza
Father's sister's daughter	kichi	pilk	purrza
Father	bab		bab
Mother	dak		dak
Mother's brother	khal		khalo
Mother's brother's son	kurri	khal	khaloza
Mother's brother's daughter	kichi	khal	khaloza
Mother's sister	pilk		purr
Mother's sister's son	kurri	pilk	purrza
Mother's sister's daughter	kichi	pilk	purrza
Brother's son	kurri	bra	braza
Brother's daughter	kichi	bra	braza
Sister's son	kurri	khushk	khushkza
Sister's daughter	kichi	khushk	khushkza
Husband's brother	bra'i	mard	mardbra
Husband's sister	khushki	mard	mardkhushk
Wife's brother	bra'i	zhin	zhinbra
Wife's sister	khushki	zhin	zhinkhushk

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The Kurdish language of northern Iraq exhibits a large number of dialectical differences, some more striking than others. It must be remembered again that the population of Rowanduz is derived from diverse sources, and linguistic peculiarities of the town itself, of the villages, and of other areas, such as Sulaymaniya, may be heard intermingled in everyday speech. The investigator recorded a number of the forms presented by Leach, but has chosen to submit the terms given by Ra'uf Effendi and a merchant whose families had lived in the town in Ottoman times. Most of the discrepancies between this list and that of Leach appear to be dialectical. Those he presents for the paternal and maternal uncle, mamo and khalo, however, are inflected in vocative, as in "O uncle!" The noun za which appears in his list for the children of father's brother and sister, mother's brother and sister, and the individual's brother and sister means alternately "boy" or "girl." Finally, in usual Kurdish word order, as in the investigator's report,

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a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
khushki mard, "sister of husband," rather than *mardkhushk*. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the *mal* or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [836]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [837]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for
woman of the upper strata of society, the townswoman of [565]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

subsistence that will provide that deep contentment of mind, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[39] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..... and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[40].

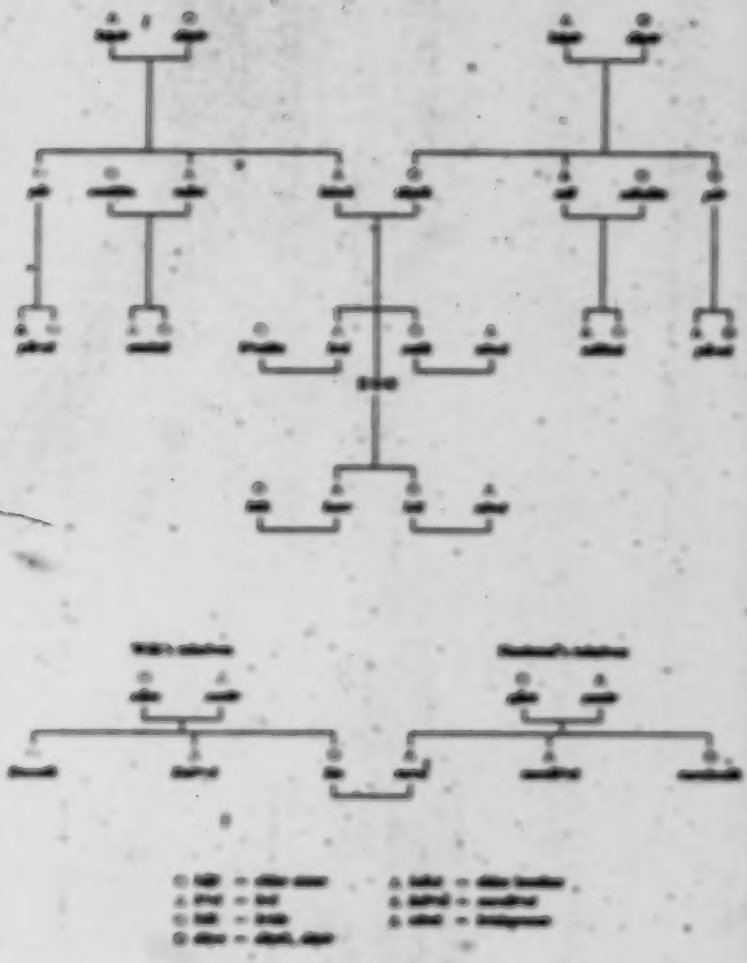
MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[41]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[42]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[43], are: father's brother's daughter, amidal, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, pûrmal, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, xalmal, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, pûrmal, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[44] and Barth[45] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Tuqawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sargaly. In Serkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to have political influence" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[46]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as common in lower strata.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taiba's brother said that if the desired bride had an older brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Tuqawa said further that a man in his milieu was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

KINSHIP TERMS



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LIST OF KURDISH TERMS EMPLOYED

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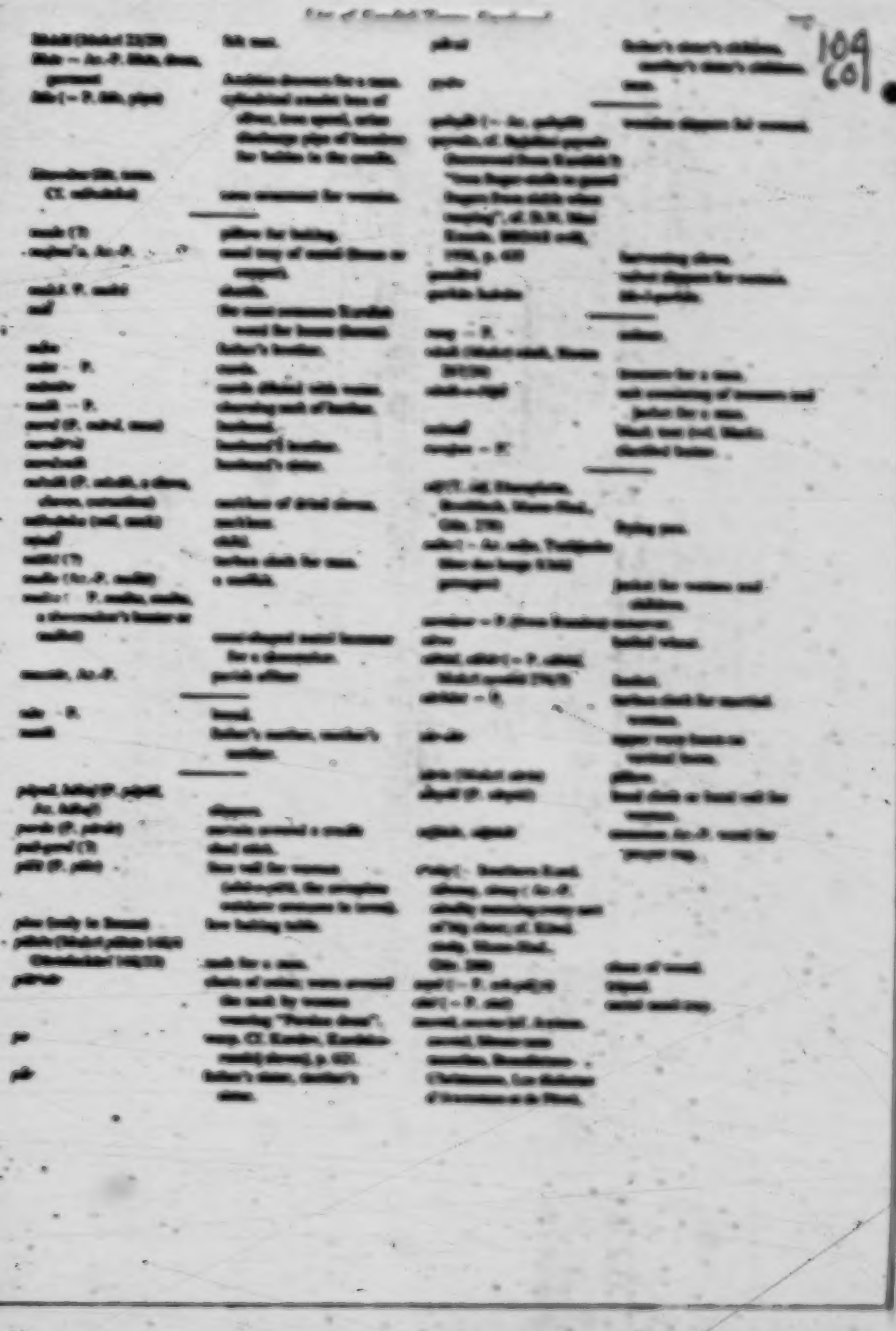

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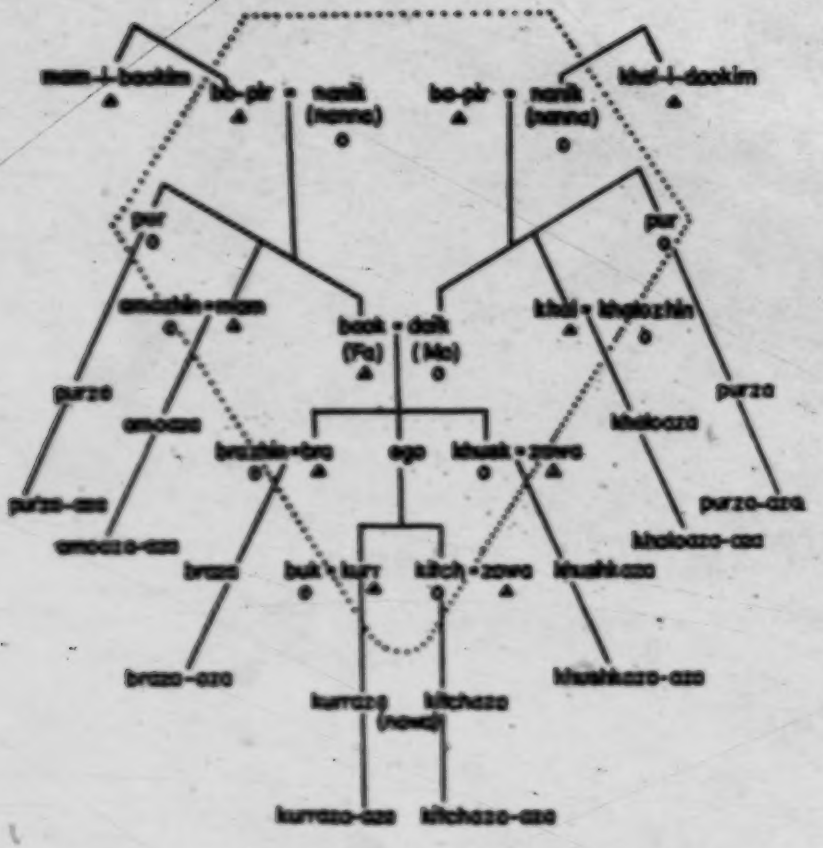
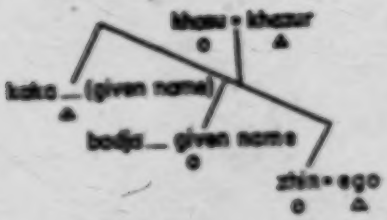


Diagram No. 2.
South Kurdish kinship terms,
Sulaimani dialect.

IN-LAW TERMS



7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

but respect. This and the above use of *xasma* is however in no real sense of the term a classificatory usage, any more than is 'sis' in colloquial American or *farbror* in Swedish, the latter having connotations very parallel to *mam*. As a potential father-in-law, ones *mam* is an important relative, and a friendly relationship will secure one's right to his daughter and release from brideprice obligations.

An interesting contrast to Kurdish intimacy with FaBr and his descendants is evident from Afghan usage, where the word for MoBr.'s children is synonymous with friends and FaBr.'s children with enemies, this in spite of a probably otherwise similar social structure.[1]) The general explanation for such strained relations with FaBr.'s relatives lies in the potential conflict connected with inheritance, where MoBr.'s children are less important as competitors. The prevalence of FaBrDa marriage in Kurdish villages undoubtedly serves to gloss over these tensions.

Affinal relations are, as far as the male is concerned, of secondary importance, and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult brother and adult sister suffice. The woman, except for these terms, adopts the kinship designations of her husband, usually with the given name of the person appended. Children are called by their given names. — The general nature of in-law relationships is indicated by the proverb: *Khoda bida mergim, zawa neka bergim* = «God let me die, rather than be dependent on son-in-law (or brother-in-law).

Certain affinal relations are designated by suffixing *-zhin* (woman) to the term for their agnatically related husband. The resulting terms, *amozhin* (= wife-of-FaBr) etc., seem to be used as actual kinship terms. The parallel usage of 'husband-of-so-and-so' is purely descriptive and does not constitute a term in itself. Son's wife is called «bride» and husband of sister and daughter is called «groom».

A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms, totalling only twelve. The group of relatives covered by these terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents

[1]) I am indebted to Prof. Morgenstierne for drawing my attention to this contrast.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

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are members during their lives. The suffix *-aza*, literally «child of» or «born of» indicates removal by one descending generation from this group; repetition of the term indicates two generations' removal. Thus son's son is *kurraza*, while FaBrDaDa, a frequent substitute wife when a closer relative is unavailable, is *amoaza-aza*. Ascending generations are categorized by constructing similar bilateral units with ego's father or grandfather in the position of ego. They may thus be described in several ways, according to the type of relation one whishes to stress. E. g. FaFaBr may be *bra-i-bapirem*, brother-of-my-grandfather, or more commonly *mam-i-baokim*, uncle-of-my-father.

361

So much for the structure of the family and household. The village community, in which these activities take place and relations exist, will be described more fully at a later point, (p. 101 ff). Suffice it here to say that in physical layout it is a very compact, small unit, located close to or within the village agricultural lands. Usually placed on a hill, one will tend to find the un-irrigated fields of beans and lentils above the village, higher up in the valleyside. Irrigated tobacco and vegetable plots, where such are found, generally depend on the same source of water as the village itself, and are thus found close around and below it; while the dryland grainfields usually cover the flats in the valley bottom. The village grazing grounds may be quite large, stretching from the fallow fields in the valley bottom to the top of the ridge which divides this valley from the next. And the limits of the village lands are the limits within which most life activities take place.

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• 601 Reference to the tables of kinship Terminology at the end of this book will show that the various cousins are known by the following terms

Father's Brother's children - amosa
Father's Sister's children - purrsa
Mother's Brother's children - khalosa
Mother's Sister's children - purrsa

My knowledge of the Kurdish language was not sufficient to verify the exact use of these terms, and to some extent my informants were contradictory. It would appear however that some of these terms are "classificatory" at least so far as all members of Ego's own tira are concerned. Thus to quote an example Hamid Amin i Nanpurdan considers himself amosa to Sheikh Mohammad i Walaah. Hamid Amin is actually great-great-grandson of Mir Mahmal Agha and Sheikh Mohammad is great-grandson of the same man. Again I was told of the Dizai tribe, a group widely scattered in Area C that "they all call one another amosa" - (implying that they were all one tira)

582 601 According to my informants the order of preferred marriages is:-

1st Amosa
2nd Purrsa (Father's sister's daughter)
3rd Khalosa
4th Purrsa (Mother's sister's daughter)

This statement seems consistent with the customs recorded for other Mohammedan areas (See Seligman B.Z. op.cit 268) but I was unable to check the frequency of particular types of marriage. It should be noted that Father's Brother's Daughter (amosa) and Mother's Sister's Daughter (purrsa) may frequently be the same individual, and similarly Mother's Brother's Daughter (Khalosa) may coincide with Father's sister's Daughter (purrsa). Amosa and khalosa could however only coincide if both were used in a classificatory sense. I did not actually encounter any classificatory use of the term khalosa and this probably refers only to the immediate children of the mother's brother (khalo). It would appear that until very recently not only was marriage between amosa the preferred norm, it was also a definite right. Hay (p. 71) even records the gruesome murder of a girl who refused to abide by this ruling. Today though marriage restrictions are to some extent relaxed it is probable that the great majority of commoners still take their wives from within the patrilineal group. There is in fact very little choice in the matter. In the Balik country at any rate the proportion of 'strangers' - e.g. Jews, Assyrian Christians, traders, Kurds from other tribes and so forth, is very small; nearly everyone within the group belongs to one of the three patrilineal clans. These clans moreover are themselves more or less segregated each by itself. Within any single gund nearly everyone is of the same clan as the Agha.

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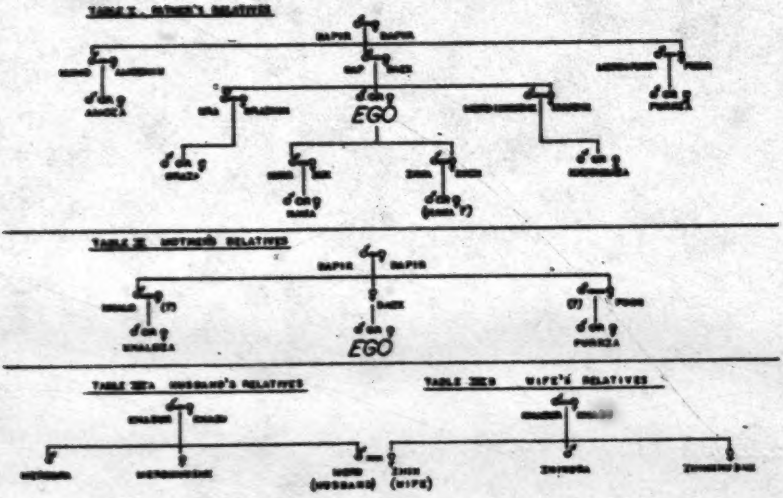
KINSHIP TERMS



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APPENDIX.

601 Note on Table of Kinship Terms

General. The Kurdish language spoken in the Rowanduz area has much in common with old Persian, but contains far fewer Arabic importations than does modern Persian. In both languages the kinship terms show a blending of Indo-European and Semitic roots but there is no close correspondence. Thus:-

	Kurdish	Persian	Arabic
Grandfather	bapir	jadd	jidd
Father	bap	pidar	abu
Mother	dayk	madar	umm
Uncle (paternal)	mamo	'amu	'amm
" (maternal)	khalo	khal	khal
Brother	bra	biradar	akh
Sister	khushk	khahar	ukht
Son	kurr	pisar	ibn
Daughter	kich	dukhtar	bint

It may be significant however that in both Kurdish and Persian Semitic words are used to describe the two types of Uncle.

Table 1. As explained elsewhere in the text, the term mamoa (father's brother's child) appears to be used in a classificatory sense to include all members of Ego's tira. The colloquial use of the English word 'cousin' is closely analogous to this. It is not clear whether terms such as mardikhushk (literally 'husband of sister') are merely descriptive in the sense of 'my sister's husband', or whether they are actual terms of colloquial reference such as 'brother in law'.
Buk - 'daughter in law' - literally means 'bride'
Zawa - 'son in law' - " " 'bridegroom'
Nawa - 'grandchild' - seems to have an extended meaning in the sense of 'descendants'.

Table 2. Note that in a system of ortho-cousin marriage, 'mother's brother' may frequently be married to 'father's sister', so that the 'khaloza' may also be members of Ego's own tira.

Table 3. Zhin - 'wife' - and mard - 'husband' - mean literally simply 'women' and 'man' respectively.

[595] It is not clear how any of these tables are affected in a situation of Polygyny. Thus Jalal Beg, eighth son of the Mir of Dergala told me that he had only one brother - i.e. by his own mother. He said he addressed his step-mothers as dayk, but if he wanted to be more specific would add a name; thus dayk Fatim - 'mother Fatima'. I do not know whether any distinction is made between uncles who are full brothers of Ego's father and those who are only half brothers.

government, and no civic or charitable organizations, guilds, or clubs. The diwankhana of the aristocrat, as noted, is often used as a man's clubhouse and a sort of village center, but that of Isma'il Beg in the town is rarely so used, and the mosque or the chaykhanas offer little as substitutes. In Rowanduz there is thus an aggregate of separate households whose relationships with the government and with each other are largely on an individual basis, and for social life a man depends to a great extent on his relatives and friends. This should not be taken to mean that there is no force to public opinion or community interest. A mutual concern is much in evidence in the public conduct of individuals and in festivals, and a large part of this is furnished by the Muslim faith. In the summer of 1951 a collection was taken up among the townspeople as a pious work for a poor Arab, arrested by the police as a suspected deserter from the army and subsequently released penniless. The effect of public opinion in such matters as the wearing of the veil or smoking on the streets during Ramadan has already been noticed. The distribution of food and clothing to the poor of the town on certain occasions, and other examples of a similar nature, will be encountered in later sections. However, there is no structural bond or concrete rules of membership which cause the townspeople to act as a whole, although such behavior can often be observed.

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 596
the patrilineage, expressed in the mal or "house," strongly
overrode the lateral calculation of relations to extend or
broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rowanduz was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
first World War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popula-
tion had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 621
villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arbitrarily, 602
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriages characteristically
cause divergence in forming new family or mal-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Rowanduz, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1. Ba pir	("Old Father")	Grandfather
2. Da pir	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3. bab	("Father")	Father
4. Dak	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
xushki mard, "sister of husband," rather than mardxushk. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. M. McCarus, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noticed in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 562
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [836] [837]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for [565]
women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [291]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even then are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect toward their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the mal, little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [584]

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of man, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grandfather prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

him tea or water and a napkin to wash his hands, the father often provides his daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As in the case of the son, the mother is the general confidant of the girl, keeping her secrets and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success. 595

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all kiss his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson bathes his grandfather and, in summer, carries him ot the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Rowandus by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to its back, and then pressing the spot kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law. 603 ● [576]

The connections between an individual and his uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal 604

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAII Rural MAII

593 passed on in the male line. But the mother does generally retain some recognized and actual authority by virtue of her parental position. There is a general feeling that the ties between mother and son should be close and intimate. In the case of divorced or discarded plural wives, the woman will normally, if she has an established son, become an honored member of her son's household. But the nominal succession should certainly pass in the male line, and only where there is no male member above puberty will the household carry a woman's name. If only for economic reasons, this is a quite rare situation.

The daughter is entirely subject to her father's authority. He functions as her marriage guardian, and even has the right to impose marriage on her — according to Islamic law only before puberty, but in practice also later. The position as marriage guardian — giving the right to receive the brideprice — passes on the death of the father to the girl's nearest male agnatic relative. In *Shafi* law, that is first to her grandfather, second to her brother. Only father and grandfather, however, have the legal right to impose marriage.

Between brothers, relations of supra- and sub-ordination are determined by relative power. In the early years, this means physical power, and is closely connected with relative age. There is, however, no rule of succession, either primo- or ultimogeniture, and the relative positions of brothers are at any time decided by de-facto power and force of personality.

• 603 This positional system has further kinship ramifications, best seen in connection with the actual system of kinship terminology, Diagram 2. a) The child's relations with the grandparents are usually mediated through one of the parents, e. g. the son accompanies his mother on her frequent visits to her paternal household. In this situation authority and control over the child remains with the mother, and the relationship grandmother-grandchild is generally indulgent. The term *manik* or *nanna* then also has an extended usage as a term of endearment to all older women of the village. Relations with the grandfather, especially the paternal grandfather, will be
604 more tempered with respect. b) The other special relationship is with *mam*, father's brother. This term again is used in an extended meaning towards older men to indicate a relationship of closeness

[text continues on p. 32]

his father's brother's daughter is held as an inexorable 582
rule, it can be seen that marriages must be arranged
between pairs of brothers and sisters who are cousins to
each other. Thus, one's father and father's brother are
married to his mother and mother's sister respectively,
and the mother's brothers and father's sisters make up
third and fourth couples. If two things are envisaged, 428
patrilocal residence and Islamic inheritance, it can be 582
appreciated in the first regard that both the paternal 604
and maternal aunts are parties to an individual's residence, [591]
the first, the wife of the mother's brother, before she
is married, and the second, the wife of the father's brother,
after her wedding. Both paternal and maternal aunts are
described by the same kinship term, xiik. On the other [601]
hand, the paternal and maternal uncles are differentiated,
called mam and khal respectively. The first lives under
the parental roof of the individual concerned, and the
latter marries this uncle's daughter. The maternal uncle,
as has been seen, rarely, if ever, lives in the same house
as his married sister, and in the system imagined here,
one cannot marry his daughter. As far as inheritance is
concerned, it has been noted that the property is divided,
each son receiving a share and each daughter a half-share.
If there are offspring, a man cannot claim any part of the
estate of his maternal uncles or aunts. If, however, he is
married to the daughter of a paternal uncle, his wife
receives a half-share of her father's property, just as his
sister, wed to the son of the paternal uncle, is given a

half-shares of the holdings of his father. Such a system 428
is immediately divergent, because, although there is an 582
exchange of marriages between cousins in one's own generation, 604
the strains divide in the next. A man's children must
intermarry with those of his brother, and would not, for
example, espouse those of his cousins. The larger proportion
of the property, the full male shares, follow the
same divergent lines.

Such an idealized system, however, does not seem to 582
exist. A man is permitted to marry any of his other
cousins, the daughters or his paternal aunt, maternal
uncle, or maternal aunt, or, as often happens, can take a
wife completely unrelated to him. In Rowandux, unlike
certain other groups reported in the Middle East, there
does not appear to be any hierarchy of preference among
the cousins after the daughter of the father's brother. It
was not possible to compile a list of marriages extensive
enough to permit definitive comment on the relative fre-
quency of these five types of marriage. Nevertheless, from
examples, there appeared to be a high percentage of matches
between unrelated persons. Coupled with this was the in-
ability of most persons in the town to name their relatives
beyond their grandparents, uncles and aunts, first cousins,
and immediate family. This group, incidentally, corresponds
closely with that outlined as making up the mal or "house" 596
in its most extensive sense. In addition, they were able
to name the parents, some of the uncles, aunts, brothers,
and sisters of their wives. A scattering of the in-laws of

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

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The connections between an individual and his uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal 604

uncle (ggg) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (ghal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal uncle (xilk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the house of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the [illegible]

604 • [584] [736] [576] [593] [589] 574 604

r guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 574

The eldest brother occupies a position over his 593
rothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He hares to some extent in the parental authority and is esponsible for the house when the father is absent. Often e is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger rothers their roshest, "daily allowance," a sum which in- [454]
reases in size with their years. The children are taught o save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest rother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he axes their savings and purchases them something they esire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all f his directions must be carried out by those junior to im without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, he younger children are supposed to stand, although his is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children [562]
s a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, with- ut, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is sually the chief helper of her mother in housework and he care of the younger children. In several families bserved in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers dis- beyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger rothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it some- imes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. 593
The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' 557
honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels 577

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

No religious or ritual 571

mechanism exists for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no symbiotic relations of a practical or ritual nature have been developed.

This organizational form is associated with a strong emphasis on the father's brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marked tendency to close family endogamy. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) relative brideprice, and (3) actual statistical occurrence. 582

(1) Informants agree that paternal cousins have first rights to a girl, and where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the paternal cousin must first release her by renouncing his claim. Cases of violence resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[1] Giving one's daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals, and no one is closer in status and sentiments than a paternal cousin. Small children are pleasantly embarrassed when teased for being "in love" with their paternal cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where Koranic laws of inheritance, giving stipulated fractions of the estate to female descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case. 582 604 605 582 Ko 4:23

(2) It is an agreed privilege for paternal cousins, to less extent also other near kin, to receive the girl at a reduced brideprice. The normal brideprice for village girls ranges between £30-100. Paternal cousins generally pay only wedding expenses. 605 583

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter, and other cousin, marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relationship between all living spouses in two normal sized Hamawand villages fall into the following categories: 162

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amount)	MoBrDa (khalaat)	SiDa (gurse)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	3	2	4	21

Taking the normal fluctuations in size and sex distribution of sibling groups into account, this probably approximates the maximal frequency that marriage with actual, non-classificatory paternal cousin can reasonably attain.

1 Eg. W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan* (London, 1921), p. 71.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

183 Where the cost of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the normative preference for near kin clear, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men make the "right" choice though they appear subjectively to feel, and invariably express the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem in this situation centers around what the motivation of the girl's father is, that he should forego his right to a brideprice which, to the Kurdish farmer, constitutes a minor fortune. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem is: what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a brother's son which compensate one for the loss of the brideprice.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, unmodulated by the interlocking circles of identification normally associated with segmentary descent systems (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups, cross-cutting age-grades; among Tallensi, further the ritual collaboration between lineages, etc.). This pressure is painfully evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all first-hand descriptions of Kurdish life.[9] Kurdish villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, at times even women. Such political power is proportional to the number of riflemen one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-section; and the factions in the village tend to be alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an older leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The relation to the latter is most critical: it crosses the first potential line of cleavage between collateral branches. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of his brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the brideprice. No other son-in-law can, in the lineage system, fill this role as political supporter; consequently they must invariably pay brideprice. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the patron of preferential father's brother's

9 Eg. C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (London, 1836); E. B. Soane, *Through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise* (London, 1926); May, op. cit.

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

593 passed on in the male line. But the mother does generally retain some recognized and actual authority by virtue of her parental position. There is a general feeling that the ties between mother and son should be close and intimate. In the case of divorced or discarded plural wives, the woman will normally, if she has an established son, become an honored member of her son's household. But the nominal succession should certainly pass in the male line, and only where there is no male member above puberty will the household carry a woman's name. If only for economic reasons, this is a quite rare situation.

The daughter is entirely subject to her father's authority. He functions as her marriage guardian, and even has the right to impose marriage on her — according to Islamic law only before puberty, but in practice also later. The position as marriage guardian — giving the right to receive the brideprice — passes on the death of the father to the girl's nearest male agnatic relative. In *Shafi* law, that is first to her grandfather, second to her brother. Only father and grandfather, however, have the legal right to impose marriage.

Between brothers, relations of supra- and sub-ordination are determined by relative power. In the early years, this means physical power, and is closely connected with relative age. There is, however, no rule of succession, either primo- or ultimogeniture, and the relative positions of brothers are at any time decided by de-facto power and force of personality.

603 This positional system has further kinship ramifications, best seen in connection with the actual system of kinship terminology, Diagram 2. a) The child's relations with the grandparents are usually mediated through one of the parents, e. g. the son accompanies his mother on her frequent visits to her paternal household. In this situation authority and control over the child remains with the mother, and the relationship grandmother-grandchild is generally indulgent. The term *mamik* or *nanna* then also has an extended usage as a term of endearment to all older women of the village. Relations with the grandfather, especially the paternal grandfather, will be
• 604 more tempered with respect. b) The other special relationship is with *mam*, father's brother. This term again is used in an extended meaning towards older men to indicate a relationship of closeness

[text continues on p. 32]

604 but respect. This and the above use of *nanna* is however in no real sense of the term a classificatory usage, any more than is 'sis' in colloquial American or *farbror* in Swedish, the latter having connotations very parallel to *mam*. As a potential father-in-law, ones *mam* is an important relative, and a friendly relationship will secure one's right to his daughter and release from brideprice obligations.

171 604 An interesting contrast to Kurdish intimacy with FaBr and his descendants is evident from Afghan usage, where the word for MoBr.'s children is synonymous with friends and FaBr.'s children with enemies, this in spite of a probably otherwise similar social structure.[1]) The general explanation for such strained relations with FaBr.'s relatives lies in the potential conflict connected with inheritance, where MoBr.'s children are less important as competitors. The prevalence of FaBrDa marriage in Kurdish villages undoubtedly serves to gloss over these tensions.

606 Affinal relations are, as far as the male is concerned, of secondary importance, and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult brother and adult sister suffice. The woman, except for these terms, adopts the kinship designations of her husband, usually with the given name of the person appended. Children are called by their given names. — The general nature of in-law relationships is indicated by the proverb: *Khoda bida mergim, zewa weka bergim* = God let me die, rather than be dependent on son-in-law (or brother-in-law).

Certain affinal relations are designated by suffixing *-xbin* (woman) to the term for their agnatically related husband. The resulting terms, *ewoxbin* (= wife-of-FaBr) etc., seem to be used as actual kinship terms. The parallel usage of 'husband-of-so-and-so' is purely descriptive and does not constitute a term in itself. Son's wife is called «bride» and husband of sister and daughter is called «groom».

601 A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms, totalling only twelve. The group of relatives covered by these terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents

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9

107 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 The Soran group whose full tribal name is Sorani Bagzawada (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Soran") are few in number. The 882 group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mullasherifi, Shevdini and Sukri, of which Mullasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Rayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Rayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mullasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Walash - Sheikh Mohammad Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Walash, Rust and Gelala. The Sukri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammad Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Walash.

794 The two villages of Khalan and Khirm i Sheikh require special
162 mention. (See Hay pp. 255 and 257 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman).
439 The heads of these two villages,*Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Obaidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhschwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

• 604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself. 593 577 554

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, none of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [584] 291 882 574 602 835 605

it seems likely that this is only permissable after the two have been engaged to be married. 605 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. 593 [183] In masculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence to social status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quickly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to [851] [606] [586] [592]

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

No religious or ritual 571
mechanism exists for bringing together any group larger than the village, and no symbiotic relations of a practical or ritual nature have been developed.

This organizational form is associated with a strong emphasis on the father's 582
brother's daughter as preferred spouse, and marked tendency to close family endogamy. The strength of emphasis is indicated by (1) expressed norms, (2) relative brideprice, and (3) actual statistical occurrence.

(1) Informants agree that paternal cousins have first rights to a girl, and 582
where the father of a girl contemplates giving her in marriage to anyone else, the 604
paternal cousin must first release her by renouncing his claim. Cases of violence 605
resulting from breach of this obligation on the part of the father were collected in the field and have been recorded by others in the literature.[1] Giving one's daughter to a brother's son is further considered thoughtful and proper: the father knows his daughter's spouse well, and will also be able to exert some control over his actions toward her after marriage; marriage should be between equals, and no one is closer in status and sentiments than a paternal cousin. Small children are pleasantly embarrassed when teased for being "in love" with their paternal cousin. The importance of endogamy in maintaining family property is also 582
recognized, though the problem only arises with any degree of gravity where Ko-ranic laws of inheritance, giving stipulated fractions of the estate to female descendants, are strictly followed, and this does not generally seem to be the case. Ko-428

(2) It is an agreed privilege for paternal cousins, to less extent also other near 605
kin, to receive the girl at a reduced brideprice. The normal brideprice for village 583
girls ranges between 430-100. Paternal cousins generally pay only wedding expenses.

(3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter, and other cousin, 162
marriage is high, apparently ranging around fifty percent. The degree of relationship between all living spouses in two normal sized Hamawand villages fall into the following categories:

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amoxa)	MoBrDa (khaloxa)	SiDa (pura)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
9	1	2	3	2	4	21

Taking the normal fluctuations in size and sex distribution of sibling groups into account, this probably approximates the maximal frequency that marriage with actual, non-classificatory paternal cousin can reasonably attain.

[1] E.g. W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan* (London, 1921), p. 71.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

substituted that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[79] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..., and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[80].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[81]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of this father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[82]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[83], are: father's brother's daughter, *amzâd*, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, *pûrzâd*, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, *xâlîzâd*, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, *pûrzâd*, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[84] and Barth[85] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Topzawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sargalu. In Serkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[86]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice so common in Islam areas.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taifûr's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Topzawa said further that a man in his milieu was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

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and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowanduz [853]
she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowanduz provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and [601] [606] [607]
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The department required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange mal is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606● 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a 957 592 [834] 589 957

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no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowandus she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowandus provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and "mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister-in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly discussed in two ways, through the blood (*khwa*) of the parents and through the milk (*shir*) of the mother. Great

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importance is attached to marriage, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the worst of curses, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the village. Either of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among 851
the townspeople. The ceremony for the first son is much
more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent
male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a 845
gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for
them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rowanduz. Deformed 732
infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and
their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal
children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying 853
length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy
requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then
"[illegible] for the [illegible] child." If the mother cannot
suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, [608]
as noticed previously, its foster-mother, dirna, and the
child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The
wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is sub-
sidized with money and food. In the event that a nurse
cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk
of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at
regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is
necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It 856
is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

open sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put on, although in the case of village women only one or two outer dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For a headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, townswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with a turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as embroidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together by the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the hemispherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of the men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark blue in colour, a single roll of cloth. 291

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a restriction which, of course, has no existence among the women themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish women of the upper class may only appear uncovered before the men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and dignity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, women of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their life, working in the fields and going to market, are always unveiled and a trip to the bazar crowded with men affords them no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially prominent or alien person may cause them to hide their heads. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears in a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save in the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the sustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural Kurdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to run. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also 291 562 [754] [576] [409]

The heart of the matter is to be found in the distinction between a society governed by the state and one ruled by tribal or feudal chieftains. The state is no stranger to the area of the Middle East, for it was in this province that it probably made its first appearance and some of the more complex bureaucracies of history were evolved. Nevertheless, there are certain places, Kurdistan among them, where it is a newcomer, and others, such as Saudi Arabia, where it has yet to appear. Ottoman control in Kurdistan was rarely strong, and was characterized by a sort of daily contest between the scattered authorities, supported by their troops and gendarmes, and the local inhabitants in matters of tax-collection and recruitment for the army. Beyond the borders of Turkey and other well-organized districts, the Ottoman Empire was largely oriented for tribute, the enrichment of its officers and the Sublime Porte, and the Turks, aside from their inroads and the prestige attached to conquerors, did little to tamper with the economy and the social structure of their subjects. Rowanduz, before the first World War, was led by its aristocrats and its merchants, and the meager representation of Ottoman rule was regarded as an everyday annoyance which could be circumvented, bribed, or ambushed as the occasion demanded. Insofar as the Turks were satisfied with what little money and recruits they were able to collect, they were not considered greatly detrimental to life.

The rise of the modern state in Iraq provides in places such as Rowanduz, good examples of the impingement

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) -1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Topzawa this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dukan Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sargala and Sarkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind *mulla*[8], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Halabja's first lady, Lady Ajdda, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinates compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The classic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my house is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while countrymen, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[9]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellahin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womenfolk"[10]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[11] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Mohammedan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

619 This whole framework of formal organization may be diagrammatically illustrated as below, Diagram 3.

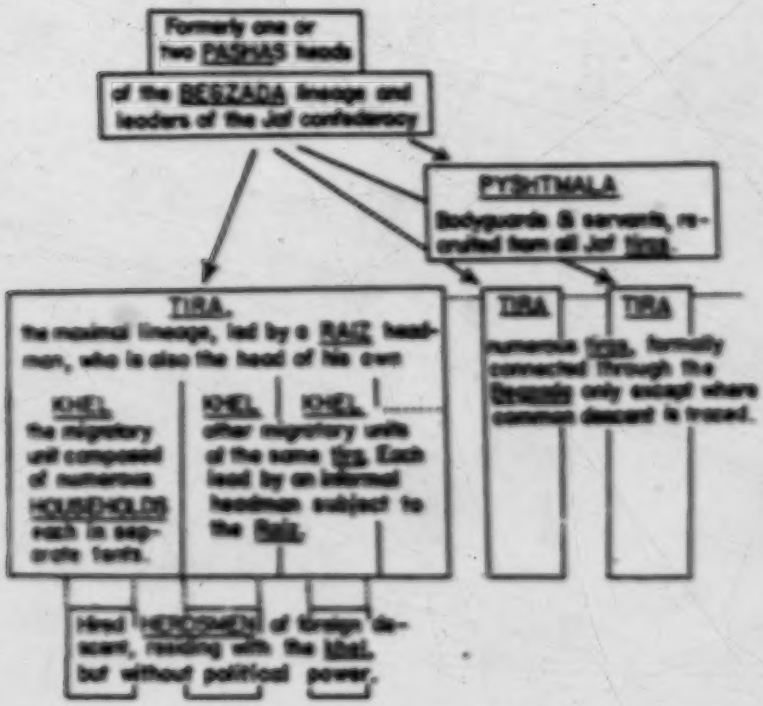

Diagram No. 3. Formal organization of the nomadic Jaf.

556 233 Within the *khel*, wealth, primarily in the form of herds, is the main source of power. Any member of the *tira* has unlimited grazing rights for his flocks, so there is no legal limit to the accumulation 609 233 of wealth. The cattle are herded in flocks of 100 or so, with one herdsman for each flock. Herdsmen are preferably hired among the poor people of the *tira*, or they may be «foreigners» associated with the *khel* purely because of their economic functions. The typical pattern is to exploit poor relatives for this purpose, a practice familiar from Central Asiatic nomads (e. g. Hudson, 1938, p. 17). Self-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

554 previous discussion, and are indeed implicit in the systems of status
621 hierarchies. An attempt will be made to relate the various status positions to ideal expressed on such scales, and in the final paragraphs of the section to outline the main scales on which individuals may be rated.

ECONOMIC CLASSES

565 The village hierarchy of class differences, based on division of
601 labor and attendant differences in wealth, has been discussed above, pp. 20 ff. This hierarchy is, as we saw, produced primarily by the feudal principle of delegation of work on the land, and is conceptualized in terms of distinct social classes, each with traditionally defined rights and privileges in their relations to each other. Each class is thus a status category, and they are arranged in a hierarchy leading from *laborer* through *tenant farmer*, occasionally an *intermediary capitalist*, and culminating in the *landowner*. This is in itself a power hierarchy, since each superior status directly gives opportunity for control over persons of inferior status positions, within the traditional limits. The *freeholding farmer* class, on the other hand, occupies a status partly divorced from this immediate power hierarchy. Characteristically, where such freeholding farmers are found in a village partly controlled by a large landowner, every effort seems to be made on the part of the landowner to secure property rights also to the remaining fraction of land, and thus place all members of the community in the unambiguous hierarchy of control and power. Consequently freeholding farmers with property of any significance are generally found in tribally organized communities, and a dichotomy between only freeholding vs. only tenant communities generally holds true. *Freeholding farmers* as a class tend to be on a par with the *tenant farmer* class in the larger class system, and frequently control a small group of *laborers*, and in certain areas also the serf class, the *Mrakjin*. The main features of the reciprocal relations between these classes have been sketched previously.

565 The special position of the *shepherd* remains to be discussed. He
621 is essentially a laborer, working for a stipulated annual payment in
293 kind (grain), but also receives a sheet of unleavened bread daily
609

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small tenant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
tenant farmers (incl. one mullah)	21	123
laborers	9	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Derwish, Sheikh, *Seyyid*, Mullah, and *Hadji*.

Derwishes. The derwish religious fraternities illustrate, in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

554 addressed by it. Ali Agha of Bayat's full title is Hajji Ali Agha and he is sometimes addressed simply as Hajji. The nephew of Hamid Amin of Rowanduz had also made the pilgrimage and I never heard him called anything but Hajji.

The title Sayyid implies a descendant of the Prophet and carries with it the right to wear a green turban. The descent is probably in most cases mythical; anyway the Sayyids whom I met had every appearance of being pure bred Kurds. In the Balik area the only persons claiming this honour are the two Khalifas of Khalan and Ilmo - Alaeddin and his uncle Chalchilah.

554 The Turkish term Effendi is frequently applied to town notables who have no tribal linkage and thus cannot be called Aghas:- thus
• 609 Mustapha Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz. Similarly it is a title applied to scholars - my interpreter was known everywhere as Ismail Effendi.

Bakia (arabic 'doctor') is applied only to foreigners. I acquired this title myself after resolutely refusing to be either a 'Lord' or a 'Major'.

The field of investigation

102 The field of investigation is shown on the two maps at the end of this volume. It has been found impossible in a single colour line drawing to show the contour features of the country at all adequately and altitudes are merely indicated in figures. The area is covered by sections I 38 and J 38 of the International Map of the World (Scale 1: 1,000,000) while the Rowanduz area appears on section L 3 on the 4 miles to 1 inch War Office map of Iraq, Persia and Turkey in Asia.

102. 134 Map 1 which shows the whole of the Erbil Liwa of Iraqi-Kurdistan is divided into three areas A, B and C having both geographic and ethnographic significance.

[487] A. Rowanduz. This area, the main field of study, is shown in enlarged scale on Map 2. Prior to the construction of the motor road some ten years ago, this area was extremely inaccessible. Practically the only way of reaching the region was by way of a bandit infested mule track that led along the edge of the precipitous Rowanduz Gorge. The area is extremely mountainous. Rowanduz itself is some 3,000 feet above sea level and the peaks on the Persian border reach above 12,000 feet. Cool and well watered it presents a tremendous contrast to the arid plains of Mesopotamia. Comparatively little land is suitable for cultivation, and the steep inclines preclude the adoption of modern methods of [illegible].

* For photographs see Map pp. 208, 222.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

635 directorate lies within the Province (Liwa) of Erbil. "The civil head of the liwa is Mutasarrif who is directly responsible for the police administration and the magistracy and indirectly for such social services as Health, Education, Agricultural Reform etc. The tax organisation is closely associated with the police and also comes under the administration of the Mutasarrif. Outside his control however are the military and the judiciary.

635 871 644 Within the field of our discussion the social services of the government are very limited, though the education system is worthy of note. There are primary and secondary schools at Erbil and a primary school at Rowanduz. There was for a while a secondary school also at Rowanduz but this was closed following a nationalist strike by the students who demanded to be taught in the English language instead of Arabic. For obvious economic reasons these schools affect only a very

871 small stratum of society - the sons of important Aghas and town

875 merchants. Some of the larger villages have in addition a paid

• 609 government teacher. Though the intention is good, the practice is less so. The wages offered and the facilities for advancement are so poor that only the very poorest type of indolent scholar offers himself for such posts. In the Balik area anyway the experiment of government education has so far proved unfortunate. The current opinion seemed to be that all government education officers are moral perverts. Two examples serve to show the basis for such an attitude. The only schoolmaster among the Balik at the time of my visit was attached to the village of Dayet. Formerly he had been attached to the village of Bast where he had married one of the Agha's daughters; this lady he had now divorced or rather deserted and the Agha of Bast was suing him in the courts for maintenance. In Dayet he had seduced the daughter of the Balik and to avoid scandal had now married her, but this in itself was a complicated proceeding since the Balik and the schoolmaster are regarded

609 as enemies by nature - (since from the traditional viewpoint education is the Balik's chief function). In another case which is described more fully later the Agricultural Adviser of Baleah was murdered.

635 * At the time of my visit the post of Mutasarrif of Erbil was held by Ahmed Beg & Tawfiq Beg, a Kurd from the relatively sophisticated district of Sulaimani, a man of great intelligence and personal integrity. I am directly indebted to him for the facilities and assistance which enabled me to carry out this piece of field work, the more especially since his own political position at the time was somewhat delicate. Being related by marriage to the chiefs of the Pizdah tribes, at that time in revolt, he was regarded with a certain amount of suspicion by some of the Arab elements in the Baghdad government. This fact, coupled with a mild reputation for being pro-British - by no means a desirable sentiment in modern Iraq, - made my request for travel facilities a doubtful inconvenience. In the circumstances his help was deeply appreciated.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth. 609

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil. 758

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred. 695 249

The independent judiciary functions through its court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Mudir (sub-district magistrate) and then before the Ca'im Maqam (district magistrate) before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil. 695 692

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Rowanduz. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Kurds and Turks and is thus in general inclination Kurdo-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Iraqi-Arabs whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Kurd" can be taken for granted. 695 101 578

The Liwa is divided into several districts (Kazas) each presided over by a district magistrate (Ca'im Maqam). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Kaza of Rowanduz. The Ca'im Maqam is responsible for his district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for his Liwa. 695

The Kazas in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Balik tribe all reside within the nahiya Balik - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Dargala on the other hand is administered from Rowanduz.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the reality of these junior officials which is the most feature of the system, and which is the real source of

464 late June and threshing proceeds steadily fro July to October. The
291 much smaller rice harvest comes about the end of September. With less wheat and no rice, threshing could be finished by mid-septmeber leaving labour free for the main work of the tobaccoharvest. On the other hand the tobacco plant requires a good deal of finicky attention during the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest. It is possible therefore that any radical increase in the tobacco cultivation is dependent upon the introductin of improved methods of threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as between different households. Whereas at present each household has approximately the same programme of work, the situation would be greatly complicated if one man's land was devoted to tobacco and his neighbour's only to wheat. The difficulty could be avoided if all the tobacco cultivators were 'owned' by the Agha: - thatis,every being under obligation to work for his Agha but not fora fellow commoner. Such a development would never be countenanced by he Government however since the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesmen by his chief."

249 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed
648 to cereal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is prepared to supply seed and expert advice as far as I know the process of drying does not require any special technical apparatus. The reorganisation of the irrigation system would of course be an initial 'capital' expenditure for the community concerned.

Technique. On the other hand thepure statement that Government is prepared to offer expert advice rather oversimplifies the social aspects of the technical problem. I has already mentioned that the native Kurdish tobacco cured in the traditional manner results in a powdery substance that is quite useless to the purposes of a modern factory. In order to produce a marketable product, the farmer has to be taught entirely new methods. The reasons to have up against several types of difficulty. Firstly there is a simple conservative resistance, the dislike of new methods, not simply because they are new but because the practitioner in the old ethods thinks he knows best. But there are other difficulties of a much more intimate kind. Here is an example.

The Government are prepared to supply approved villages with a
249 trained expert to supervise the greenleaf harvesting of tobacco.
• 609 Such a man was supplied to the village of Balash. He was a Kurd, but a
648 townsman from the plains and by constrain evidently a man of low moral

• In Batas, where in functional terms the Assyrian Bishop takes the place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is owned by the Church, and difficulties over individual labour requirements thus avoided. But then a Christian Bishop is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Aghal

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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character; it was alleged that he corrupted the villagers with alcohol and gambling and attempted to seduce their daughters, in particular the Mullo's daughter, in fact he was altogether a scoundrel. In due course he was found in the high road with two bullets through his body. The police took action. Two handsome looking swords from another tribe were brought before the courts and on the basis of somewhat elaborate circumstantial evidence convicted of murder. Handsome lawyer was never married and since the "swordsmith" mysteriously disappeared a few days after the trial. Whatever was the truth of this matter, local rumour had no doubts on the subject. The bullet wounds, the accept and conviction of the swords were all a frame up by the police, who had the cause not to fish in troubled waters. The murdered man had really died of strangulation - hanged in the guest house of Sheikh Mahmoud, Agha of Balook and chief of the Dalik.

This story was told me by Kamil Bebo of Sangaskan who was always eager to post a clerk on his cousin Sheikh Mahmoud. It appeared however to have some general currency there, when I was discussing the misdemeanours of the local administrator with the Agha of Sagrat, he referred to the Balook story. "These small Government servants! What do you expect? They're all scoundrels".

Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant, the effect among the Dalik is the same as if it had been true. Even though Sheikh Mahmoud's prestige is not as great as formerly, the fact, or even the rumour, that he had to hang his first and only agricultural adviser is a sufficient deterrent for any lesser Agha who may be contemplating agricultural reform within their own communities. This example brings out well how a problem which on the surface is purely economic may in practice be affected by a mass of seemingly irrelevant considerations in the field of religion, tribal law, politics and religion.

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To sum up then. We have seen how the necessity for developing an export trade implies the necessity for increasing the tobacco acreage at the expense of cereal acreage, and I have tried to analyse not the forces of resistance which seem to prevent any immediate response to this incentive. Nevertheless the incentive is clearly very great. I was told for instance in Bebo that whereas in the old days the crops of the entire village had been worth barely £50 in cash, the tobacco sales in 1937 alone totalled £2,500. I believe therefore that in the hills also some rational alternative to the economic of agriculture must take place in the near future.

But it must be recognised that any such development must bring [illegible] both in the ideology of the people and of their social organisation. As things are, the hill country farmer sows not first of all to grow sufficient food for himself and his family. Only when he is assured of that does he turn his attention to the cultivation of luxury products such as tobacco. In short he aims at

by established Kurds from the Rowanduz area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil line. Interestingly the cheapest labour is that which is least organized. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external context may be expected to affect the basic economic organization of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the services for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different communers, and trading contacts within the group are extremely commonly.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the work is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then washed by lime cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balook and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the herdsman was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families-shareholders in the flock contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each one known his own sheep, this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the women folk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular animals. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Sheikhs of Bayat have large herds, and an elected shepherd part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hamlet, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This describes the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Turkish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Erbil.

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ustom demands that her price should be a high one. It would need a very intimate knowledge of all concerned to find out what real transactions take place within the village on the occasion of a marriage. Where the marriage is to someone outside the village the position is more clear, especially in the case of the Aghas, though here again there is a tendency to exaggerate the figures involved. A point of some interest in the frequency with which Aghas or their sons marry the daughters of townspeople. For instance a son of Sheikh Mohammed of Balisan was married to a daughter of Mustafa Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz, and one of the wives of Mir Ismail Agha of Dargala was also a townswoman. Such marriages are socially approved, of us it is considered that townswomen bring with them an air of culture and sophistication. The reciprocal marriage of Aghas daughter to townsman's son is however most unusual, mainly because the townsman considers the tribal girl raw and uncivilized. The non tribal nature of the transaction thus represents a further partible such loss to the tribal group without any compensating return.* It is not to be supposed that the bride price payment is the only economic transaction taking place on the occasion of a marriage. Many relatives on both sides send presents to the bridegroom; these may be in kind or cash and in the case of marriages between important Agha families may amount to substantial sums.

Death. Compared with normal Kurdish usage the mourning ceremonies of the Harke, at any rate for Aghas, are unusually prolonged. While I was staying at Balisan the wife of Mustafa Agha, second son of Sheikh Mohammed, died. As Mustafa was the Agha of a neighbouring village I did not stay the ceremonies involved. I was told that the proceedings consisted principally of the bereaved sitting at home in his guest house and providing food and drink for all those friends and relatives who may think fit to come and condole with him. This would go on for a month. Moreover it was reckoned that as Mustafa had only a small guest house all his less immediate kin would have to be accommodated at Balisan. I gathered that the mourners would bring with them gifts which would at least approximately compensate for the cost of entertaining them, but the immediate economic strain occasioned by a death such as this may be considerable. As soon as Sheikh Mohammed heard the news he sent off riders to Rowanduz to fetch four sacks of sugar (56 kilos each), two bags of rice and a big roll

* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to sell their unmarried girl children to townsfolk. The girls were known as Kochiya. During adolescence she was a slave servant of the purchaser but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the mui tsai system of South China.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowandu:

CHAPTER 4

The Limitations of the Foregoing Material

The reader may have noted a curious defect in the samples of evidence offered to support my generalizations. In nearly every case the authority quoted is either an Aghe or a near relative of an Aghe. It may reasonably be queried whether, - if all my informants had been commoners, - the same general picture of the social organization would have emerged. 124

The reasons for limiting my enquiry to Aghe sources were entirely practical ones. I was the first Englishman for some years to approach the district without some form of military protection, and since it was assumed that I must necessarily be a secret agent of the former sovereign power I was naturally the object of considerable curiosity and suspicion. The high policy that caused Britain to establish Iraq as an independent state is incomprehensible to the Kurdish tribesmen, and it is assumed that Britain is somehow an important link of connection between the English and the Arabs. Accordingly though I travelled with an official pass from the Ministry of the Interior, it was generally assumed that in some mysterious way I was plotting against the Government; my curiosity concerning the intimate details of Kurdish life was regarded as a cloak with which to hide my sinister designs. This put my Aghe hosts in an awkward position. Obligations of hospitality compelled them to treat me as an honoured guest, but if my coming implied, as was suspected, "that the English were coming back", then certainly they would be well advised to treat me well. On the other hand if I was really an enemy of the Arabs, any undue familiarity with me would surely lead to a relentless grilling at the hands of the police as soon as I had left. And there were further complications - Hamid Aska of Dargala warned my interpreter that he had not slept a wink throughout my stay. As he saw it, I was in mortal danger. This was a golden chance for his enemies - they had only to keep me off and it would be he that would get in disgrace with the Government! Accordingly four armed sentries were posted round my hut every night. 124 609

In this complex web of intrigue and distrust it is understandable that the Aghes, though willing enough that I should discuss village affairs with them personally, were extremely suspicious of anything that I might attempt to discover without their knowledge. Accordingly, since I believed at the time that I would be returning to the area later for more intensive study, I made little attempt to confirm the Aghe's description of affairs by means of chance interviews with commoners. This fact must be borne in mind by anyone using this monograph as a basis for further research. Even where the facts as described by me seem to be confirmed by further enquiry, it will be necessary to round the statement off by an analysis of the position as seen from the commoner's point of view. 84 124

St Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

FORMATION OF THE KOMALA

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It was in this town of Mahabad, left to its own devices by the Allies, that the most recent of the Kurdish nationalist movements was born. On August 16, 1943, a dozen young Kurds, most of them small merchants and petty officials of the town, founded the Komala-i-Zhian-i-Kurd, or "Committee of Kurdish Youth." For purposes of secrecy, the membership of the new party was kept below 100 and was organized in cells; the semi-weekly meetings were never held in the same house twice in succession. The Constitution of the Komala was strongly nationalist and membership was restricted to persons of Kurdish descent on both sides of the family, the only exception being for those with an Assyrian mother—an indication of the present close relations between Kurds and Assyrians.

The Komala spread rapidly, not only in Iran but in other countries as well, where Kurds saw in the new group a more vigorous force than in the traditional Kurdish nationalist parties. Chapters of the Komala were founded in the Iraqi towns of Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Suleimania, Rowanduz, and Shaklawa; and there was a chapter functioning even in Turkey, where Kurdish nationalist activity is an offense punishable by death. The chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity of Mahabad also sent emissaries offering help. They were told that they were not needed then, but might be called on in the future.

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It was inevitable that the two great powers primarily interested in the area should eventually hear of the Komala. The British, whose Kirkuk oil fields are located in Kurdish country, kept a watchful eye on developments. Their political adviser in Mosul sometimes ranged as far as Mahabad, while his subordinates were stationed in Rowanduz, Kirkuk, Erbil, and Suleimania. Yet the British could not encourage Kurdish aspirations without arousing Arab resentment, and so remained deaf to the overtures of the Kurdish nationalists.

SOVIET INFILTRATION

With the Soviets it was a different story. At first they were evidently unprepared for active work among the Kurds, although

9: Roosevelt G-8 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 721 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mahmudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Sanandaj Road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby liaison officers were exchanged,* each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to Baneh and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

186 • 609 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British opportunism, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

642 621 624 These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going concern. Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wezir* (minister) to *rais* (chief). Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishwa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

*The Kurdish liaison officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Hassanzadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army plane in which he was traveling crashed near Rezaieh.

10/Soane C-3 (no date) 1940 MR.11 Kurd MR.11
Iraq

The Kurdish tribesman has a childlike

157 sense of humour. Like a child, too, he
• 609 unconsciously appreciates sympathy and
an understanding of his psychology. It is
partly because ruling races were in-
different to such considerations until the
evolution of British colonial policy in
backward countries that the Kurd has
been accustomed to regard every foreign
power as an enemy to be driven off or
exterminated before he himself suffers a
similar fate.

181 Like other mountain peoples the Kurds
176 are a martial race, but owing to their
separate communities and 'clannishness'
they have never flourished as such in
modern history. The only Kurdish king-
dom known to Europe is the ancient
kingdom of the Medes. Nevertheless the
Kurds have produced many great indi-
vidual soldiers. First and foremost comes
Cyrus the Great, who united the Medes
and Persians and in 538 B.C. conquered
Babylon. Others have found fame as

[p. 350(a)]
[last words read on p 350(B)]

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urimi group as a whole from which the aristocrats is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the male family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character.

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The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is mallin, parallel in its similarity to the Latin familia. The same term is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only those households and mallin, descendants of the tribe of the original, keep genealogies (sejara, from Arabic shajara, "tree"). In the case of the mallin the title can be inherited on either side, but the ground of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowanduz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include beg, agha, and sir, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times pasha was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic sheykh, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Sheykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1919 and 1930, and Sheykh Taha,

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no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, 582 §34
using that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from [595]
having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, [587]
is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, 582 608 [553]
and this person, no matter what her status (in Rwanda she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rwanda provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are embedded here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and "mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister-in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second wife, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," so he called her. In Kwakiutl descent is commonly dis- 611 ●
cussed in two ways, through the blood (idzo) of the parents and through the skin (skig) of the mother. Since [553]

importance is attached to marriage, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the worst of wrongs, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an exogamous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such a situation.

642 and so on ending at the village level. The leader of any category of group is called *Agha*, any branch or named section thereof will in certain contexts be called a *tira*.

The genealogy of these branches is traced, but varies somewhat from villages to village. Such variations derive partly from the lack of interest in collateral units, partly from an attempt to stress certain relationships or to construct a more flattering genealogy.

Descent is traced in male line from the common ancestor Hamma, the founder or the tira, nine generations removed from the present

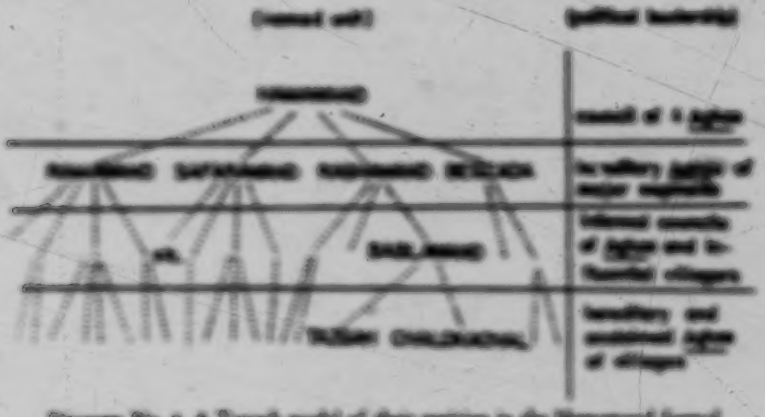

Diagram No. 4. A Tergish model of their position in the Hamawand kinship organization.

adult group. The origins of Hamma, having no political significance in the group, are of little interest to the villagers, though Arabic origin is occasionally claimed for its prestige value.

One version was collected in the village of Kani Sarê: Hamma had 4 sons, Sellar, Yadjar, Rashid, and Rezzoue; from these are descended the 4 major branches of the group. The villagers themselves claim to be Yadjar. They could indicate the areas where the descendants of the three other sons live, but were unable or unconcerned in tracing relations in any greater detail.

In the village of Tergish, a somewhat different version was given. The major branches were named as Ramewand, Sefarewand, Rashe-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NAll Kurd NAll

wand, and Begzade. As will be noticed, the branch of Yadjar, to 411
which the Koni Sardo belong, is not in this list. The Koni Sardo 414
in fact belong to the Begzade branch, as either Yadjar is the ancestor 413
of all the Begzade, or a smaller segment category has been elevated
to the level of a major branch, for the greater glory of the Koni
Sard group. The villagers in Tazgah assert to belong to the Bablo-
wand division, again made up of the villagers from Tazgah and
Chishkachal, the latter now having been abandoned and the villagers
scattered. The Bablowand were derived from the Rashowand, in
unspecified fashion. A Tazgah model of their position in the tree
would then read as shown in Diagram No. 4.

The *Agha* of a village is appointed or granted power by the male 412
inhabitants of that village. In practice, the position is hereditary,
but not according to any rule of seniority, and village preference
undoubtedly influences the pattern of succession. The village *Agha*
has only the authority which follows from his own power and pres-
tige, and the goodwill of his followers.

The position as *Agha* of one of the four major branches is either similarly hereditary, or, all there is no suitable son of the old *Agha*, a new *Agha* is elected by the villagers. These *Aghas* will generally have the position and means to support a group of retainers, parallel-ing the *Pyalewale* of the *Jal Begs*. They thus have a vaguely insti-tutionalized mechanism to enforce their authority. Thus, though the formal position of the *Aghas* of the four major Hamawand seg-ments is unlike that of the *Jal Begzade*, the actual differences more reflect the difference in scale than in formal position.

Neither the *Jal* nor the Hamawand lineage organizations function 414
in the ideals pattern closely exemplified by the Cyrenaica Bedouin, discussed above. A position of authority and super-ordination does in fact become vested in the individual *Aghas* and *Kets*, who tends to apply coercive means to support such a hierarchy of authority. Though the ideal structure of the political structure is that of a segmentary lineage organization, the system does in fact function in a somewhat different pattern, as will be shown more fully later.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1955 MA11 Kurd MA11

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thus be considered an example of Murdock's *dense* type of community, that is, an endogamous, but unstructured localized kin group (Murdock 1949, p. 43).

Some of the interrelations between marriage patterns, kinship composition of local groups, and type of political organization are fairly clear. In the tribal political system, patrilineal descent is of considerable importance. Membership in the political unit itself depends on patrilineal descent and one gains prestige from belonging to particular segments of the larger lineage. As compared to the non-tribal village, the whole status system is considerably more elaborated, as one would expect in a traditional system. Since marriage, both according to Islamic law and general Kurdish values should be between equals, and since each lineage segment wishes to preserve its own status position (and may in fact tend to over-rate it), neither sex is willing to marry down in the social scale, and near-kin marriage is the reasonable solution. Most clear is the status equivalence of children of brothers, and FaBrDa becomes the preferred spouse.

This emphasis on equivalence is however only one factor inductive to a pattern of FaBrDa marriage. Perhaps more important is its political significance, briefly indicated previously.

A comparison of the tribal and non-tribal patterns may clarify this point. In the tribal system, power relations on the village level are more amenable to manipulation than in the non-tribal system, where most power is vested in the absentee landowner. At the same time, these power relations in the tribal village are defined in lineage and kinship terms. A man can only expect political support from his immediate agnatic relatives — those who by descent belong to his political sub-section — primarily brothers, sons, and brothers' sons, the relations to the latter being most critical. Political obligations can be reinforced in this group by giving them a daughter in marriage; conversely, the group would be alienated by being refused this daughter. The man who marries his daughter out of the lineage segment and takes a high bride-price for her thereby converts her into an economic asset, but also isolates himself from his agnatic relatives, his potential political supporters. He can then expect no support in a situation where actual power is important, such as in

related families. For the townspeople, then, the mi is both a building and the group of relatives who live therein. A townsman who occupies a new dwelling, although he retains his connection with his parental home and may speak of himself as a member of that mi, has formed a new unit which becomes a mi in the social scene in its own right.

The nation of the chieftains and a few large and wealthy families of social pretensions is otherwise. It is customary, as in the case of commoners, to refer to an aristocratic household as a mi, for example, the "House of Issa'll Rag," but a chieftain belongs to a fwuliry, an extended patrilineal group in which a much wider and more exact accounting of kin relationships is kept. The chieftains, as has been said, are, with the exception of serrikh or descendants of the Tutsi of the Peoples, the only persons who memorize genealogies, and this, more than anything else, is the distinguishing feature of the fwuliry. Like the mi, this group is endogamous and exogamous, and is not formally named. The point of reference in its genealogy is some more or less illustrious forebear. Thus the deceased Issa'll Rag and his mother Lalli Khan (who was a collateral relative of Issa'll Rag's father) are referred to as "descendants of Sir Pasha," that famous revolutionary chieftain who achieved a temporary independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The nucleus of this genealogy is a list of patrilineal ancestors in a direct line ascending some seven or eight generations, a

ories made up solely of males. To this are added mater- 413 ●
nally collateral ancestors and, in the one or two generations closest to the chieftain in question, all of the collaterals, including the names of wives, sisters, and the latter's husbands. The importance of such a lineage line is the fact that it is the sole patent of nobility, itself a matter of the highest social importance, and is of considerable value in the arrangement of marriages and the knowledge of one's potential friends and enemies. It is usually associated with a certain amount of folk history, the wars, revolts, feuds, and other deeds with which its personnel were concerned. Commoners are able to reproduce to some extent the lineage of their chieftain, for, as has been noticed, the house of their leader is also their own, and selected conversations on such topics as aristocratic marriages and lineages offer an everyday source of entertainment. Unlike the mal, the tholliya is not associated with a single house, and its members may live in a large number of separate establishments.

It is convenient here to dismiss the question of inheritance with a cursory survey. Inheritance is not a matter over which the Kurdish populace exercises any unique control, because it was defined in the laws and supplemented over the centuries by the jurists and lawyers of Islam. A whole branch of Islamic jurisprudence is concerned with this complex question, and a number of popular expositions are available to the general reader.[1] In

[1] Abdulfettah Ömeroğlu, Ibid, pp. 143-151.

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[1] However, although marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not mean that marriage relations and material ties have ceased to be relevant of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper concerns an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[2] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[3] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a unilineal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the *tira* varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Warde Shaxi (location: summering in Rekhmawi Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Descent does not, though one occasionally, in a political confederacy of variable extension, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

1 Lucy J. Lockwood, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1951).

2 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1935; E. B. Soane, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Kurmanji Kurdi Dialect*, London, 1913; E. B. Soane, *Kurdish Tales*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Anthropological Series no. 1, London, 1912; Mehmed Emin Bozarslan, *Kurdische Grammatik*, Erlangen, 1926; Celadet Bedir Khan, *Elements of Kurdish Grammar* (Cleveland: Program Publishing Company, Publication no. 1, Ohio, 1931).

3 The Middle East Journal of International Affairs, London, 1948.

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the [illegible] confederacy of councils as well as ordinary ones. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, refer only to the Hanamonde, an independent tribe of population ca. 1800-1900, which became ordinary some two or three generations ago.

The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defense and offense in war. Property rights in land and grazing were not held jointly by the tribe as a whole; exclusive usufruct rights are vested in the localized segments, inhabiting compact villages with a population of 70 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have established rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as crystal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degree of kinship (in any one level of segmentation, "brothers" include "cousins" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1910, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in case if a segment were attacked from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary cluster when conflicts arose within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both within, where they led to feuds, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

There is a close contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the manner with which the problems of feuds and feuds are solved. A man's rights to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only on kind from help ("aqaret") of dependent status. The territorial subdivisions of lineage segments thus tends to be maximized to high degree, and there are few binding mechanisms for developing "stretched" lineages with local territorial and political rights.[1] The segmentary nature of the maximal lineage segments itself directly to geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited mostly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map as closely area where one has a view of the valley bottoms. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the rite as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. The religious or ritual

[1] A prominent relationship may occasionally be established between a neighboring lineage group and a conquered, assimilated peasant population, who needs certain rights as serfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a new burden is set up governing intermarriage between the two groups. This relationship, observed on the southern margin of Hanamonde territory, does not seem to be very stable.

In Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

Where the case of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the expectations for men like them, the inducement for the young men to seek a bride among kin ceases to evident. Consequently, the young men under the "right" choice though they appear subjectively as free, and formidably oppose the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem lies in this situation arises around when the institution of the girl's father is, that he should forego his rights as a bridegiver which, as the Kurdish farmers, can advance a minor farmers. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem to what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter as a bride's son which components are for the loss of the bridegiver.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, counterbalanced by the interlocking circles of identification normally constituted with segmentary descent system (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups, cross-cutting age-grades among Tallensi, further the moral collaboration between lineages, etc.). The pressure is particularly evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all functional descriptions of Kurdish life.* Kurdish villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, at times even women. Such political power is proportional to the number of alliances one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-section, and the faction in the village used to be alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an older leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and husband sons. The relation to the latter is most critical, it crosses the line of political loss of descent lineage between collateral branches. If a man alienates his sons-in-law by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of the bridegroom's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the bridegroom. His other sons-in-law are, in the lineage system, till this role as political supporters, consequently they must invariably pay bridegroom. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange, the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the powers of professional father's brother's

* See, C. J. Bale, Principles of a Business in Kurdistan (London, 1920), E. B. Soane, Through Kurdistan and Kurdistan in Disguise (London, 1926), Hay, op. cit.

daughter's marriage prevents to strengthen the political significance of the lineage system.

10 13.5%	40 53.7%	15 20%	10 12.8%	75

There is some suggestion that the endogamy has similar functional implications in this situation as Fortes suggests endogamy has in the Ewedish system, but that the emphasis comes on the opposition between co-resident clans—whereas the discrepancy between 53 percent marriages within one clan vs. 33 percent with some local co-villagers, in a village where four major and six smaller clans co-reside. The Changars profess the standard explanation: " . . . marriage with the father's brother's son is preferred to any other marriage in order to prevent a stranger obtaining possession of the property and inheritance of the family."[12] This runs through the argument is further weakened by the fact that few villagers do not observe the proper Kinship rule[13] of giving both male and female relatives of the same degree a share of inheritance, in the proportion 2:1—" . . . even if it be seldom that a man dies without leaving any sons, yet the possibility obtains in so far as to allow marriage between the children of brothers to appear specially desirable."[14]

Chagnon and Cone offer a theoretical analysis of parallel cousin marriage, with special reference to the Bedouin[15] which, if I have understood their argument correctly, emphasizes the incompatibility of a subordinate son-in-law relation to a wife-taker with a system of strong political and economic identification with the lineage segment—in this case sons or component of fathers, son, and father's brother. This incompatibility is then resolved by a process of establishing the son-in-law relationship with the father's brother, through marriage with a father's brother's daughter. This appears as a rather round-about way of avoiding the problem from the point of view developed here, but their discussion indicates that the processes are not inapplicable to this marriage pattern among the Bedouin.

The points of view expressed above might be summarized briefly. As compared to most African systems, marriage patterns among the Moslem peoples of the Middle East are illustrated here only in representing the relations between segments of a larger lineage system. The potential relevance of these patterns to social structure may then theoretically be utilized in various ways.

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12 Above p. 78, where further references to this view are given.
13 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society (1952), p. 50.
14 Chagnon, op. cit., p. 78.
15 E. R. Chagnon and C. A. Cone, Principles of Anthropology (New York, 1963), pp. 269-90.

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In many areas of the Middle East, a pattern of close family endogamy and preferential father's brother's daughter marriage has been assumed to be associated with a desire to maintain family property in the face of financial risks of the business. The apparently exceptionally high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage among the Kurdish tribes with foreign organizations, and possibly among other groups with similar organizations, requires separate explanation. The data of this short discussion has been that such a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage plays a prominent role in stabilizing the minimal lineage as a cooperative group in factional struggle. Marriages of this type thus serve to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system, and, as in most African systems, reinforce the relations between which lineages, but have, on the contrary, relation to the less powerful lines of descent and organization within the minimal lineage itself.

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ries and between sections of a single tive, the procedure seems to be one of personal revenge, and not retaliation within the whole group to which the offender belongs. It therefore seems useful to emphasize this difference by limiting the term blood feud to its typical form, as found e. g. among the Nuba, and to explore the possible reasons why the jural concepts of collective responsibility, on which the blood feud pattern is based, are not applied to a Kurdish lineage group or segment of such.

It is necessary to emphasize the unique situation, as compared to most societies described in the anthropological literature, in which these jural principles are to be applied. Kurdish lineages are not organized factions within a community, as is often the case in other societies, nor do they have the usual ramifying kinship connections with other groups. With a high frequency of close kin marriage, as described above, a Kurdish lineage, and even the lineage segments down to the village level, are endogamous, socially isolated units. They are, furthermore, geographically isolated. The tive as a whole occupies a large, contiguous territory; the members of the tive are essentially the sole residents of that territory. The local group, the village, is also the lineage segment. There is no indigenous political authority above the level of the maximal lineage; and such a maximal lineage has no vital relations with other groups (except a certain minimum of trade). The maximal lineage can therefore, in the autonomous Kurdish system, be regarded as «the society».

The concept of collective responsibility thus hardly applies in the usual sense to the relations between segments of *different* lineages —between groups in separate societies. Jural principles of this type can only be applied within moderately homogeneous societies, where any individual or a sociological person is an approximate equivalent of his co-lineage mates. (Fortes 1953). With the geographical separation of Kurdish lineages, furthermore, feud between them would in fact necessitate aggression into alien territory. The maximal lineage is a politically unified corporate group for purpose of defence, and thus conflicts on any scale between segments would lead directly to all-out war between the lineages to which they belonged. In such a situation, economic and other considerations favoring continued

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meanings. We are left with a religious brotherhood, vested with mystic powers, but where membership is regarded as a badge of low social status. The various overt signs of these mystic powers are not systematically manipulated in front of an un-initiated audience, to enhance the position of the performer; nor is the brotherhood developed into a secret society, the secrecy and exclusiveness of which might give status. The interpretation followed here, that membership in the brotherhood offers subjective satisfaction, giving the underprivileged person a field in which he feels that he too can manipulate and control power, seems the only constructive alternative.

Shaikhs and Seyyids. The category of persons called *Shaikhs* and *Seyyids* are, as the dervishes, in a somewhat ambiguous position, but they may, as we have seen in the case of Shaikh Mahmud, make use of their position to great advantage in the political field. Essentially, a *Shaikh* is in Kurdish a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, reckoned patrilineally from Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, and corresponding to the Arabic *Seyyid*. The general position of esteem in which such persons are held is indicated by the term itself, *Shaikh* in Kurdish being borrowed from the Arabic, where it is a political title for tribal chief or elder; *Seyyid* in the Arabic of pre-Islamic times having the similar meaning of elder. Actually, both the terms *Shaikh* and *Seyyid* are used today in Kurdish to indicate descent from the Prophet — a distinction between the two will be made later; the present discussion will concern the *Shaikhs*, who in Southern Kurdistan are by far the larger and more important of the two groups.

By virtue of their descent from the Prophet, *Shaikhs* rate high on a religious scale of sanctity, and it is believed that they embody a variable degree of unseen good power. This vague sanctity is however divorced from implications of greater piety; no significantly greater morality seems to be expected of the *Shaikhs*, and membership in the descent group does not automatically affect the social position of an individual.

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To clarify the position of the *Shaikh* group, its distribution and internal structure should be examined. Logically enough, *Shaikhs* are not found among members of tribes *(ilwa)*, since tribal groups constitute patrilineal maximal lineages, and no member of the *ilwa*

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

can trace patrilineal descent from Ali unless the *whole tira* claims such descent. None of the South Kurdish *tiras* attempt this, however. *Shaikhs* are consequently characteristic of the non-tribal areas, where they occupy the whole gamut of social positions from landless laborer to feudal lord.

In characteristic Kurdish fashion, *Shaikh* families tend to split up into small endogamous lineage segments, and, though the census materials gathered from a few villages is not statistically reliable in the matter, there is strong suggestion that FaBrDa or other close kin marriage reaches considerably higher frequency than usual in tenant villages, and approaches that found in the politically organized lineages, the *tiras*. However, any embracive *organization* uniting the whole *Shaikh* descent group, or major segments of it, such as would in fact convert it into a type of widely dispersed *tira*, is lacking. It would on the other hand be equally misleading to think of the *Shaikh* group as an endogamous caste, since extra-group marriages do in fact take place, and the emphasis is not on *Shaikh* endogamy but, in usual Kurdish fashion, on *local lineage* endogamy. It is convenient to think more in terms of these local endogamous *Shaikh* lineages, where they are found in the village community, and relate their comparatively higher endogamy to an effort to retain a special status in the *local* community by not dispersing kinship obligations too widely in that community. Where *Shaikh* families occupy higher social positions, this stress on lineage endogamy tends to disappear, or seems to reflect efforts to prevent the dispersal of family property through the multiple Koranic inheritance rights.

An example of a *Shaikh* lineage group of tenant farmers, residing in a small village community, might be given. Of 33 households in the village, 7 are of the *Shaikh* lineage, the remaining 26 belonging to various larger and smaller kin groups. Of the heads of these 7 *Shaikh* households, 4 have married a FaBrDa, 2 another close relative, and only 1 a non-relative from outside the community (the sister of a neighboring headman). At least in this generation, there is thus no intermarriage with other families in the local community.

The head of the *Shaikh* lineage is regarded as the most important man in the village, but he is not elected *kikha* (village headman).

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1955 NAII Kurd NAII

The present *kikha*, whose father and grandfather held the post before him, belongs to another, slightly larger kin block, counting at least 9 households. Furthermore, the frequency of family endogamy in this family of which the *kikha* is the head is less than 10 %, which may account for his «wider appeal» in the community. Thus the emphasis on the special status of the *Sheikh* lineage also tends to isolate this lineage, in part to their disadvantage.

The majority of the *Sheikhs* in the village are tenant farmers, and tend to be among the better situated. One occupies the position as mullah, to which his son will clearly succeed him. However, one of the *Sheikh* household heads is a landless laborer, giving a class distribution in the *Sheikh* lineage of 5 farmers / 1 laborer, as compared to 18 farmers / 4 laborers in the remainder of the community. The class position of the *Sheikh* lineage as a whole is thus not significantly high.

The status of this small *Sheikh* lineage might be construed to that of the above mentioned Leaders of Derwish, or to that of Sheikh Mahmud, both of whom have achieved their high position in part by virtue of their descent from the Prophet. The most reasonable generalization seems to be that membership in the *Sheikh* descent group defines a type of position in the religious field which contributes to the general esteem in which a person is held, and which may, in certain situations, contribute to justify a high position of actual power, but which in no way automatically ascribes such power to the individual.

A category of travelling holy men, similarly claiming descent from Mohammed, are given the Arabic name *Seyyid* by Kurdish villagers. Whereas the Kurdish *Sheikhs* claim descent specifically from Hussein, one of Mohammed's two grandsons, through a medieval Persian theologian, the claims of the wandering *Seyyids* are more variable. On the other hand, this reference to religious sanctity forms the basis of their livelihood. The apellation *Sheikh* need only imply high rating on a purely religious scale of sanctity — *Seyyids* convert this into a definite status position, fundamental to their occupation. Preferably conspicuously clothed, and wearing green head-dress as a symbol of their status, they ride from village to village carrying old

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Hard MA11

able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kitchiéna.'

The two above described classes of Kitchi are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Kopchi*). §15

The present Kitchi are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom ten thousand are owned, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages. All these warrior Kitchi are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *sakiwi* (great tribes), *paskisi* (medium tribes), and *skiyiki* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *paskisi* and *skiyiki*, or merely into *skiyiki*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *sakiwi* are called isolated *skiyiki*. §17 [42]

The tribes, or clans, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it. In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised. Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people. The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voices of the §16 §21 §23

[1] Hinton, *Au Kootchies, or Mountaineers*, &c., p. 110.

I: Current B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Hard MA11

630
631 elders having great weight, and, as I shall subse-
633 quently point out, even the women are not excluded
from a share in the politics of the tribe.

175 Though more or less dominated by the numerous
184 conquerors who have successively, for three thousand
years, overrun those regions which are now called
Kivilistan, the Kivils have never ceased to own a
distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest
they have been constantly wavering between the two
rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as
represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively,
siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now
with one party and now with the other. Notwith-
721 standing their sufferings in the destructive wars of
649 conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian,
184 and the constant internal feuds fomented by both
those nations in order to weaken the power of the
Kivilish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-
independence, preserving their nationality as distinct
from that of their neighbours as in earlier days,
though possessing no dynasty, political constitution,
ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to
bind them together.

668 Three times during the present century have
national aspirations incited them to throw off the
Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of
mountainous country over which they are scattered,
their successes have been but partial and ephemeral.
181 Representatives as they probably are of the ancient
179 Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long pre-
served its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

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related for centuries. Today it cannot be denied that some tribesmen, particularly the Barzāni, belong to their group because of kinship relation (the Kurdish term being birā, from arabic, ba'īla, "tribe," is used to describe a tribal subdivision still to be found which seems to represent a patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial.

It is important to notice that there are two main bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and that commonly called "tribal law," executed by local administrative officers. The institution of dual legal systems was evoked by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of whose time-honored customs were, to say the least, out of joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code. The differences between the two need not be considered in detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such as adultery or rape. There are in the Rowanduz district a number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and its administration is not charged to the local judge, but is an added task of the qaimmaqam. Hence the office of that official in Rowanduz has often the aspect of a courtroom, the qaimmaqam and his clerk patiently and laboriously inquiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through an interminable parade of witnesses--coarsely-dressed

[77] manipulating these various systems and principles. Thus competing factions, manipulating the familiar (but in part mutually exclusive) systems, will establish different power hierarchies in different villages, resulting in the present variety of forms of social organization found in the area.

(2) However, one type of basic organization may be said to be commonly Kurdish. This is usually called *tribal*, and is based on the *lineage* principle. Any movement away from this basic framework of organization will be the result of the above type of manipulations, and may be seen as a step in a *de-tribalization* process. A special attempt will be made to explore the structure of the tribal group, and to mention to the pressures that tend to lead to its break-down.

Certain characteristics of the lineage system in its Kurdish application might profitably be stated immediately, to avoid misunderstandings. The Kurds practice close family endogamy with preferential FaDaDa marriage, and a Kurdish descent group shows many consequent characteristics, among which is a tendency towards constant branching and the establishment of new, independent endogamous subsections. The concept of a lineage, as developed for other areas, normally applies to an exogamous grouping. However, the main importance of the lineage concept is in the field of political organization, and it will be seen that the political functions of the Kurdish descent groups and the African lineage groups are essentially similar. This might be expected, if only from the following considerations: Women in Kurdish society are normally of minimal political importance, and matrilineal descent has no political significance. The *exactly* patrilineal descent group will be unmodified by any patterns of preferential marriage. Since this, in Kurdish society, is the politically significant group, the fact of endogamy has no direct political importance. I have therefore chosen to call this patrilineal descent group a *lineage* when politically recognized.

(2) After an orientation on some factors which are uniform over the whole South Kurdish area, notably in the field of subsistence and kinship, the formal lineage organization will be discussed, as well as the basic pattern of non-tribal formal organization, and the fundamental composition of the resulting local groups will be treated.

649 then probably be called an *aduvet*. This *aduvet* is ruled by a sacrificial leader, the *Beg* or *Pasha*. He is the head of the *aduvet* family, the *Begundo*. The size of the *aduvet* unit was considerable, even before sections of it became sedentary. In 1820, while still entirely nomadic, the *Jal* could muster 1000 infantry and 300 horses, and were said to number several thousand families (Koch *op. cit.*, p. 288, conflicting with his statement on p. 112).

• 649 7180. The *Jal aduvet* is divided into a number of tribes, five. The various lists of these component five conflict slightly in names and total numbers, but a characteristic enumeration of *Jal* five is:

(1) Ghezi group
- Wanda (Arabic) Ghezi
- Ghezzan
- Ghezi Bedouin
- Jamil clan
- Bamo clan
- Kamali

(2) Ghezzi
(3) Bakui
(4) Bakiddo
(5) Gelali
(6) Tachibani
(7) Bagbirmi
(8) Bhagirmi
(9) Arabic
(10) Ghezi-Zaranda
(11) Shaddi Tamil
- Shaddi Tamil
- Bamalam

The *five* is the primary political group and landowning unit. Membership in a *five* is patrilineally inherited, and the *five* itself approximates a maximal lineage. But though all members of the *five* should be able to trace patrilineal descent from one common ancestor, it may frequently become difficult to document the connection between some of the major kinship segments in any one *five*. And, on the other hand, every maximal lineage is not automatically regarded a *five*; the concept is fundamentally based on political [illegible] and [illegible] a functioning organization.

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7: Gar(S) S-S (1971) 181.5 W8.11 Gar-S W8.11

consist and constitute a functioning organization. A single descent group or lineage is in Kurdish called *hez*; *Hez-i-Kuhe-Hawrew* is simply the family, all the descendants in male line from Kuhe Hawrew, and not a *tire* in any sense of the word. However, since the concept of the genealogically defined lineage group is important in the definition of the *tire*, and, in fact, ideally the whole basis of it, a certain confusing interchange of the terms might be expected. In the above list, *Hez-i-Jarwein*, the family or descendants of Jarwein, serves as the name of a *tire*; but this group is a *tire* by virtue of its organization as a political unit, not merely because relationship in a large *hez*, founded by Jarwein, has been recognized.

Further confusion may result from the use of Arabic synonyms for the Kurdish terms. Leach (op. cit., p. 13 ff) unsuccessfully attempts to make a distinction, based on size of the unit, between *tire* and *taifa*, the latter being in fact an Arabic term for *hez*, family.

The term *tire* is regularly used for tribe and tribal sections of highly variable size, and seems to refer to the political unit of the size which is significant in the context of immediate discussion. Thus the soldiery *Jaf* will tell strangers that he is of the *Jaf tire*, while among a group of *Jaf* the term *tire* will have reference to subtribe or branch.

Each *tire* in the above list is led by a hereditary *Rais* (leader), and has traditional rights to specific pastures and camping sites. These grazing rights are usually exclusive, or they may be shared with local villagers, who raise a crop in the spring and let the *Jaf* flocks graze there in the fall. Formerly, this relation between nomad and sedentary might be established by force by the *Jaf* on any land; now some rent is generally paid to the local farmers in return for right to pasturage. The migrations of the whole *Jaf* subtribe are coordinated, and the movements of each *tire* is regulated by its *Rais*, who serves as intermediary between his group and the *Begzade* leaders of the whole subtribe.

BRANCHES. With the natural growth of population in one *tire*, or due to tensions and conflicts within it, a branch may split off and become an independent unit. This group then traces descent from the parent group, but is formally independent. In the above

• 4/9 Ser, the Bandjar are such a branch, which has split off from the parent, Sheikh 'Imad Ibn. The Shaari group of Ibn, on the other hand, are all sons of one father, and so one of the Ibn takes precedence. Such groups have more than mere legendary unity. Firstly, as shareholders, they have the right of inheritance to each others' patrons and companies, in the case of one of the Ibn dying
4/5 out. There is also a minimum of political coordination: In the case of war or other far-reaching decisions, the leaders of all Shaari Ibn meet in a council. So that no one of them should have an advantage, the council meets in the town of a rich follower, not in the town of any one Ibn. The council reaches agreement by discussion, and has, as a body, no formal powers.

4/11 *KHEL.* Through the Ibn holds grazing rights in common, it will rarely camp in one unit, but generally divides into several separate encampments, each called a *khel*. The *khel* may vary in size and composition, but may roughly be regarded as a lineage segment. It is, however, held together by economic as well as lineage ties. Hired shepherds etc. may thus belong to a specific *khel* without being members of the *Jal subset*, or economic partnership between persons of different lineage segments may temporarily influence *khel* membership. The *khel* is led by an older man, more or less informally elected or granted authority because he is the person with the greatest power and prestige. The *khel* is thus primarily a residence unit, and is less permanent in its composition than the larger units which are based on descent only.

HOUSEHOLDS. Each *khel* in turn is made up of a number of households, frequently some 20—30, each inhabiting a separate tent.
5/2 The households seem to have roughly the same size and composition as those of the sedentary village Kurds, described above. If a father can afford the necessary expenses in tent and utensils, he will set up an independent household for his married son. Poor people, on the other hand, may find this impossible. — Marriage is preferably with FaBaDa or other close relatives, very rarely outside the Ibn. Bridegrice varies from £ 200 to occasionally nothing in the case of close relatives. Payment may take any form, either in kind or cash, but is computed in terms of money.

Self-

[illegible] cooperating men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main [illegible] role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks [illegible] from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 100, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, sons, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 10, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

[illegible] With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group [illegible] tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the tire itself, usually identified with separate *kheli*. But since the *kheli* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *kheli* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *kheli*, to which a more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not, are connected by economic ties.

[illegible] These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of [illegible] the *Ketz*. The position as *Ketz* is inherited, and the family of the [illegible] *Ketz* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble clan or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the wealthy lineage segments of other tires. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Ketz* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous so far as the *Ketz* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Ketz* and wealthy lineage segments within the commoners within the tire itself. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Ketz* within the tire itself, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To unify a distinction between noblemen and commoners within the tire would thus be an error, since the separa-

some of the Ruti lineage follows from common marriage usage, and is no different in nature from the appointment of the wealthier as compared to the poorer lineage sections of the group.

The hereditary position as Ruti is simply vested in the leading lineage segment of the two. An interesting problem arises as to what adjustments are made in the event of decline in wealth or the appearance of other impediments to leadership in this lineage. It is customary for persons in a position of leadership to appoint their successor, usually a son, while they are still in a position of control. In the case of disagreement between the existing Ruti and the general population as to who should succeed him, the pattern of succession is probably decided by the line in the balance between the positive power (primarily economic) of the Ruti, and the degree of general resistance to his decision. Where the power and prestige of the Ruti has declined, leadership might thus fairly easily be shifted to a stronger and wealthier collateral line. (Compare p. 126 for a more overtly democratic mechanism of appointing successor to the Ruti.)

I had no opportunity to ascertain the actual extent of the power vested in the Ruti. It would seem to be rather dependent on his means and personality, but, these permitting, to afford him considerable possibilities to enforce his decisions. He is on the other hand regarded as being subject to the Beja in all matters, and directly responsible to them.

The Beja leaders of the Jal are sometimes represented as belonging to a line of their own; the Beyanda; more correctly the Beyanda is regarded as a family or clan, divided into the three branches Wellad Begi, Kikharwa Begi, and Bahrwa Begi. The political head may be drawn from any of them. The Kikharwa Begi and Bahrwa Begi of today are descended by 7 generations from the common ancestor Zahir Beg. The Wellad Beg are somewhat further removed. All the Beyanda are now settled and live as absentee landowners of numerous Jal and other villages. It is thus extremely difficult to form any picture of the true position of the leaders in the political organization of the nomadic Jal. Some 60 years ago, authority was divided between the two Beyanda brothers Osman and Mahmud Pasha, the latter being the leader of the nomadic section. Mahmud Pasha was

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POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE HAMAWAND.

According to their own traditions, the Hamawands migrated South-ern Kurdistan from Persia as nomadic herdsmen. Seeing the opportunities offered by the ineffectual nature of Ottoman governmental control, they entered on a career of brigandage, hunting the caravans that passed between Persia and Iraq. The enmity existing between the Persian and Ottoman empires made this all the more feasible, since any activity detrimental to one power had the covert support of the other. Though the Hamawands have settled in villages, they did not immediately take up agriculture, except for small garden patches of melons etc. As they proudly assert: after more than a generation we regard our daily bread with our gunbarrels. All accounts by early travellers describe how the small group terrorized the district by striking quickly and effectively in widely separated areas. Only after the First World War did their economy become really based on farming. Through this turbulent history, tribal political organization retained its importance, and some features of the system may be seen very clearly.

The Hamawand group as a whole is regarded as one tire of the same magnitude as the various components Jaf does. Even in its greatest period of glory, the Hamawand tire could muster no more than 250-300 horsemen, implying a total population of 1,000-1,500 individuals. The process of branching has however been intensive; in fact, as compared to the Jaf, the Hamawand political structure seems to be based on a clearer political recognition of the segmentation into lineage sections which follows from the marriage pattern. The hierarchy of progressively more inclusive lineage segments, from the single village level (population 10—100) and up to the maximal lineage group, is given political significance.

There is no single leader of the whole Hamawand tire[1]); questions concerning the group as a whole are discussed and decided in a council made up of the Aghas (=headmen) of the 4 primary branches. Each of these branches are again divided into sub-branches,

[1]) Accordly, Mohammad Amin Agha of the Bapirdo clans possesses position

[illegible] and so on ending at the village level. The leader of any category of group is called *Agba*, any branch or named section thereof will in certain contexts be called a *tiva*.

The genealogy of these branches is traced, but varies somewhat from village to village. Such variations derive partly from the lack of interest in collateral units, partly from an attempt to stress certain relationships or to construct a more flattering genealogy.

Diagram 6 traced in male line from the common ancestor Hamma, the founder of the tiva, nine generations removed from the present

Diagram No. 6. A Tarok model of their position in the Hammond kinship organization.

adult group. The origins of Hamma, having no political significance to the group, are of little interest to the villagers, though Arabic origin is occasionally claimed for its prestige value.

One version was collected in the village of Kwei Sarki: Hamma had 4 sons, Sellar, Yadjar, Rashid, and Ramman; from these are descended the 4 major branches of the group. The villagers themselves claim to be Yadjar. They could indicate the areas where the descendants of the three other sons live, but were unable or unconcerned in tracing relations in any greater detail.

In the village of Targah, a somewhat different version was given. The major branches were named as Ramawand, Selarawand, Rashi-

wood, and Begunde. As will be noticed, the branch of Tadjar, to (a) which the Kani Sarde belong, is not in the list. The Kani Sarde (a) is in fact belong to the Begunde branch, as either Tadjar is the ancestor (a) of all the Begunde, or a smaller segment category has been elevated to the level of a major branch, for the greater glory of the Kani Sard group. The villagers in Tangah seem to belong to the Bahlowand division, again made up of the villagers from Tangah and Chahkandeh, the latter now having been abandoned and the villagers scattered. The Bahlowand were derived from the Kashowand, in unspecified fashion. A Tangah model of their position in the five would then read as shown in Diagram No. 4.

(b) The *Aghs* of a village is appointed or granted power by the male (c) inhabitants of that village. In practice, the position is hereditary, but not according to any rule of seniority, and village preference undoubtedly influences the process of succession. The village *Aghs* has only the authority which follows from his own power and prestige, and the goodwill of his followers.

The position as *Aghs* of one of the four major branches is either similarly hereditary, or, all there is no suitable son of the old *Aghs*, a new *Aghs* is elected by the villagers. These *Aghs* will generally have the position and means to support a group of retainers, paralleling the *Pyadenads* of the *Jal Begs*. They then have a vaguely institutionalized mechanism to enforce their authority. Thus, though the formal position of the *Aghs* of the four major Hanowand segments is unlike that of the *Jal Begunde*, the actual difference more reflect the difference in scale than in formal position.

Neither the *Jal* nor the Hanowand lineage organizations function (d) in the ideal pattern closely exemplified by the Cyrenaica Bedouin, discussed above. A position of authority and super-ordination does in fact become vested in the individual *Aghs* and *Kets*, who tends to apply coercive means to support such a hierarchy of authority. Though the ideal character of the political structure is that of a segmentary lineage organization, the system does in fact function in a somewhat different pattern, as will be shown more fully later.

tion and between sections of a single tribe, the procedure seems to be one of personal revenge, and not retaliation within the whole group to which the offender belongs. It therefore seems useful to emphasize this difference by limiting the term blood feud to its typical form, as found e. g. among the Nuba, and to explore the possible reasons why the jural concepts of collective responsibility, on which the blood feud pattern is based, are not applied to a Kurdish lineage group or segment of such.

It is necessary to emphasize the unique situation, as compared to most societies described in the anthropological literature, in which these jural principles are to be applied. Kurdish lineages are not organized factions within a community, as is often the case in other societies; nor do they have the usual ramifying kinship connections with other groups. With a high frequency of close kin marriage, as described above, a Kurdish lineage, and even the lineage segments down to the village level, are endogamous, socially isolated units. They are, furthermore, geographically isolated. The tribe as a whole occupies a large, contiguous territory; the members of the tribe are essentially the sole residents of that territory. The local group, the village, is also the lineage segment. There is no indigenous political authority above the level of the maximal lineage, and such a maximal lineage has no vital relations with other groups (except a certain minimum of trade). The maximal lineage can therefore, in the autonomous Kurdish system, be regarded as *the society*.

The concept of collective responsibility thus hardly applies in the usual sense to the relations between segments of *different* lineages —between groups in separate societies. Jural principles of this type can only be applied within moderately homogeneous societies, where any individual or a sociological person is an approximate equivalent of his co-lineage mates. (Fortes 1953). With the geographical separation of Kurdish lineages, furthermore, feud between them would in fact necessitate aggression into *strange* territory. The maximal lineage is a politically unified corporate group for purpose of defence, and thus conflicts on any scale between segments would lead directly to all-out war between the lineages to which they belonged. In such a situation, economic and other considerations favoring continued

• 5/9 4/8 powerful relations would take precedence over the desire for personal revenge on the part of anyone but the most powerful leader. Personal conflicts between such leaders might well be governed by the desire for revenge, and even the law involve whole groups in the conflict; but considerations of equality in retaliation would not be relevant on the cross-exogamic level, and blood feud is thus an inappropriate norm for cross-tribal feuds, as occurs when the interdictions cross that ostensibly governed the feud were.

In a system with endogamous lineages, conflicts between subsections of a sectional lineage, of the type discussed in Appendix II, would seem to lend themselves quite readily to solution by blood-feud. Whereas the individuals had few personal dealings with persons outside his own, there is much room for disputes and conflicting claims within the endogamous landholding one. Such disputes would not immediately become supra-communal problems, subject to all the attendant tactical and practical considerations, but would remain factions within the group, where concepts of justice and settlement by equality are more applicable. The only further prerequisite for a development of a blood feuding pattern is then a certain minimum strength of the kinship bonds, to ensure clear kinship alignment in the factions and non-universal identification with the kinship group and the union of kinsmen. This degree of development of the kinship bond seems to be lacking in Southern Kurdistan at the present time.

It should also be remembered that with the Kurdish type of lineage organization, the individual's loyalties are not to the descent group as abstracts, but are felt and expressed in terms of local groups, which very nearly correspond to the lineage segments. Because of this, any armed conflict between lineage segments will necessarily be in territorial terms; it will be a feud between villages. This complicating factor does, however, not exist in cases of conflict where there is no surplus of arable land (e. g. much Nineteenth century today), conquest and annihilation of villages, etc. The large territorial organization of the whole lineage is thereby underground by such internal inter-village wars, and characteristically enough it is the 'section or whatever in inter-lineage conflicts that

§3 how by overlapping his commodities area of free grace in his relations to them.

In thinking about social relations, the essentially bivalent relationship the word commodities for exigies — the latter being rigid and absolute, the former being defined in terms of concrete considerations of the specific situation. Obviously, different individuals with different temperaments, experiences, and values will have various ideas of what is commodities — consequently, any type of sociological definition that does not involve constant face-to-face relations with the subordinate must be an enemy one — hence the importance of the bodyguard, even for the more minor Kurdish leaders.

In the case of conflicting loyalties, the specific situation in the village and even communal decision which group identification takes precedence. This is clearly illustrated in choice between identification with, or loyalties to, the landlord, the lineage or his group, and the village community. How complicated considerations of power override general rules of loyalty is finally illustrated by conflicts within the family of the old Bokan Pasha.

§21 Lineage group vs. land. In the Kurdish tribal system, genealogical
§22 and land groups coincide, and these groups are also the organ-
§24 ized units in a formal political sense. A somewhat similar correspondence is characteristic of the non-tribal mixed villages. Thus, since they coincide, the relative importance of the identification with the kin group and with the political unit, as personified by the political officeholder or lord, can not easily be determined. Only in the rather unusual case where the two are different, do problems of identification and precedence arise.

§23 §25 An example of the relative powers of the landowner vs. the lineage leader is offered by the *Berai Gawra* group, settled on the land of Sheikh Mahmud as tenant farmers. The Berai Gawra are one of the branches of the *Mirawai* tire, the *Rais* of which is Said Ali Khalasi of Sulaimani.

Formally, the position of the *Rais* is quite similar to that in other tires, though more directly dependent on administrative approval. Succession is decided by a council of the important men of the tire villages. This council is limited by informal controls, being open to

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

on a village level. Eliminating the cases of type (a), there is still ample evidence of endogamous patterns of non-Islamic or pre-Islamic origin, especially in the Caucasus-Armenian area, of which the Kurdish mountains are geographically an extension. The customary law of Daghestan prescribes close kin marriage, and explicitly forbids the marriage with an outsider (ibid). The early ecclesiastical laws of Armenia attack next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence (ibid, p. 54), and such practices caused great concern among the early Christian missionaries, till they were eventually rooted out. Thus, rather than regard the Kurdish combination of patterns as a labile state produced by cross-cultural mixture, it would seem reasonable to grant the Kurdish «tribal» organization considerable antiquity as a stable variant or *type* of lineage organization, of some theoretical interest.

On a structural level, it can be argued that a pattern of FaBrDa marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system. Solidarity to the patrilineal descent group in abstracto is minimal. Close family endogamy results in a direct correspondence between lineage segments and local groups, giving the descent groups a clear territorial framework in which the lineage organization can function. On the individual level, a man's political position and power depends in the last instance on the number of riflemen he can muster. However, only co-lineage males can be expected to give such political support. A pattern of FaBrDa marriage contributes to prevent alienation of immediate collateral lines, and re-affirms the old man's leading position in relation to his agnatic nephews, thereby vesting him with control over a larger agnatic group of males.

Where the lineage is found in other areas as a corporate group, it is usually connected with a kinship terminology of the «lineage» type, which, through unilineal emphasis and classificatory extensions contributes in defining and delimiting these corporate groups. Kurdish kinship terms, on the other hand, are purely «descriptive» in that they measure genealogical distance between near kin. Nor do they show any unilineal emphasis. In other words, they do not contribute in any way to the definition of unilineal corporate groups. However, when this terminology is seen in combination with the

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

FaBrDa marriage pattern, the characteristics become meaningful, and the different function of kinship terminology in the Kurdish type of lineage organization and other types of lineages emerges:

Where a moderately consistent pattern of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy is followed, the local, endogamous community becomes in fact the descent group. In the Kurdish system, these local descent groups are given names — in effect *village* names, which thus indicate both residence and descent, and thereby political affiliation. The corporate framework of the lineage is thus given directly in the named residence units, and kinship terms are unnecessary to further emphasize this corporate character. On the contrary, the terminology measures collateral distance, of considerable importance where relatives beyond a certain degree tend to form separate, endogamous sub-sections, disruptive to village unity and ultimately conducive to fission. Essentially, however, the kinship terminology is liberated from its functions in defining political units in the lineage system, and is utilized simply to describe relationship, possibly with a primary interest in inheritance. Here the effect of the complex Islamic law of inheritance may have been considerable — if it has in fact been applied to sufficient extent in its more subtle ramifications.

A second modification of the usual pattern, concerned with law and the blood feud, would seem to follow from the combination of a lineage organization and preferential FaBrDa marriage. Fortes (1953) summarizes: «where the lineage is found as a corporate group, all the members of a lineage are to outsiders jurally equal and represent the lineage when they exercise legal and political rights and duties in relation to society at large. This is what underlies so-called collective responsibility in blood vengance and self-help as among the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940) and the Bedouin (Peters 1951).» On the background of this, the probable absence of weak development of collective responsibilty and blood feud in Kurdish society might seem puzzling.

Where the lineage system is associated with a pattern of village endogamy, however, as in the Kurdish system, the maximal lineage becomes in effect «the society», not merely one organized group

within it. Thus the whole situation in which jural concepts are to be applied changes radically. No supra-lineage political authority is developed, and no interaction between a lineage and other groups is necessary, except for a certain minimum of trade. At the time of the present fieldwork, of course, and probably for most tribes in the area at most times in the last 100 years, the maximal lineages were in fact not totally independent. They were, however, subject to *external* administration, and that not consistently; and the indigenous social organization does not call for or lead to any supra-lineage integration. The concept of jural equivalence is thus meaningless as applied to a Kurdish maximal lineage; such a concept could only be relevant as applied *within* the lineage, between groups of recognized blood relatives within the political unit. In this case, the disruptive effects of conflicts between what are in fact territorial groups within the unit prevent the extension of patterns of revenge to include larger collectivities than the immediate family, or a group of accomplices.

However, the lineage organization is only one type of social organization prevalent in the Kurdish area. With the breakdown of this regional organization based on politically autonomous, endogamous descent groups, the integration of the separate, endogamous villages into larger political units poses a new problem. Non-tribal Kurdish social organization might be summarized as a system of hierarchical statuses, identified with particular individuals, and sanctioned by force more than anything else. This organization is then expanded into a larger, regional, semi-feudal system. This was at best a very labile structure, until frozen by the intervention of effective external administration which favored status quo. In the place of the regional displacement of lineage groups in large «tribal» districts, one finds an open web of relations between separate, endogamous, socially quite autonomous small villages. These form no natural larger units, except in purely physiographic or dialect terms. In this open web, feudal hierarchies might establish areas of influence, but until external administration imposed an arbitrary regional classification in terms of counties and districts, any areal units tended to be extremely fluid.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Parsons (1952) states the problem in general terms: «There seem to be certain elements of inherent instability in societies where the overwhelming bulk of the population is organized on the basis of peasant village communities. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the village community as a primary focus of solidarity can only within very narrow limits be an effective unit for the organization of the use of force. It is, in the face of any more extensive organization, not a defensible unit. Hence there must always be a 'superstructure' over a peasant society, which, among other things, organizes and stabilizes the use of force. The question is how far such a superstructure is, as it were, 'organically' integrated with the self-contained village communities and often the level of integration is not high.» (pp. 162-3).

This problem of *integration* the local non-tribal political institutions were unable to solve satisfactorily; and the secondary role played by the quite large Kurdish population in the history of the Middle East may to considerable extent be related to this failure.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
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CHAPTER 2

Political Structure Definition of Unit

The Kurdish term which in the foregoing pages I have crudely described as tribe is Ashiret. "The name of the Ashiret describes at once the people and the land they occupy. Thus it is possible to speak of 'Balik country' as a district on the map while the individual tribesman will describe himself as 'a Balik'. 619

An ashiret may consist of one or more patrilineal clans called taifa, the fundamental difference between the two being that whereas ashiret is essentially descriptive of a political group, taifa is descriptive of a kinship group. Thus in Balik there are three taifa usually known as Hallasherifi, Shevdini (or Shaimari) and Bakri; in "Soran" on the other hand there is just the one taifa of Sorani Bagawada. The final title of the Shevdini depends upon the context of reference. Shevdin is the name of the ancestor from whom all members of the Shevdini taifa nominally trace their descent, he was the 'founder' of the taifa; Shaimar on the other hand is the name of the district he came from. The Hallasherifi similarly all claim descent from a certain Halla Sherif said to have been a member of the Galali tribe of Silaimani district. In general the tendency seems to be to take the group name from the ancestor rather than the place. Ali Agha of Bayat in giving me his genealogy claimed that Shevdin had lived eight generations ago and that in those days his family had belonged to the Zerki tribe west of the Great Zab, and that they migrated to the east in search of better land.† It was interesting to note that Ali Agha was reluctant to admit that his taifa formed part of the Balik ashiret. With the loosening of the political ties that linked the three clans of the tribe he hoped soon to establish that the Shevdini were an ashiret in their own right. 614 * 619

* The same is not strictly true of the Sorani centred on Dergala. During the latter part of the 18th Century the name Soran was applied to a territory approximately corresponding to areas A and B of Map 1 over which the princes of Rowanduz had established a titular suzerainty. Hamid Amin Beg the Agha of Dergala claims direct descent from these former princes and he and his immediate kin call themselves the Sorani Bagawada - "the descendants of the Beys of Soran". The term Soran has no direct territorial significance today, but on Map 2 the area so named is that controlled by Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala.

† For comparison one may note that Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balash, Agha paramount of the Balik and of the Hallasherifi taifa was also able to trace back his descent for eight generations but did not reach the name of Halla Sherif in the process.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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• 614 The taifa in turn is frequently divided into subsections called tira (branch), though in many contexts the two terms appear to be interchangeable. The Hallasherifi taifa referred to before are for instance subdivided into three tira each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Halla Sherif. These sons (I did not obtain their names) are supposed to have settled respectively in Berga, Celala and Rust, and these villages remain the centres of their respective tira to the present day. Thus the Agha of Rust is overlord of a number of villages by virtue of the fact that he is head of his tira. The Shevdini taifa is similarly subdivided into three tira, the names being given to me as Hedr Agha, Kaka Hasani and Hamdi Babakhr Agha - these being presumably the names of the ancestral founders of the lineage. On the other hand some persons at least did not seem to be clearly aware of this subdivision and on being asked the name of their tira would reply "Shevdin". Moreover I was assured by one informant that there is no difference between taifa and tira, but that the one is bigger than the other. This is I think an accurate description. Tira is a type of kinship group fairly frequently encountered by anthropologists. Usually termed lineage, but more aptly described by Firth as ramage, it differs only from the clan group in scale and political cohesion. With the loosening of political tie the distinction between the two types of grouping tends to disappear. The Agha of Rust for instance claimed to me that he was head of his own taifa and as such of equal rank to Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Balash. Sheikh Mohammad of course did not admit this claim but maintained that Mir Sadik, Agha of Rust was his subject.

From this description and the examples quoted it is clear that the terms ashiret, taifa and tira fall into the normal anthropological classifications of tribe, clan and lineage (ramage), with the single abnormality that the clans are in this case endogamous, or largely so.

Inheritance of Land Tenure

36/ The settlements for the most part consist of small villages (gund) scattered along the valleys. The term gund really includes both the houses and the cultivation surrounding them and may at times prove confusing. The gund of Banyurdan for instance contains two houses only, that of Dergala has over a hundred. Every gund is the 621 'property' of a landlord (Agha). If the Agha owns only one gund as in 923 the case of Hamid Agin Agha of Banyurdan he will live in it himself; if

*See C.Daryll Forde - Fission and Accretion in the Patrilineal Clans of a semi-Bantu community in Southern Nigeria J.R.A.I. Vol. 60; 314.
R.Firth - We, the Tikopia;370,371.
582. Note however that owing to the rule of ortho-cousin marriage, Kurdish taifa and tira tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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be owns several as in the case of Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash or Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala, he will live in one himself and appoint headmen (kukha) as his agents in the other villages. In theory the Agha is the absolute owner of all the land in the gund, the villagers occupy and cultivate the land in the capacity of tenants and in return pay him, in theory at any rate, the seemingly staggering rental of 50% of the yield of the land. Again in theory the Agha has absolute discretion to evict any tenant he disapproves of, and similarly the tenant is free to leave whenever he chooses; the only property that the tenant possesses in his own right are ordinary household belongings, the roof beams of his house, and his personal livestock. Practice probably differs markedly from theory. So far as I could judge in the Balik country at any rate at least 90% of the population of any gund were not only Balik tribesmen but also members of the Agha's own taifa, many of them being his near kinsmen. It would seem then that the Agha's right of eviction remains theoretical except under extreme provocation. In practice the right of tenancy is hereditable. This latter point was confirmed to me by Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash; the way he put it was that when a tenant died he, the Agha, could do whatever he liked with the land, but that "as a rule" he gave it to the deceased's son or brother whichever was the most suitable. It may be noted that such a procedure would tend to prevent the land being split up into a vast number of small holdings by the process of inheritance, and would also provide an economic bond between the members of the smaller extended family groups.

The tribal custom here is not, as might at first sight appear, at variance with Mohammedan law. According to the Koranic rule a man's testamentary rights are limited and most of his "property" (milk) is passed on in defined proportions to certain specific relatives. Land however is for the most part excluded in the term milk. The actual legal position as it applies to land tenure in Iraq is somewhat involved and the interested reader should refer direct to Sir E. Dowson's "An Inquiry into Land Tenure and Related Questions" (Iraq Government 1932). The following account summarises the position.

The legal situation regarding the inheritance of land tenure is defined by the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, and certain subsidiary enactments of the old Turkish Empire. This recognises five classes of

"I have no data to show what rental is really paid. I was assured on several different occasions and in different contexts at Hamparsan, Walash and Dergala that the normal arrangement is for the Agha to receive half the gross yield of the land if the tenant provides his own cattle, implements, seed, etc., but two thirds of the gross yield if the Agha provides the seed, implements, etc. According to Hay (p. 68) the figure is only 10% of the yield. But as I shall show presently a 50% rental is probably not as excessive as it sounds.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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The Clan Agha

The gund Aghas' relations to their tenants has now been defined; they in turn owe allegiance to the Agha of the taifa. This individual also may glibly claim to own all the land of all the gunds under his suzerainty, but his ownership is of a much more nominal variety than that of the gund Agha. The taifa Agha does not levy any specific charge upon his underlings but rather receives from them gifts in proportion to his usefulness. Thus Hamid Amin Agha of Nanparian, even though he belonged to the same tira as Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Palash head of the Mallasherifi and nominal paramount of all the Balik, did not admit that the latter was in any general sense his superior; though Sheikh Mohammad for his part claimed that Hamid Amin was his vassal. This discrepancy I think is only partly due to the recent loosening of political ties. In general it would appear that prior to the coming of the external administration the function of the taifa Agha was roughly that of arbitrator and court of appeal rather than dominating overlord. He seems to have been called in to arbitrate in small scale feuds, settle disputes between neighbouring villages over grazing rights and water, settle divorce disputes and so forth. For these services he would be suitably recompensed by the parties to the dispute.

This system of justice was doubtless exceedingly corrupt by European standards, but probably worked tolerably well. It is not clear what sanctions could be employed to enforce judiciary decisions of this sort. Today the claimsman is encouraged to short-circuit the traditional machinery of the Aghas' courts and appeal for justice direct to the police. To some extent the two systems continue to operate side by side but with the continual lessening of the Aghas' authority litigation tends more and more to be a matter for the external administration only. I tried to obtain some opinions as to the relative efficiency of the old system and the new. The results were interesting. It was admitted that the decisions of the Agha in the old days were somewhat arbitrary, being based on considerations of wealth and nepotism rather than moral right, but at least a decision was arrived at quickly. The modern procedure on the other hand though plainly well intentioned is considered in practice to be slow, complicated and costly, and since the wealthier litigant can nearly always manage to appeal to a higher court if the first decision goes against him, the "justice" is nearly as one sided as before. Moreover it was argued that the police were just as corrupt as the Aghas with the disadvantage that, whereas formerly the Aghas were to some extent limited in their decisions by kinship obligations, the police had no interest at all except to sell justice to the highest bidder. Though this is certainly an overstatement of the case, many of the Iraqi police do appear to be exceedingly corrupt. So much so in fact that the new Qa'im Maqam of Rowanduz, chief magistrate of the district, was generally acclaimed by all as the almost unique example of a sincere

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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Administration moreover adopted the Turkish expedient of paying the tribal Aghas an annual salary provided they kept their tribe in order. This procedure undoubtedly gave the tribal Agha an altogether disproportionate economic influence, and has had various repercussions which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The salary awarded to Sheikh Mohammad of Balak was stopped some years ago and, as might be expected, his influence as tribal leader declined rapidly. As is evidenced by the rival claims of the Aghas of Bayat and Bunt noted above, the Balik has scarcely any functioning unity as a tribe at the present time, though Sheikh Mohammad with a wide sweep of his arm, still declares that all the land belongs to him and that the taifas of Shawdin and Bakr are only there on sufferance. At the present moment (1938) his prestige is probably on the upgrade since he has recently been appointed a "member of Parliament" and regularly attends the legislative assembly in Baghdad. The appointment carries with it a small salary, but its real importance so far as the tribes are concerned is that it demonstrates that the holder is in favour with the Mutasarrif and with the Baghdad Authorities.

Kinship Structure

While I have here sketched out the superficial political structure of the community the real nature of the relationship between the various Aghas and their followers can only be understood in terms of kinship.

The essentially conditional nature of the Aghas' authority was only vaguely understood by the earlier British Administrators. Say for instance remarks (p. 67) "The Aghas are very oppressive to their tenants, more especially where the Government is close at hand and can assert its authority. In the mountain districts the tribesmen are exceedingly poor, they have little to fear from the Government, and their chief finds it difficult to coerce them. A rival chief would probably soon appear if he did". This statement brings out the fact, already well known from examples in the African field, that Government support for "the Chief" frequently gives that individual a tyrannical authority quite foreign to the ordinary tribal system of government, but it does not explain the Aghas normal relationship to his followers.

Marriage of Commoners

As we have seen already the taifa is essentially a patrilineal clan. It is moreover largely endogamous by virtue of the system of ortho-cousin marriage common to most Mohammedan societies. Reference to the tables of Kinship Terminology at the end of this book

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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601 A reference to the tables of kinship terminology at the end of this book will show that the various cousin are known by the following terms

Father's Brother's children - amosa
Father's Sister's children - purrsa
Mother's Brother's children - khalosa
Mother's Sister's children - purrsa

My knowledge of the Kurdish language was not sufficient to verify the exact use of these terms, and to some extent my informants were contradictory. It would appear however that some of these terms are "classificatory" at least so far as all members of Ego's own tira are concerned. Thus to quote an example Hamid Amin i Hamyurdan considers himself amosa to Sheikh Mohammadi Talesh. Hamid Amin is actually great-great-grandson of Mir Mahal Agha and Sheikh Mohammad is great-grandson of the same man. Again I was told of the Dizai tribe, a group widely scattered in Area C that they all call one another amosa" - (implying that they were all one tira)

According to my informants the order of preferred marriages is:-

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1st Amosa
2nd Purrsa (Father's sister's daughter)
3rd Khalosa
4th Purrsa (Mother's sister's daughter)

This statement seems consistent with the customs recorded for other Mohammedan areas (See Seligman II. op.cit 268) but I was unable to check the frequency of particular types of marriage. It should be noted that Father's Brother's Daughter (amosa) and Mother's Sister's Daughter (purrsa) may frequently be the same individual, and similarly Mother's Brother's Daughter (Khalosa) may coincide with Father's sister's Daughter (purrsa). Amosa and khalosa could however only coincide if both were used in aclassificatory sense. I did not actually encounter any classificatory use of the term khalosa and this probably refers only to the immdiate children of the mother's brother (khalo). It would appear that until very recently not only was marriage between amosa the preferred norm, it was also a definite right. May (p. 71) even records the gruesome murder of a girl who refused to abide by this ruling. Today though marriage restrictions are to some extent relaxed it s probable that the great majority of commoners still take their wive from within the patrilineal group. There is in fact very little choice in the matter. In the Balik country at any rate the proportion of 'strangers' - e.g. Jews, Assyrian Christians, traders, Kurds fro other tribes and so forth, is very small; nearly everyone withinthe group belongs to one of the three patrilineal clans. These clns moreover are themselves more or less segregated each by itself. Within any single gund nearly everyone is of the same clan as the Agha.

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622 through the marriage of his sons to nearly every important leader,
581 tribal, religious, or townsman, within fifty miles radius. More humble Aghas are content with one or two alliances with neighbouring notables, while the rest of their offspring are married off to members of their own community, thus further strengthening the bonds of kinship between the Agha and his followers. It is interesting to examine the effect of this in greater detail.

> Sheikh Mohammad of Walash was one of 9 surviving brothers; he himself has had nine wives and has six surviving sons, and several daughters
>
> Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala has had 6 wives and 24 children of which there survive 9 sons and 5 daughters.

If we consider the male side of the tree only, it would appear that the average reproduction rate of a 'princely' Agha is of the order of 8 surviving sons. If we assume that the total population of the villages remains very roughly stationary we must reach the conclusion that the effective birthrate is very heavily loaded in favour of the Aghas. The effect of this would seem to be that in many of the smaller villages the Agha is not only of the same clan as nearly everyone but actually quite closely related to about half the population. I was unable to make any accurate census of a village but my observations at Walash were I think reasonably accurate, and tend to confirm this calculation.

622 There appeared to be twelve separate households, of which four
592 are accounted for by the Agha's fortress and the establishments of his third and fourth married sons and of a brother. (The two eldest sons have been established as Aghas in their own right over neighbouring villages). The population I estimated at ninety, in the proportion twenty five men, thirty women, thirty five children. The Aghas household appeared to consist of about twenty persons including his younger children and personal servants; while the households of his married sons and his brother contained about eight persons each. In this case therefore quite half the population of the gund was in immediate kinship or economic relationship with the Agha. The case may be exceptional, but serves to explain why a rental of 50% of the yield of the land does not in practice prove entirely extortionate.

622 Comparison of these observations and those of Hay

a 614 The foregoing account shows the interrelationship of the
114 political and kinship organisation among the Balik Kurds. As a commentary upon sociological method it is interesting to note what

"This village would appear to be fairly average so far as size is concerned, though centres such as Dergala and Nerge are vastly larger. Walash however is in some respects the private fortress of Sheikh Mohammad and its kinship organisation may not be typical.

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happens when the same empirical facts are considered without an adequate appreciation of the sociological significance of kinship. The following quotations illustrate the position of the Agha as understood by Hay.

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The first is reasonable enough:-

(p. 65) A tribe is a community or federation of communities which exists for the protection of its members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and standards of life. Some tribes have no recognised chiefs some have many.

The second is more hypothetical:-

(p. 65/66) The position of the chief varies greatly in different tribes. In the remoter mountains, though granted the most ungrudging obedience, he is distinctly one of the tribesmen, the leading member of a family which has won its headship through military prowess. Lower down he often belongs to an entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections, and in different tribes we find many sections with the same names. This points to the fact that the sections represent the original owners of the soil, while the present chiefs belong to powerful families who have invaded their domains and siezed their lands. This is notably the case with the Dizai where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful family, against which a few old tribal Aghas and headmen still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than tribal.

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[621]
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The statement that in the foothill and plains area the Aghas are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has already been commented upon in Chapter 1. The idea that the taifas "represent the original owners of the soil", while the paramount tribal Aghas are conquering overlords is mere fantasy; while as for the Dizai the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" (taifa) while the land is mostly held by town dwelling landlords who have no kinship affiliations with the Dizai at all. While this lineage distinction between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is quite absurb:-

(Hay, p. 42) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
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621 Both generalisations may lead to some startling sociological
622 conclusions:-
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(p.222) This village (Nerga; Map 2) lies just below Sheikh Mohammad Agha's residence (Walash) in the Balik country, and its inhabitants, some fifty families in number, are nearly all his relations. Being of 'chiefly' descent they consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate the soil; they have therefore only two means of livelihood, sponging on Sheikh Mohammad Agha who pays them most of his salary to keep them quiet, and looting and taking toll from the caravans that pass along the Persian Road.

This paragraph I consider most illuminating. For it is precisely on the basis of such evidence that the British policy of 'military pacification' is carried out on all the outlying frontiers of Empire. The tribesmen just beyond the border are always, it seems, "desperate bandits and brigands" intent on plundering the innocent peasantry within the jurisdiction of the British raj. Hay of course does not intentionally deceive. He had only seen Nerga from afar and was merely recording the position as outlined to him by Sheikh Mohammad. In giving this account however Sheikh Mohammad was fairly obviously blackmailing the British Administrator for more money, and was probably himself responsible for the particular piece of brigandage complained of. Nerga today has one of the most extensive cultivations of the whole district, and is considered a prosperous village. There seems no reason to suppose that the position was radically different in 1930, even though the ravages of war had temporarily disorganised the agricultural arrangements of the whole area.

721 This is not special pleading on behalf of the villagers of Nerga
161 or of the Kurds in general, but it is time that their nefarious activities were seen in proper proportion. It must be admitted that prior to the establishment of an external Authority most Kurdish tribes freely resorted to brigandage on every possible occasion. It was a socially approved aspect of inter-tribal life and one upon which the Kurds themselves lay great emphasis in folk tale and tradition. But it is this very emphasis that has led to the fabulous distortions that appear in all accounts of Kurdish life either lay or official. To read the literature one must suppose that in former times the majority of Kurdish communities lived solely on the proceeds of plunder and ransom; and while the Government continues its present policy of cultural suppression such fallacies are obviously convenient. But the unbiassed observer cannot avoid the conclusion that most of the more spectacular exploits of Kurdish brigandage are products of the Kurds' own imagination. Seen in their proper scale these warlike activities can never have been more than an exciting gloss upon the normal balanced cycle of agricultural economics.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Points of Analysis calling for Further Study

The foregoing analysis has thrown emphasis on the fact that the Agha is of the same kinship group as the majority of his followers and very closely related to many of them. It was interesting to note that in conversation Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala differentiated between "khesm khotmana" (my relatives) and "kurmanj" (peasantry), but I doubt whether there is any precise dividing line between the two classifications. I noted that he included in the former term at least some of his second cousins. The practical distinction seemed to be that his khesm were allowed to sit in his guest house by right while the kurmanj could only do so by special invitation. Linguistically there appeared to be a confusion between the terms kurmanj and mashaya both of which were translated to me as arabic fallahin (peasant). In this area however there is considerable overlapping between the two Kurdish dialects of Kirmanji and Kurdi and the confusion is probably only due to my linguistic incompetence.

Another point that requires further examination is the precise inheritance of the title Agha. We have seen that from the point of view of political organisation each gund has at any time one, and only one, Agha, in the sense of landlord. The succession however does not necessarily follow the rule of primogeniture. As it happens both Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Balash and Ali Agha of Bayat have living with them in the same village brothers who are older than themselves. In the former case the elder brother leads a retired life and takes no part in village affairs; in the latter Abdullah Agha who lives in Ali Agha's house in Bayat throughout the winter moves off into the mountains in the summer with the sheep and goats and a few of the villagers and establishes his own hoba (settlement of black tents). But though Abdullah is the elder brother there is never any suggestion that anyone but Ali Agha is head of the group. On the other hand though the Agha of Bayat is quite definitely Ali Agha the title is much more widely distributed as a form of address. Thus in Bayat the old chief Ali, his brother, his two nephew's Kharia and Ali and presumably his adult son also (who was away during my visit) are all given the title Agha in ordinary speech. And this seems to be the normal usage, thus Hamid Amin's brother in Rangurdan is known as Rasul Agha though he does not function as a landlord, and Sheikh Mohammad Agha's four eldest sons all carry the title. What is not clear is how the title is inherited as the lineage spreads, for instance will the sons of Kharia, who will in their time presumably be second cousins of the reigning Agha of Bayat also carry the title? Probably there is no definite rule.

In the remainder of this book where I refer to the Agha or the Aghas of a particular group I shall imply only those individuals who fulfil the sociological function of the Agha, and not any sons or near relatives who happen to bear the same title. The sociological function of the gund Agha can be quite clearly defined. He is the

113, 101, 221, 619, 463 Kurd MAll

[For information on the Kurd see l: Coon, Ml Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 215-217.]

and it is important not to confuse the ideal of the intellectual nationalists, a free Kurdish commonwealth, with that which the chieftains and their people are now striving to preserve, a society quite unlike the state. 121 449

The Kurds, occupying a mountainous terrain, were but superficially governed by the Iranian and Ottoman governments. Inasmuch as the roads were poor or the country impossible for artillery, the Kurds, a well-armed people, were usually the military equals of their governors. The control of the Iranians and Turks was thus largely confined to the maintenance of police posts and army installations and the attempt, often in vain, to maintain public order and collect a few taxes. Helmut von Moltke, writing in 1838, notes: 648 [491]

> It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman empire comprises vast regions in which the Porte exercises no real authority. It is certain that the Padishah (the Turkish Sultan) has to reconquer widespread regions within the territory of his own state. To this category belong the highlands (of Kurdistan) between the Tigris and the Persian frontier.[1]

In recent decades, however, the Kurds, notably in Iraq and Turkey, have been subjected to the full impact of the modern state and some remarkable changes, comparable to similar developments elsewhere in the Middle East, are beginning to take place, challenging the whole structure of their society. This last, as will be seen, is one which is at once tribal and feudal, formerly directed by a landed aristocracy. A 177 619

[1] Quoted in Sebastian, 1948, p. 30.

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

Unlike many Kurdish and Nestorian villagers, as well as the people of Rowandus itself, the Ketchig all belong to one or another "tribe" (Kurdish, 'ashirat, from Arabic, 'ashira), a matter which also demands clarification. The typical Kurdish tribe contains several elements of a different character. Membership usually depends upon descent, but individual families or much larger groups can deny their tribal allegiance, and either join another group, or form an individual tribe of their own. While some of the larger confederations appear to be of considerable antiquity, the smaller groups come and go with the vicissitudes of war, wealth, and leadership. Nor are the tribes made up exclusively of nomads, for, while the nomad may play a dominant role in furnishing pugnacious leadership and armed men, the wealth and numerical strength of such a group come largely from its villagers. Because many of the chieftains are landowners, persons living in villages owned by them, whether Muslim Kurds or Nestorian Christians, are said to "belong" to the chieftain's tribe. Nestorians often dress in the typical garb of their "tribe," taking part in many of its common affairs, although there is almost no possibility of intermarriage between them and their Muslim fellows. While there seems to be little historical evidence to support or refute such a view, the Kurdish tribe appears to represent an intermediate stage between groups whose membership was actually based on descent and those whose character is purely feudal, a situation which may have

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existed for centuries. Today it cannot be denied that some tribesmen, particularly the Kotshir, belong to their group because of kinship relation (the Kurdish term tayfa, from Arabic, ta'ifa, "tribe," is used to describe a tribal subdivision still to be found which seems to represent a patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial.

It is important to notice that there are two main bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and that commonly called "tribal law," executed by local administrative officers. The institution of dual legal systems was evoked by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of whose time-honored customs were, to say the least, out of joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code. The differences between the two need not be considered in detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such as adultery or rape. There are in the Rowanduz district a number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and its administration is not charged to the local judge, but is an added task of the qaimmaqam. Hence the office of that official in Rowanduz has often the aspect of a courtroom, the qaimmaqam and his clerk patiently and laboriously inquiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through an interminable parade of witnesses--scarcely-dressed

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kotshir and hillmen from remote villages--sworn in on a cloth-covered Quran for their long-winded depositions. In the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate any offense which may have taken place within his grounds or to vouch for a suspect, the little shayihana or tea-shop [265] across from the government building is full of his body-guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town.

619 ● Those tribes having connections in the Rowandus district, while not necessarily confined to it, include the Balaki under Mulla Musa Agha, the Baradost under Mahmud Beg Khalifa Samid, the Harki under Fatah Agha, the Haruti under Hajji Huway Agha, the Khaylani under Selim Agha, the Mansal under Mahammad Sayidi, the Sarhati under Fatah Agha, and the Surchi under Kadhir Agha. The most important and numerous are the Balaki, the Baradost, the Harki, and the Surchi. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, 622 corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be 619 seen later that a chieftain need have no connection with a tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views of the canon of tribes and their leaders, that of the government and that of the local inhabitants. The list given here is that officially furnished by the qaiba of Rowandus, and does not necessarily correspond with some segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain "lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized, while others, such as As'ad Agha who keeps to a well-guarded house in Rowandus, are unable to return to their villages [628] because of a feud.

because of a feud. Lastly it remains to mention the Barzani, formerly one of the most powerful groups in the district. In the series of events which followed the withdrawal of the Russian army from Azerbaijan in 1946, one of the Barzani chieftains, Mulla Mustafa, was forced to flee to the Armenian S.S.R. and the tribe was theoretically broken up. Officially the Barzani no longer exist, but in the popular mind they are much alive. If a policeman or another is shot in a remote district, the deed is usually attributed to "the Barzani," a convenient testimony for the qaimmaqam's court.

The administrative control of an extensive mountainous area inhabited by a scattered population of some 55,000 poverty-stricken farmers and shepherds, most of whom belong to an ethnic group noted for its unruliness, is not without its difficulties, and requires of the qaimmaqam and his officials the extensive daily exhibition of qualities, among them unlimited patience and a fine sense for popular opinion, rarely demanded of similar magistrates in Europe or North America. Locally, in the nahiya, the greater part of the burden rests almost completely with the mudir and his several assistants, for within his own sphere he is given much of a free rein. It has been often and widely noticed that bureaucratic personnel in the Middle East far tend to outnumber and submerge the requirements of efficiency, but this is valid only for capitals and larger towns, for the distasteful tasks of rural order find but the barest of cadre. The

example, an Arab of Mosul and one of Baghdad, but it does not appear to be of a serious nature. Among the Kurds, one can often hear the native of a certain locale praising it to the exclusion of others. "The preparation of rice at Sulaymaniya is the best," a Kurd of this city proclaims in a discussion of cookery, but feelings of this type do not operate to separate the people in any important way, because religious and ethnic divisions have much greater weight. On the other hand, tribal allegiance in certain rural areas has great importance, although increased government control in matters such as the vendetta has mitigated their character to some extent. It is difficult to formulate any general rules for tribal exogamy or endogamy, because the chieftains often intermarry with aristocratic houses of the same standing, regardless of tribe. The tendency among most tribesmen, Kurd or Arab, is toward marriage within their own group, because the preferential match is between cousins.

In the other divisions of society, two parallel systems, at many points intermingled, are to be found. In the first of these there is a simple division between a hereditary aristocracy and a mass of commoners and this system is primitive or quasi-primitive. Save for Kurdistan and certain areas held by groups such as the Chaldaeans, the Mandaeans, or the Yezidis, much of Iraq has been partitioned for centuries among Arab tribes. The chieftains of these tribes and their subdivisions are aristocrats who inherit their position in the paternal

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beggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the <u>qhaykhanas</u>, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community.

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Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain demo-cratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but other-wise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the

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tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the noble family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 565

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is _familiya_, puzzling in its similarity to the Latin _familia_. The same noun is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and _sayyids_, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (_sajara_, from Arabic _shajara_, "tree"). In the case of the _sayyid_ the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowanduz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include _beg_, _agha_, and _mir_, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times _pasha_ was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic _shaykh_, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, 565 596 [173] 611 565 565 554

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The bases of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mulla can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, no matter how poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system.

Rowanduz is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Persons of the lower classes, transients or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowanduz enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called chalabis, another Turkish term for "gentlemen,"

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

If the society of adults in Rowanduz has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowanduz not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

heart of the matter is to be found in the distinction 619 648
een a society governed by the state and one ruled by
al or feudal chieftains. The state is no stranger to
area of the Middle East, for it was in this province [174]
it probably made its first appearance and some of
more complex bureaucracies of history were evolved.
rtheless, there are certain places, Kurdistan among
, where it is a newcomer, and others, such as Saudi
ia, where it has yet to appear. Ottoman control in
istan was rarely strong, and was characterized by a
of daily contest between the scattered authorities,
orted by their troops and gendarmes, and the local
abitants in matters of tax-collection and recruitment
the army. Beyond the borders of Turkey and other well-
anized districts, the Ottoman Empire was largely oriented
tribute, the enrichment of its officers and the Sub-
Porte, and the Turks, aside from their inroads and
prestige attached to conquerors, did little to tamper
h the economy and the social structure of their sub-
ts. Rowanduz, before the first World War, was led by
aristocrats and its merchants, and the meager represen-
ion of Ottoman rule was regarded as an everyday annoy-
e which could be circumvented, bribed, or ambushed as
occasion demanded. Insofar as the Turks were satisfied [609]
h what little money and recruits they were able to collect,
y were not considered greatly detrimental to life.

The rise of the modern state in Iraq provides in 177 619 648
ces such as Rowanduz, good examples of the impingement

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of a new system of society on one that is older. At the beginning of this section, these two systems were outlined, the "primitive" one headed by a hereditary aristocracy and the "civilized" one by an educated group which includes property-owners, professional men, and a government cadre. The first is represented in the Rowanduz district by the Kurdish chieftains and the second by the officials and officers of the central government. The second system is not wholly strange to the area, for the Turks, and perhaps others before them, conditioned the Kurdish populace to the concept of alien rule, if such control was only desultory. The new monarchy, however, first in British and later in Arab hands, introduced a strong administration, something quite new, which, despite a series of revolts, penetrated almost all phases of popular life. This, as has been seen, has resulted in the displacement of the local aristocracy, a process which has been completed in some places and in others is only beginning. The same conflict, with varying results, can be observed elsewhere in Iraq and in the Middle East. Among the "Marsh Arabs" of the southern provinces, for example, there is a bitter conflict between the local shaykhs and the government in matters of land ownership and the collection of taxes. The "Marsh Arabs" also have a record of revolt, and, like the Kurds, have had many of their chieftains imprisoned or exiled, such as Shaykh Salim of the Bani As'ad tribe, still in exile at Baquba.

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was in reality that of a tribute empire, concerned with 648
the collection of taxes and recruits. Even in those two
last tasks there was a contest, often in good humor, be-
tween the governors and the governed, and the victories
were divided. As long as money and men were in reasonably
good evidence, the Turks left the Kurds to their own
devices. They handed down justice of a sort, but most [691]
quarrels never reached their courts. They were not partic-
ularly concerned with homicide, insofar as the murdered
party was not a Turk, and, above all, they did not tamper
with the economic structure of society. The bulk of the [651]
taxes were collected, in the best way possible, from the
chieftains and landowners, never from the farmers and
shepherds. The Kurds regarded these taxes, when they
were forced to pay them, as a sort of levy to some superior
chieftain. Matters of education or public health received [658]
little attention. This does not mean that in certain [744]
other areas of the Ottoman Empire there was not a complex
bureaucratic government, but in Kurdistan it may be
summed up as little more than desultory control. The
gentle character of this administration, compared with that
of today, is indicated by the fact that many Kurds look
back with nostalgia to the "freedom" of Ottoman times.

In ethnological theory the significant difference 121
between primitive and civilized society is held to have its 619
basis in economics. Membership in a primitive society is
defined in terms of kinship relation, usually by "blood,"

and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the democratic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

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Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Rowanduz district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the nomad, because of his mobility and firepower, has a military advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

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Between these dates there were many other incidents, for example, the assassination of the dictator of Iraq, General Sidqi, by a Kurd in 1937. In neighboring countries, there was a general insurrection of the Kurds in Turkey in 1925 and one in Syria in 1937. The revolt in Iraq in 1930 was common to Turkey and Iran, and that of Mulla Mustafa to Iraq and Iran. All of these were put down with difficulty, and demanded the use of aircraft, armored vehicles, artillery, and, in some cases, European troops. The states were often aided by quarrels among the Kurdish chieftains. It is interesting that the Kurds regard these conflicts with the government in the same light as tribal warfare of the type which arises from the vendetta. It has been noted how brigands and other outlaws frequently have their own private blood feuds with the authorities. Mulla Mustafa was largely driven from Iraq, not by the army, but by Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who had a personal grudge against the Barzani chief and his followers.

In order to appreciate the place of Rowanduz in this process, it is necessary to review its position. The town, as has been said, is non-tribal and, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns much of its property, is not ruled by any overlord. In this way it has been assimilated without difficulty into the economic system of the state, as opposed to that of the tribe or feudalism. All of its lands have been surveyed and classified, and the taxes are collected directly from the inhabitants. As an administrative center

it has had a new class added to its society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an unfamiliar system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, as far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and men are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Rowanduz, then, that a new social structure is being realized as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Marsh Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the state of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterized by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially decided, but, failing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participants in the new regime.

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not assume that marriage relations and maternal ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the tira varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Wurda Shatri (location: centering in Suleimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several tiras may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Louis J. Luzbetak, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1951).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. R. Leach, *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 3, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

permutations of pan-Kurdish institutions, or traits derived from the specific setting and history of the particular village.

No one of these villages, however, is self-contained. Though each shows a high degree of self-sufficiency and endogamy, it is tied to others in a web of social relations, embracing the whole of Southern Kurdistan. Many institutions affecting large districts have their main focus in one or another of these local vilages, not visibly different from the next: the home village of the leader of the derwish brotherhood, that of a tribal leader, a rich landowner, a locally important mullah. Ordinary trade ties village to village and village to city; illegal tobacco trade follows back roads and high mountain passes in a web of its own. Thus no village is self-contained or seperable in structural terms. Clearly, a larger unit of study than any one village is needed.

But as soon as one proceeds beyond the village level, complications arise. Social relations within the village are virtually continuous, and a constant set of relations and hierarchy of organization persists, or changes only slowly. Relations outside the village, on the other hand, are *discontinuous*. In such relations, there is a stronger tendency to press any immediate advantage to the limit. To this end, the individual attempts to manipulate a variety of competing institutions and norms, derived from tribal Kurdish, purely local, Arabic, Islamic, Persian, «modern» etc. cultural contexts. On the other hand, to give these relations the degree of permanence that they do have, some generally accepted principle must exist, or the social relations would break down (as they in fact do in the case of feud). — An attempt will be made to unravel the institutionalized forms that these inter-village relations take.

The internal organization of the village presents problems of a different kind. The great differences between villages make it meaningless to construct an average «typical» or «modal» type of village organization. They may be classified according to type, the basic dichotomy being between those of freeholding, tribally organized farmers, and those of non-tribal, sharecropping tenants. But rather than construct an arbitrary number of types, it seems more fertile to exploit the existing diversity to discover co-variance of

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

institutional forms. Thereby the structural connections between various institutions and principles of organization should become clearer. It will be found that the principles that serve to organize the village are to large extent the same as those which are applied in the more inclusive systems of organization.

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7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter II.

Formal political organization

619 The preceeding chapter has dealt with some basic factors in the culture and social organization of the settled population of Southern Kurdistan, essentially uniform over the whole area. Political organization, on the other hand, shows great regional variation, the *tribal* types being built on the lineage principle (cf. p. 10), others disregarding descent in a non-tribal, *feudal* organization, which is based on residential groups only.

The Kurdish application of the principle of patrilineal descent in organizing the largely endogamous descent groups, or lineages, in a larger political structure, will be discussed first with respect to the nomadic *Jaf* group. The organization of the settled *Hemawand* agriculturalists is essentially similar, and demonstrates the tendency toward segmentation, especially visible where such a lineage organization is found among settled villagers. These tribal systems are contrasted with the formal organization of the non-tribal villages of the Suleimani area. Some uniform principles are found in all types of Kurdish political organization; these will be discussed, and an attempt will be made to show how they operate in a more extensive and segmentary feudal type of organization.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE *JAF*.[1]

The Jaf is a powerful federation of tribes, until recently almost wholly nomadic, and still counting among its members a majority of

[1]) For data on Jaf organization, I am indebted to the Jaf *Begs* of Halebja and to the *Reiz* of the Wurda Shatri tira.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

the nomads in the South Kurdish area. Their traditions place their origins in the *Djouro* area of Persian Kurdistan, where in fact some 10—12 Jaf tribes still live. About 250 years ago, the tensions between the *Shi'i* Persian government and the *Sunni* Jaf precipitated conflict, and the tribes which refused subjection were unable to defend themselves, and fled across the border to the *Sunni* Ottoman Empire. This group of migrants is said to have counted some 500 families. They were given pastures close to the Persian frontier, which they in turn served to protect. As a result of natural growth, and by assimilation of small and broken tribes into their organization, the group grew to the present total of some 60,000 persons. Up till 35—40 years ago, they had remained nomadic. At the present time the nomadic section makes up only a small fraction of the total, numbering some 2—3000 individuals.

The annual migration of the nomadic Jaf carries them ca. 250 km. from their winter camps on the plains to the summer pastures in the high mountains. Unlike the otherwise similar Central Asiatic nomads, the Jaf have no permanent houses for winter use, but live in their black tents all year. Agricultural pursuits are rare, and generally only involve hiring a man to raise a crop of grain, or renting out oxen to the farmers. More typically, the economy is purely pastoral.

ASHIRET. There is some vagueness as to the Kurdish classification of the Jaf unit. If one asks a solitary Jaf to what tribe, *tira*, he belongs, he will tend to answer Jaf. On the other hand, Jaf informants outlining the political structure were unwilling to use the term *tira* for the whole group, and preferred to reserve it for the next smaller unit: the various sections making up the Jaf group. Usually the Arabic term *Ashiret* was preferred, having reference both to a people and to an area (cf. Leach, op.cit., p. 13). Obviously, this is a slight misapplication, considering that the nomadic Jaf share their area with a number of other groups. Due to the above mentioned historical process of growth by assimilation, the Jaf today constitute a federation of groups of diverse origin. They themselves make the distinction between «true» Jaf and later associated groups, but have no special term or organization for the «true» Jaf.

For lack of a better term, the Jaf confederacy as a whole should

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

then probably be called an *ashiret*. This *ashiret* is ruled by a recognized leader, the *Beg* or *Pasha*. He is the head of the «royal» family, the *Begzada*. The size of the *ashiret* unit was considerable, even before sections of it became sedentary. In 1820, while still entirely nomadic, the Jaf could muster 1000 infantry and 300 horses, and were said to number several thousand families (Rich op. cit., p. 280, conflicting with his statement on p. 112).

TIRA. The Jaf *ashiret* is divided into a number of tribes, *tiras*. The various lists of these component *tiras* conflict slightly in names and total numbers, but a characteristic enumeration of Jaf *tiras* is:

(1) Shatri group:
  Warda (little) Shatri
  Mirwaisi
  Hse-i-Ibrahim
  Jusuf-djani
  Bawa-djani
  Kamali
(2) Harsni
(3) Sadani
(4) Badakhi
(5) Galali
(6) Tarkhani
(7) Baghzadi
(8) Maqsjali
(9) Amala
(10) Hse-i-Jarwais
(11) Shaikh 'Ismail:
  Shaikh 'Ismail
  Benadjat.

The *tira* is the primary political group and landowning unit. Membership in a *tira* is patrilineally inherited, and the *tira* itself approximates a maximal lineage. But though all members of the *tira* should be able to trace patrilineal descent from one common ancestor, it may frequently become difficult to document the connection between some of the major kinship segments in any one *tira*. And, on the other hand, every maximal lineage is not automatically regarded a *tira*; the concept is fundamentally based on political criteria and assumes a functioning organization.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

609 This whole framework of formal organization may be diagramatically illustrated as below, Diagram 3.

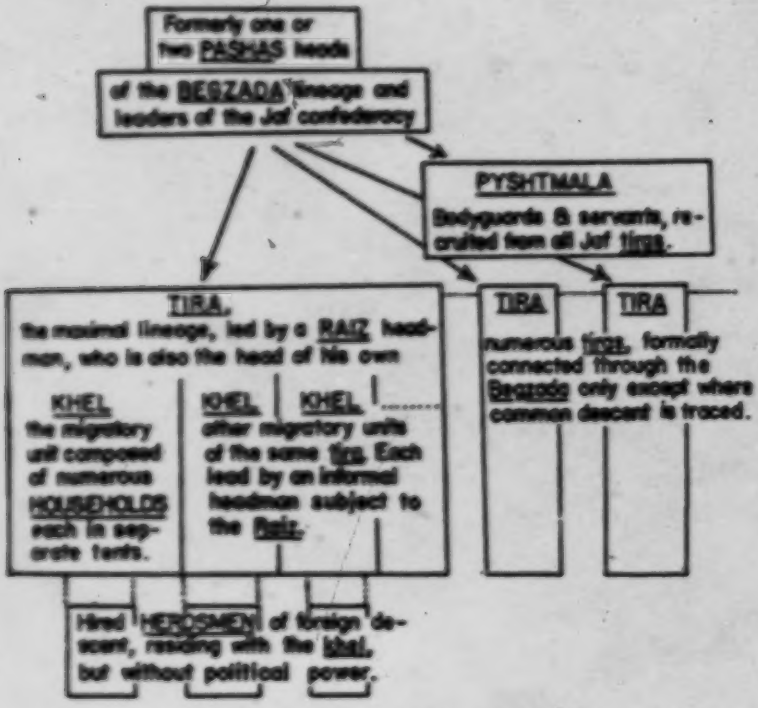

Diagram No. 3. Formal organization of the nomadic Jaf.

686 233 609 233 Within the *khel*, wealth, primarily in the form of herds, is the main source of power. Any member of the *tira* has unlimited grazing rights for his flocks, so there is no legal limit to the accumulation of wealth. The cattle are herded in flocks of 500 or so, with one herdsman for each flock. Herdsmen are preferably hired among the poor people of the *tira*, or they may be «foreigners» associated with the *khel* purely because of their economic functions. The typical pattern is to exploit poor relatives for this purpose, a practice familiar from Central Asiatic nomads (e. g. Hudson, 1938, p. 57). Self-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HAMAWAND.

According to their own traditions, the Hamawands entered Southern Kurdistan from Persia as nomadic herdsmen. Seeing the opportunities offered by the ineffectual nature of Ottoman governmental control, they entered on a career of brigandage, looting the caravans that passed between Persia and Iraq. The uneasy relations between the Persian and Ottoman empires made this all the more feasible, since any activity detrimental to one power had the covert support of the other. Though the Hamawands later settled in villages, they did not immediately take up agriculture, except for small garden patches of melons etc. As they proudly assert: «For more than a generation we reaped our daily bread with our gunbarrels». All accounts by early travellers describe how this small group terrorized the district by striking quickly and effectively in widely separated areas. Only after the First World War did their economy become truly based on farming. Through this turbulent history, tribal political organization retained its importance, and some features of the system may be seen very clearly.

The Hamawand group as a whole is regarded as one *tira* of the same magnitude as the various component Jaf *tiras*. Even in its greatest period of glory, the Hamawand *tira* could muster no more than 200-300 horsemen, implying a total population of 1,000-1,500 individuals. The process of branching has however been initiated; in fact, as compared to the Jaf, the Hamawand political structure seems to be based on a clearer political recognition of the segmentation into lineage sections which follows from the marriage pattern. The hierarchy of progressively more inclusive lineage segments, from the single village level (population 50—100) and up to the maximal lineage group, is given political significance.

There is no single leader of the whole Hamawand *tira*[1]); questions concerning the group as a whole are discussed and decided in a council made up of the *Aghas* (=headmen) of the 4 primary branches. Each of these branches are again divided into sub-branches,

[1]) Actually, Mohammed Amin Agha of the *Begzade* claims paramount position.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Unless a certain sum of money is paid, all young male citizens of Iraq are liable to two years of military training and service. This is much resented by most villagers, and they attempt to avoid being called up. According to the *Merkjin*, the Hamawands have an arrangement with the police whereby they give the names of all *Merkjin* men in the two village who are liable for such service, in return for being left in peace themselves. Thus, it is said, the fighting strength of the *Merkjin* is constantly kept down.

The *Merkjin*, on the other hand, are accused of manipulating the religious brotherhood of Derwishes for political purpose, so as to organize all the *Merkjin* of the neighboring villages in a movement of resistance. To counteract this influence, the Hamawand *Agha* is at pains to expose the derwishes as fraudulent, and attempts to enhace the position of the local mullah, the recognized leader of the local mosque. — The final verdict, however, rests with the Land Settlement Commision, an institution the integrity of which few persons choose to question.

The rigidity of the Kurdish tribal system is here clearly illustrated, and might profitably be contrasted to that of the Nuer, as described by Evans-Pritchard (1940). The Nuer have, in spite of extensive conquests and various vicissitudes, retained a system of patrilineal exogamous lineages as the basis of their political organization. These lineages however are *not* corporate localized groups, but are conceptually identified with certain areas, where they tend to form the organizing core of the local villages. Through a system of adoption of conquered Dinka tribesmen to specific lineages, and by reckoning descent through females, a larger community is built around this core, based on «sociological» kinship. Among the Kurds, on the other hand, the general practice of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy makes any initial *rapprochement* impossible between conqueror and conquered, and encourages caste separation. Furthermore, kinship through female links is given no political recognition. The principle of «sociological» kinship is unfamiliar and would be in conflict with Islamic doctrine — the kinship terminology describes actual, genealogical distance, and practices of adoption into lineages would be unacceptable. The only way two groups could fuse in the

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

tribal system would be by demonstrating (or inventing) genealogical connection. This can hardly be done on any grand scale where common residence is virtually impossible, except as based on a relationship of conqueror and conquered.

As a result, the Kurdish tribal village retains a high degree of lineage unity, reckoned strictly patrilineally, as compared to Nuer villages. The Kurd who leaves his tribal territory, or even village, can obtain no political power in his new environment, therefore has minimal prestige, and thus tends to remain with his lineage group. But because of this, the Kurdish lineage system has not the adaptability of the Nuer system, and breaks down in a situation of conquest or external administration.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BABAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE

In the light of these miniature examples from Hamawand territory today, some of the characteristics of the old Baban rule become much clearer. The Baban themselves were not a *tira*, but a «royal» lineage of the same type as the Jaf *Begzada*, ultimately derived from the *Sekkir tira* of the Pushdir area. Their power, however was based on the tribally organized groups, and a majority of the villages seem to have been controlled in the fashion of the above Hamawand villages, with a basic split between a ruling, tribally organized «soldier» caste and a non-tribal peasant population. This separation was clearly recognized by Rich in 1820, and in his lists of the populations of the Pashalik, only the Pushdir area is described as wholly tribal, the «other districts are mixed. Some inhabitants are of the peasant, some of the clanniah race (= tribally organized), i. e., no village has inhabitants of one exclusive kind.» (Rich op. cit., p. 280). The tribally organized minority was employed by the Pashas to control the larger population: «. . . it would never do for him (Omar Agha, one of the feudal lords under the Pasha) to keep the citizen or peasant caste in his service. They never grow much attached, nor will they stand by you in any difficulties. The clansman (= tribal Kurd), on the contrary, though not of your own clan (= *tira*), grows warmly attached to you; and then neither hunger, thirst,

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowandus river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organisation at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups* though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

101 221 184 [235] [439]

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Soran and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

[114]

*The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Jemil Agha of Bahrika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jemil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

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8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 2

Political Structure **Definition of Units**

The Kurdish term which in the foregoing pages I have crudely described as tribe is Ashiret. *The name of the Ashiret describes at once the people and the land they occupy. Thus it is sensible to speak of 'Balik country' as a district on the map while the individual tribesman will describe himself as 'a Balik'. 619 •

An ashiret may consist of one or more patrilineal clans called taifa, the fundamental difference between the two being that whereas ashiret is essentially descriptive of a political group, taifa is descriptive of a kinship group. Thus in Balik there are three taifa usually known as Mullasherifi, Shevdini (or Shuisuri) and Sukri; in "Soran" on the other hand there is just the one taifa of Sorani Begzawada. The dual title of the Shevdini depends upon the context of reference. Shevdin is the name of the ancestor from whom all members of the Shevdini taifa nominally trace their descent, he was the 'founder' of the taifa; Shuisur on the other hand is the name of the district he came from. The Mullasherifi similarly all claim descent from a certain Mulla Sherif said to have been a member of the Galali tribe of Sulaimani district. In general the tendency seems to be to take the group name from the ancestor rather than the place. Ali Agha of Rayat in giving me his genealogy claimed that Shevdin had lived eight generations ago and that in those days his family had belonged to the Surchi tribe west of the Great Zab, and that they migrated to the east in search of better land.† It was interesting to note that Ali Agha was reluctant to admit that his taifa formed part of the Balik ashiret. With the loosening of the political ties that linked the three clans of the tribe he hoped soon to establish that the Shevdini were an ashiret in their own right. 614 619

* The same is not strictly true of the Sorani centred on Dergala. During the latter part of the 18th Century the name Soran was applied to a territory approximately corresponding to areas A and B of Map 1 over which the princes of Rowandus had established a titular suzerainty. Hamid Amin Beg the Agha of Dergala claims direct descent from these former princes and he and his immediate kin call themselves the Sorani Begzawada - "the descendants of the Begs of Soran". The term Soran has no direct territorial significance today, but on Map 2 the area so marked is that controlled by Hamid Amin Beg of Dergala.

† For comparison one may note that Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash, Agha paramount of the Balik and of the Mullasherifi taifa was also able to trace back his descent for eight generations but did not reach the name of Mulla Sherif in the process.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

627 692 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 721 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Rayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

• 619 622 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[714] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammad asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Nawpurdar on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammad ran away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammad as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Hay ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

[731] "Hay (p. 68) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Hay however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Administration moreover adopted the Turkish expedient of paying the tribal Aghas an annual salary provided they kept their tribe in order. This procedure undoubtedly gave the tribal Agha an altogether disproportionate economic influence, and has had various repercussions which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The salary awarded to Sheikh Mohammad of Walash was stopped some years ago and, as might be expected, his influence as tribal leader declined rapidly. As is evidenced by the rival claims of the Aghas of Rayat and Rust noted above, the Balik has scarcely any functioning unity as a tribe at the present time, though Sheikh Mohammad with a wide sweep of his arm, still declares that all the land belongs to him and that the taifas of Shevdin and Sukr are only there on sufferance. At the present moment (1938) his prestige is probably on the upgrade since he has recently been appointed a "member of Parliament" and regularly attends the legislative assemblies in Baghdad. The appointment carries with it a small salary, but its real importance so far as the tribes are concerned is that it demonstrates that the holder is in favour with the Mutasarrif and with the Baghdad Authorities.

Kinship Structure

While I have here sketched out the superficial political structure of the community the real nature of the relationship between the various Aghas and their followers can only be understood in terms of kinship.

The essentially conditional nature of the Aghas' authority was only vaguely understood by the earlier British Administrators. Hay for instance remarks (p. 67) "The Aghas are very oppressive to their tenants, more especially where the Government is close at hand and can assert its authority. In the mountain districts the tribesmen are exceedingly poor, they have little to fear from the Government, and their chief finds it difficult to coerce them. A rival chief would probably soon appear if he did". This statement brings out the fact, already well known from examples in the African field, that Government support for "the Chief" frequently gives that individual a tyrannical authority quite foreign to the ordinary tribal system of government, but it does not explain the Agha's normal relationship to his followers.

Marriage of Commoners

As we have seen already the taifa is essentially a patrilineal clan. It is moreover largely endogamous by virtue of the system of ortho-cousin marriage common to most Mohammedan societies. Reference to the tables of Kinship Terminology at the end of this book

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 1. The Kurdish people in Iran should have freedom and self-government in the administration of their local affairs, and obtain autonomy within the limits of the Iranian State.
186 2. The Kurdish language should be used in education and be the official language in administrative affairs.
3. The provincial council of Kurdistan should be immediately elected according to constitutional law and should supervise and inspect all state and social matters.
4. All state officials must be of local origin.
5. A single law for both peasants and notables should be adopted and the future of both secured.
6. The Kurdish Democrat Party will make a special effort to establish unity and complete fraternity with the Azerbaijani people and the other peoples that live in Azerbaijan (Assyrians, Armenians, etc.) in their struggle.
7. The Kurdish Democrat Party will strive for the improvement of the moral and economic state of the Kurdish people through the exploration of Kurdistan's many natural resources, the progress of agriculture and commerce, and the development of hygiene and education.
8. We desire that the peoples living in Iran be able to strive freely for the happiness and progress of their country.

The manifesto ended in Soviet style with the words, "Long Live Kurdish Democratic Autonomy!"

668 The formation of the new party resulted in the dissolution of the Komala and the absorption of its members by the Democrats. Yet from the beginning the tribal chiefs, fearful of communism, were wary of the new party, though many signed a pledge of support presented them by a Soviet political officer touring the tribal areas. This underlying tribal opposition would have made Qazi Mohammad's position untenable had it not been for a fortuitous accession of strength which arrived from Iraq — Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis.

668 The Barzanis had been even in Ottoman times one of the most troublesome of all the Kurdish tribes. In the 1920's Sheikh Ahmad of Barzan, considered a god by the Barzanis and neighboring 619 tribes, frequently rebelled against the British, who several times were forced to call in the R.A.F. Finally Sheikh Ahmad, his younger brother Mulla Mustafa, and his principal followers were exiled, first in southern Iraq, then in Suleimania. On June 11, 1942, Mulla Mustafa, who had taken over the leadership from his brother, escaped to Barzan.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
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The story of Mulla Mustafa's subsequent struggle with the Iraqi Government, of how he twice defeated the Iraqi army in 1945, and how by judicious use of funds the Iraqi Minister of Interior was able to enlist other Kurdish tribes against him and drive him from Barzan, must be told at another time. Suffice it to say that on October 11, 1945, Mulla Mustafa, Sheikh Ahmad, and about 1,000 armed Barzanis and their families entered Iran at a point north of Ushnuieh. With them were a number of Iraqi petty officials and schoolteachers of Kurdish descent, and Kurdish deserters from the Iraqi army and gendarmerie, including twelve army officers. The latter were men of high caliber, several of whom had been trained in England and had held positions on the Iraqi general staff.

Shortly after his arrival in Iran, the Mulla met a number of Soviet officers, including the general commanding Soviet forces in western Azerbaijan. The Soviets told him to place himself under the orders of Qazi Mohammad, and ordered the local Kurds to feed and house the destitute Barzanis. By the end of October the Mulla's forces, swollen by refugees and adventurers from Iraq, numbered nearly 3,000 men armed with British rifles captured from the Iraqi army, machine guns, and one field piece.

THE KURDISH PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

In November and early December, Soviet agents circulated among the tribes, telling them to mobilize for the coming struggle for independence and ordering the chiefs to assemble in Mahabad. All co-operated with the exception of the Mamesh, the Mangur, and the Dehbokri. Meanwhile in the rest of Azerbaijan the position of the Iranian Government was rapidly deteriorating. Armed "Democrats," many of them from Soviet Azerbaijan or the Caucasus, began to attack Iranian soldiers and gendarmes, who soon hardly dared leave their barracks. The whole province was in open "rebellion," while the Red Army stopped relief columns sent north by the Central Government to reinforce its hard-pressed garrisons. Finally, on December 10 the Democrats attacked the garrison in Tabriz and forced it to surrender. All eastern Azerbaijan then fell under the control of the newly-formed "Azerbaijan People's Government."

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

177 of its return. When the Kurds no longer hoped for this, and the
186 Iranians no longer feared it, there was no chance for Qazi Mo-
668 hammad's movement to survive.

The whole episode was a serious blow to the development of Kurdish nationalism. There is now no Komala and no Democrat Party of Kurdistan, and many of the potential leaders of the Kurds are dead, in prison, or in exile. Yet this does not mean that Kurdish nationalism is finished. The Kurdish Republic found its support among those progressive elements of the population which seem bound to increase in numbers and importance, and was opposed by those elements which seem destined to disappear. It remains to be seen whether Kurdish nationalism is practical in
186 an area where, until recently, nationalism was an unknown con-
619 ception and men still give primary allegiance to their religious and tribal chiefs. The Kurds have never been combined in a stable state of their own and enjoy no ancient unifying culture. Separated from each other by mountain barriers, they have always had to look for their cultural and economic needs to the capitals of the different states in which they have lived.

If the states the Kurds inhabit allow their Kurdish populations a degree of local autonomy and give up the attempt to force an alien nationalism upon them, they may succeed in obtaining a loyalty similar to that found in Switzerland with its multinational population. The Arab countries have made a start in this direction. A similar policy in Iran, if left free of foreign penetration, might be a cause of closer unity rather than of separatism between two of the nation's peoples.

habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflexions to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from those in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khorasan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

From the time when groups of Aryan-speaking families settled in secluded valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primeval ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

Intermarriage within the tribe has enhanced physical resemblances to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

I have on occasion been out shooting with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a horse and

[p. 387 (A)]

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Kurd MA11

798 claim the right of wintering in the Christian villages of Armenia, and, as fanatical Moslems, they indulged on occasion in massacres of their unwilling Christian hosts—this often with the connivance or tacit approval of the Turks, who were not reluctant to see the Christian communities of Asia Minor decrease in numbers.

161 For obvious reasons, detailed figures as to the number of the Kurds are not available,[1] but estimates, some of them much out of date, give a total of some 3 millions, distributed as follows :

Turkey	1,250,000
Iraq (1924) . . .	494,000
Iran	700,000
Baluchistan . . .	350,000
Transcaucasian Russia (1911)	125,000
Syria	100,000
Afghanistan . . .	20,000

619 The Kurds cannot be said to have any advanced political feeling,
186 and, even less than the Badawin Arabs, have rarely been able to com-
648 bine for long in a stable, large-scale political organisation. Individual-ism and local tribal feeling are the chief characteristics. Kurdish political activity has been negative : that is, strongly against any other group that has tried to rule them, and their predilection tends to be anti-governmental, whatever the composition of the latter may be, rather than for pro-Kurdish aims. Since 1923 there have been ten serious revolts by the Kurds against various national governments—two against Turkey, four in Iran, and four in Iraq. One of these, in 1947, made use of weapons looted from Iranian military depots. Such revolts lend themselves to intervention by outside powers ; and an American view [2] is that a Kurdish revolt against Iran in 1942 had tacit support from Russia, with the aim of embarrassing the Iranian government. Little was finally achieved, however : one factor may have been the importance at the time of American lease-lend supplies to Russia, as the result of which the U.S. was able to exert some moderating influence on Russian policy.

668 Since 1927, a Kurdish independence movement, the ' Khoibun ', has been in existence, but its activities have hitherto had little success, the main obstacle being jealousy, division, and lack of co-operation
000 among the Kurds themselves. An attempt was made to enlist

[1] In modern Turkish statistics the Kurds are described as ' Mountain Turks '.
[2] That of Professor W. L. Westermann.

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11

I
174 now remain; there are only a few degenerate and impoverished families
162 in the south of the province, constituting a starving nomad tribe.
167 The Turks are still numerous, and there are many invaders of quite recent origin, such as the Kurds, who came here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Timuris and the Baluchis, who extended their wanderings further and further north. The latest immigrants are Mongols, the so-called Barbaris, or Hazara, who are still continuing to come in numbers. It will be better to deal with each tribe separately.

K *Kurds.*—It is difficult to find if any Kurdish tribes were living in
101 Khurasan before the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the surnames
167 of many different celebrities who are natives of this province the term "Kurt" is often met with. Even a dynasty of this name ruled south of Herat in the hill districts (643–791 A.H., or 1245–1389 A.D.). Kurd and Kurt are undoubtedly the same as they are to-day; but if there had been some Kurdish people in Khurasan, they must have mixed with
168 Persians. When under the Safawides the necessity arose of defending the northern frontier of Khurasan against the inroads of the powerful Uzbegs and Turkomans, local means were not sufficient, and the Shahs tried to institute a measure similar to that of the Cossacks in Russia, *i.e.* they settled some warlike and virile people in the threatened area. Therefore some tribes of Kurds from Kurdistan proper were transferred
167 as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the
177 seventeenth century a new party had arrived; some of these tribes still live there, like the Kaiwanlu, the Shadillu, etc. Some more of them arrived later on in the eighteenth century, under Nadir (like the 'Amarlu). At present there is no connection with the West, and the Khurasani Kurds are gradually undergoing "Turkomanization."

101 With regard to the racial and tribal names, it may be observed that
619 they are utterly unreliable for the purpose of establishing any conclusions
197 to ethnical connections. The tribe is usually called after the surname of the chief or of the place of settlement, and very soon the whole of the tribe, to which several sub-divisions belong, becomes named after the section which was most prominent and important among them. In practice there is nothing more difficult than obtaining exact information of the name of a tribe with its sub-divisions. In Khurasan the difficulty is still greater because there are no distinct sub-dialects, and the idiom of the Kurds appears practically uniform. Many sub-sections are closely connected with the Turks, and experience real difficulty in deciding whether they are of Kurdish or Turkish nationality.

These continual changes of names make it difficult to draw up a systematic table of sub-division. Of the four tribes which are traditionally regarded as the original, namely 'Amarlu, Za'faranlu, Shadillu and Kaiwanlu, the first and last appear to-day as small tribes, while the other two are mostly Turkish-speaking and have ceased to be regarded as Kurds.
000 The following list gives an approximate idea as to the present principal

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11
Baluchi At2

K 731 164 This division[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

142 147 It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

● 619 628 186 There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

197 191 The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

B 221 177 162 197 I 162 563 *Baluchis.*—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

B 142 157 Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal † [between nomadic and sedentary way of life.—Analyst]

K 142 302 * The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.

4: Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
Iraq Bedouin MHI
Kurd MHI

B 619 558 178 461 a severe slump in the camel market. Slowly and very reluctantly the bedouin are turning to cultivation and feel themselves immeasurably lowered in the process. Strangely enough, they are also to be found in greasy overalls, working on the rigs of the Mosul Oil Companies. In this work they do not lose caste as they do if they become cultivators.

B 69a Shaikh Ajil al Yawar is the paramount Shaikh of the 'Iraqi Shammar. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular astuteness he has managed to control his tribesmen, keep on the right side of successive governments and at the same time amass a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab steed or liver-shaking "dhillool" (trotting camel).

Turkomans

I 173 162 Leaving the Arabs, we come to the Turkomans. They are the remnants of ancient immigration and are to be found in Tel Affar town between Mosul and Sinjar and in a string of villages across to Altun Keupri and Kirkuk. Arbil is also largely a Turkoman town. The village of Nainawa, the ancient Nineveh, just across the Tigris from Mosul, is Turkoman. In a mosque built on unexcavated Assyrian remains it contains the reputed tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the vertebræ of the whale!

Kurds

I 162 K 101 144 619 Next we come to the Kurds, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages well south of the mountains. The Kurds are Aryan in origin and Sunni Muslims by religion. The mountain Kurds and in fact all the mountaineers of Kurdistan bear a close resemblance to the Scottish clans of two hundred years ago. They are still organized on a tribal or clan basis, though the increase in government control and influence is naturally tending to destroy this organization and undermine the power of the chiefs, or Aghas as they are called. Aghas may, however, still be seen proceeding to town or market with a "tail" of armed henchmen and even a pipebearer. The Kurdish pipebearer is, however, concerned with the Agha's tobacco pipe and not with music. Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe

K 69a 657 644 276 619 ooo

 K

Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a pleasant lilt. 534 535
Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages. K [567]

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Juj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force. K 619 643 641 726 792 K [218] K 792 779 682 784 661 671 K [136] I K 721 657 648 K 697

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kūrdistan.[1]

The two above described classes of Kūrds are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Rayahs*).

The peasant Kūrds are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom ten thousand are nomad, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages. All these warrior Kūrds are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *ashiré* (great tribes), *quabilé* (medium tribes), and *thàifés* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *quabilés* and *thàifés*, or merely into *thàifés*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *ashiré* are called isolated *thàifés*.

The tribes, or clans, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it. In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised. Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people. The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voices of the

[1] Binder, *Au Kurdistan, en Mésopotamie, &c.*, p. 110.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kūrdistan, the Kūrds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kūrdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and nugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

The town of Rowandus, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowandus occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowandus, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkaba (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowandus freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil. 167 563 463 [301]

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowandus. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowandus might have experienced certain decline. 177 621 438 443

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The basis of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mullā can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, no matter how poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system.

Rowanduz is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Persons of the lower classes, transients or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowanduz enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called chelebis, another Turkish term for "gentleman,"

advice or scold their employers.

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, no aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalid Beg," a commander of the "government tribe."

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the Ottoman town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniye, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in

government, and no civic or charitable organizations, guilds, or clubs. The diwankhana of the aristocrat, as noted, is often used as a man's clubhouse and a sort of village center, but that of Isma'il Beg in the town is rarely so used, and the mosque or the shaykhanag offer little as substitutes. In Rowandux there is thus an aggregate of separate households whose relationships with the government and with each other are largely on an individual basis, and for social life a man depends to a great extent on his relatives and friends. This should not be taken to mean that there is no force to public opinion or community interest. A mutual concern is much in evidence in the public conduct of individuals and in festivals, and a large part of this is furnished by the Muslim faith. In the summer of 1951 a collection was taken up among the townspeople as a pious work for a poor Arab, arrested by the police as a suspected deserter from the army and subsequently released penniless. The effect of public opinion in such matters as the wearing of the veil or smoking on the streets during Ramadan has already been noticed. The distribution of food and clothing to the poor of the town on certain occasions, and other examples of a similar nature, will be encountered in later sections. However, there is no structural bond or concrete rules of membership which cause the townspeople to act as a whole, although such behavior can often be observed.

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Rowandux, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes [557] entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society [186] of the town in disjointed, for the townsmen continue to regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realize that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their [557] children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 . MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

as in the case of Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who rules as did his forebears, and must be counted as a factor in everyday life. It is thus that one finds a duality of thought and behavior as far as the two aristocracies are concerned. A landowner in Rowanduz spoke of the chieftains as though they were the only important element in society and, at the same time, alternately praised and castigated two of his sons for their respective success and failure in school. The youth who had failed was regarded as a great disappointment, a condemnation which would not have occurred fifty years ago when the upper echelons of society were either inaccessible or unconnected with the prestige and power of the new servants of the state.

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their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression the investigator obtained from all of these things was that the patrilineage, expressed in the mal or "house," strongly overrode the lateral calculation of relations to extend or broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inasmuch as they bring together at one point unrelated groups. It must be remembered, however, that Rowanduz was resettled from various sources after its destruction in the first World War, and the marriages of its families, many of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show the characteristics of a similar community whose population had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arbitrarily, that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance, that even in these places marriages characteristically cause divergence in forming new family or mal-groups, and the village population is constantly regrouping, rather than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at Rowanduz, makes systematic use of a limited number of basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number, indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1. Ba pir	("Old Father")	Grandfather
2. Da pir	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3. Bab	("Father")	Father
4. Dak	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

the Jaf confederacy of nomadic as well as sedentary tiras. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Hamawands, an independent tira of population ca. 1000-1500, which became sedentary some two or three generations ago.

The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defence and offence in war. Property rights to land and grazing area are held jointly by the tira as a whole; exclusive usufruct rights are vested in its localized segments, inhabiting compact villages with a population of 50 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have traditional rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as normal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degrees of kinship (on any one level of segmentation, "brothers" exclude "cousins" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1932, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in toto if a segment were attacked from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary charter when conflicts arose within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both within, where they led to fission, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

There is a clear contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the readiness with which the problems of fission and fusion are solved. A man's rights to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as hired farm help ("sapani") of degraded status. The territorial exclusiveness of lineage segments thus tends to be maintained to high degree, and there are no kinship mechanisms for developing "attached" lineages with local territorial and political rights.[7] The segmentary nature of the maximal lineage expresses itself directly in geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited nearly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map or clearly seen where one has a view of the valley bottom. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the tira as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. No religious or ritual

7 A permanent relationship may occasionally be established between a conquering lineage group and a conquered, non-tribal peasant population, who retain certain rights as serfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a caste barrier is set up, preventing intermarriages between the two groups. This relationship, observed on the northern margins of Hamawand territory, does not seem to be very stable.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

Where the cost of marrying an unrelated, "stranger" girl is so high and the normative preference for near kin clear, the inducement for the young man to seek a bride among his cousins is evident. Consequently, the young men make the "right" choice though they appear subjectively to feel, and invariably express the opinion, that they are entirely free to seek any bride they might wish. The problem in this situation centers around what the motivation of the girl's father is, that he should forego his right to a brideprice which, to the Kurdish farmer, constitutes a minor fortune. Or put somewhat differently, the central problem is: what are the advantages gained in this system by giving one's daughter to a brother's son which compensate one for the loss of the brideprice.

The answer would seem to lie in the political structure. In the Kurdish lineage system, all groups are subject to a constant pressure towards segmentation and fission, unmodulated by the interlocking circles of identification normally associated with segmentary descent systems (among the Nuer, territorial vs. descent groups, cross-cutting age-grades; among Tallensi, further the ritual collaboration between lineages, etc.). This pressure is painfully evident in factional activity within the villages, and emerges in all first-hand descriptions of Kurdish life.[9] Kurdish villages are characterized by a constant struggle for political power on the part of a majority of the adult men, at times even women. Such political power is proportional to the number of riflemen one can mobilize to support one's claims. In a patrilineal lineage system, a man can expect political support only from his agnatic relatives, those who by descent belong to his political sub-section; and the factions in the village tend to be alignments of the younger men of a small lineage segment around an older leader. These segments consist primarily of brothers, sons, and brothers' sons. The relation to the latter is most critical: it crosses the first potential line of cleavage between collateral branches. If a man alienates his nephews by refusing them their traditional rights, he loses their political support. If he, on the other hand, gives them his daughters in marriage, the ties are reinforced and lineage solidarity maintained. The girl's father creates an obligation on the part of his brother's son to give him political support by exempting him from paying the brideprice. No other son-in-law can, in the lineage system, fill this role as political supporter; consequently they must invariably pay brideprice. The transaction may thus be regarded as constituting a type of delayed exchange: the father receives political allegiance in his lifetime from his brother's son in return for the daughter which he gives him. In this way, the pattern of preferential father's brother's

9 E.g. C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (London, 1836); H. B. Soane, *Through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise* (London, 1926); Hay, *op. cit.*

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11
Jordan MG1

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

If this view is generally correct, one would expect to find a high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage associated with a developed lineage organization in the Middle East, and the frequencies to be appreciably lower in villages with a different type of organization. In the southern Kurdish area, this is clearly so: for other areas, the literature gives no conclusive evidence.

In the southern Kurdish feudally organized territory, neighboring on the above discussed Hamawand territory, the comparative picture might be summarized as follows: (1) The expressed norms are modified, though not basically changed. First rights of paternal cousins are not as strongly emphasized, and the ideal of equality between spouses tends to be interpreted in terms of village endogamy rather than with reference to descent group. (2) Brideprices tend to be lower for all categories of husbands, especially those of the local community (this holds true for the villages, not for the larger towns, where great variations in class and wealth intervene); some villages have made formal agreements that no brideprice should be charged within the village unit. An alternative and moderately popular way of avoiding brideprice is the sister exchange between two indifferently related men. (3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage clearly drops, while village endogamy (in villages generally larger than those with a lineage organization) remains high. A complete census of marriages in one such non-tribal village may serve as an example:

FaBrDa (amoxza)	MoBrDa (khaloxza)	Fa and Mo SiDa (purza)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
6	1	1	9	19	10	46

This picture would seem to be consistent with the views expressed above.

Hilma Granqvist[10] gives some comparable material from an Arab village in Palestine, where the local community is divided into patrilineal descent groups, called clans, apparently of a segmentary type; but where several of these descent groups reside together in a large village, and have no wider political or territorial importance. She offers the following frequencies of degree of relationship between spouses in one village:[11]

10 Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (Helsingfors, 1931).
11 *Idem*, pp. 81, 92, 194-199.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

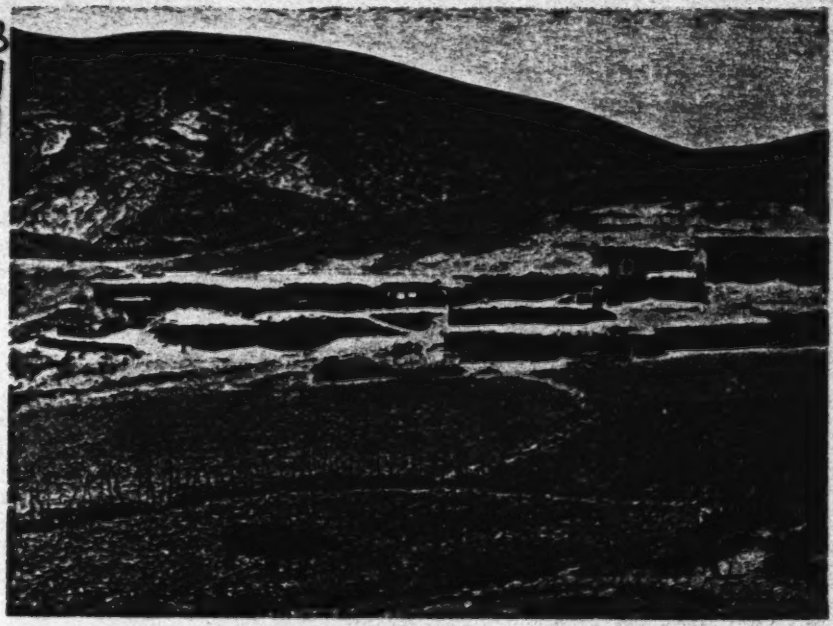

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Topzawa.

Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for cigarettes, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the *sûq* in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2245).

Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an *Agâ*[64] or squire[65]. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sulaimani on the Surchina plain[66]. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adila's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sulaimani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Leach[67], a manager "kokha", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Topzawa, Rakawa, Sargalu and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

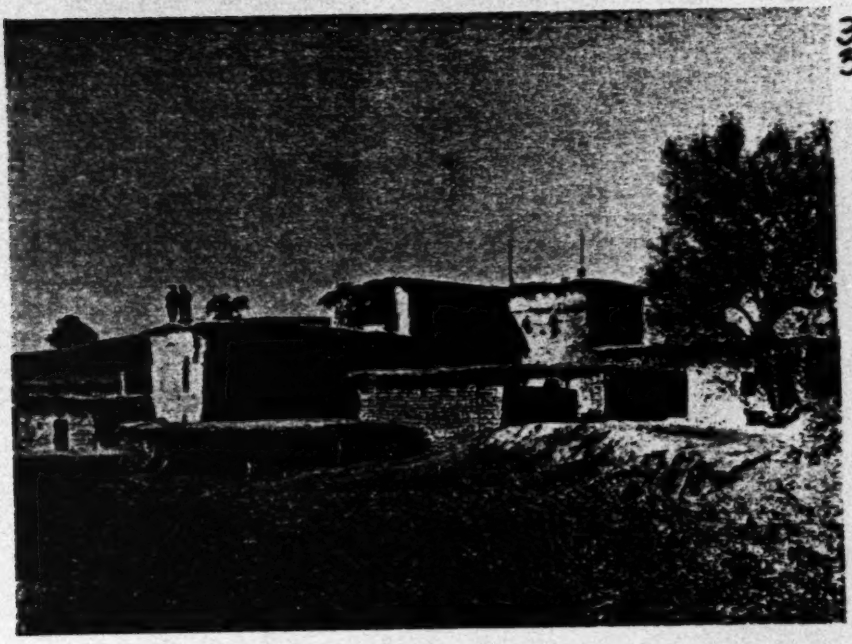

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Topzawa.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and none could sell, move away or move in without his sanction[68]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[69]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[70] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[71] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply these.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connexion with a "comprehensive program" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietory rights"[72]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

INTRODUCTION

621 [36] Scattered over the South Kurdish countryside are a great number of small, compact villages, essentially similar in their physical aspects, yet highly variegated with respect to their composition and organization, ranging from extended lineage organizations to fully developed feudal organization. Thus, on the village level, there is a great diversity of forms of social organization. Yet the *culture* of the area seems essentially uniform, and these alternative principles of organization are universally known. In the recent history of some villages, there has been a rapid, fundamental change from one type of social organization to another. In the following, an attempt will be made to discuss these various types of organization as they express themselves in the actual power hierarchy of individuals in the village. The discussion will thus be directed towards discovering what types of social categories exist, what actual powers each category entails, and which of these categories are found in harmoneous conjunction — since some of the categories that belong in different basic frameworks of social organization are, as might be expected, mutually exclusive in any local community.

177 It seems probable that a fluid and complex situation of this type is characteristic of societies which lie in the shatter zone between larger culture areas — in this case, between the Arab, Persian, and Turkish. Such a location produces familiarity with various competing normative systems, principles of organization, and power hierarchies. This familiarity on the part of the villager leads to attempts at

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

stable, and official administration, directed from Baghdad, grew in scope and progessively enlarged its area of effective control.

Such then is the background of the villages where the following material was collected. They are primarily tenant villages in the Suleimani valley, or villages dominated by freeholding Hamawand farmers. However, certain aspects of local social structure become clear only by comparison with other situations — particularly those found in the *Jaf* areas — or by historical comparisons and deductions. The data on Jaf organization was obtained from a limited number of informants on short visits to various villages. For historical material, C. J. Rich's accounts (op.cit) have been found most useful.

I have tried to avoid bringing conditions and factors in the towns of Suleimani, Chemchemal, Halebja, etc. into the picture. The numerous «Western» influences in these centers are extremely complicated and difficult to evaluate. In the intricacies of the class and near-caste system, differential contacts and reactions due to sub-cultures are indeed complex. The rural areas, on the other hand, show greater uniformity in patterns: the tribal areas are organized and separable, and the tenant villagers, in their small, endogamous communities, have strong patterns of localism and traditionalism. There is a popular story illustrating this localism: A donkey belonging to one of the tenant farmers in a village ran away; so the farmer followed it, to catch it. The donkey climbed up the hillside, far away from the village, but the farmer did not want to lose it. So he followed it high up into the mountains, never turning, and finally close to the mountain top he caught it. On turning around he saw below him the whole beautiful Shahr-i-zur plain, in which his own village lay. The peasant gasped and exclaimed: «I never knew the world was so vast!»

What goes on in the towns belongs, as far as most villagers are concerned, to a quite separate world, and it seemed both in the field and in working up the notes valid to separate off the Kurdish *countryside* as the area of study. But due to diversity even in this area, any attempt at giving a conventional anthropological description of «the culture» of «the society» must fail. Each of the compact, widely separated little villages shows characteristics of its own, local

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

permutations of pan-Kurdish institutions, or traits derived from the specific setting and history of the particular village.

No one of these villages, however, is self-contained. Though each shows a high degree of self-sufficiency and endogamy, it is tied to others in a web of social relations, embracing the whole of Southern Kurdistan. Many institutions affecting large districts have their main focus in one or another of these local villages, not visibly different from the next: the home village of the leader of the derwish brotherhood, that of a tribal leader, a rich landowner, a locally important mullah. Ordinary trade ties village to village and village to city; illegal tobacco trade follows back roads and high mountain passes in a web of its own. Thus no village is self-contained or seperable in structural terms. Clearly, a larger unit of study than any one village is needed.

But as soon as one proceeds beyond the village level, complications arise. Social relations within the village are virtually continuous, and a constant set of relations and hierarchy of organization persists, or changes only slowly. Relations outside the village, on the other hand, are *dis*continuous. In such relations, there is a stronger tendency to press any immediate advantage to the limit. To this end, the individual attempts to manipulate a variety of competing institutions and norms, derived from tribal Kurdish, purely local, Arabic, Islamic, Persian, «modern» etc. cultural contexts. On the other hand, to give these relations the degree of permanence that they do have, some generally accepted principle must exist, or the social relations would break down (as they in fact do in the case of feud). — An attempt will be made to unravel the institutionalized forms that these inter-village relations take.

The internal organization of the village presents problems of a different kind. The great differences between villages make it meaningless to construct an average «typical» or «modal» type of village organization. They may be classified according to type, the basic dichotomy being between those of freeholding, tribally organized farmers, and those of non-tribal, sharecropping tenants. But rather than construct an arbitrary number of types, it seems more fertile to exploit the existing diversity to discover co-variance of

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

institutional forms. Thereby the structural connections between various institutions and principles of organization should become clearer. It will be found that the principles that serve to organize the village are to large extent the same as those which are applied in the more inclusive systems of organization.

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list, the Benadjut are such a branch, which has split off from the parent, Shaikh 'Smail *tira*. The Shatri group of *tiras*, on the other hand, are all «sons of one father», and no one of the *tiras* takes precedence. Such groups have more than mere legendary unity. Firstly, as «brothers», they have the right of inheritance to each others' pastures and campsites, in the case of one of the *tiras* dying out. There is also a minimum of political coordination: In the case of war or other far-reaching decisions, the leaders of all Shatri *tiras* meet in a council. So that no one of them should have an advantage, this council meets in the tent of a rich follower, *not* in the tent of any one *Raiz*. The council reaches agreemen: by discussion, and has, as a body, no formal powers.

KHEL. Though the *tira* holds grazing rights in common, it will rarely camp in one unit, but generally divides into several separate tentcamps, each called a *khel*. The *kehl* may vary in size and composition, but may roughly be regarded as a lineage segment. It is, however, held together by economic as well as lineage ties. Hired shepherds etc. may thus belong to a specific *khel* without being members of the Jaf *asbiret*, or economic partnership between persons of different lineage segments may temporarily influence *khel* membership. The *khel* is led by an older man, more or less informally elected or granted authority because he is the person with the greatest power and prestige. The *khel* is thus primarily a residence unit, and is less permanent in its composition than the larger units which are based on descent only.

HOUSEHOLDS. Each *khel* in turn is made up of a number of households, frequently some 20—30, each inhabiting a separate tent. The households seem to have roughly the same size and composition as those of the sedentary village Kurds, described above. If a father can afford the necessary expenses in tent and utensils, he will set up an independent household for his married son. Poor people, on the other hand, may find this impossible. — Marriage is preferably with FaBrDa or other close relative, very rarely outside the *tira*. Brideprice varies from £ 200 to occasionally nothing in the case of close relatives. Payment may take any form, either in kind or cash, but is computed in terms of money.

Self-

565 461 554 respecting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 500, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, *mam*, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 50, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

• 621 614 With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the *tira* itself, usually identified with separate *khels*. But since the *khel* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *khel* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *khel*, to which a more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not, are connected by economic ties.

622 614 581 These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of the *Raiz*. The position as *Raiz* is inherited, and the family of the *Raiz* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble class or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the «noble» lineage segments of other tiras. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Raiz* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous as far as the *Raiz* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Raiz* and wealthy lineage segments among the «commoners» within the *tira* itself. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Raiz* within the *tira* itself, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To reify a distinction between «nobleman» and «commoner» within the *tira* would thus be an error, since the separa-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

chard, 1949). The presence of the Jaf *Begzada* as political heads necessarily affects the internal organization of the various Jaf *tira*, and the segmentary nature of the lineage organization is therefore not expressed fully. Each *Raiz* becomes de-facto vested with some authority as the representative of the permanently established Jaf *Begzada*, and the political structure is thus actually a compromise between a truly segmentary lienage organization and a hierarchical organization.

As far as its formal structure goes, the Jaf confederacy seems extremely similar to the political system of the early Mongols, as described e. g. by Hudson: The prominence of Chengish Khan's lineage is phrased by him in terms of the vassalization of other descent groups, to emphasize that «all the subjects of the Khan were considered as the vassals not of the ruler but of his family and his close kinsmen as represented by him» (op. cit., p. 92). Essentially the same might well be said if the relation between the *tira* of the Jaf confederacy and their *Begzada* lineage. It is interesting to speculate whether, since the political mechanism seems to be present, it was merely the difficulties of topography that prevented the Jaf and similar Kurdish confederacies from forming the larger units that one finds in the Central Asian steppe area.

The immediate modification in Jaf formal structure made necessary by the adoption of sedentary life and agriculture are slight, thought the meanings and importance attaching to the various aspects of the organization change radically. Generally, each *khel* settles in a part of the old *tira* pastures, and the informal head of the *khel* becomes the formally elected *kikha* (mayor or headman) of the resulting village. Any one *tira* thus tends to split up completely, some *khels* settling at the winter camp sites around Qizil Rubat, others 80 km. N.E. on the autumn campsites of Shahr-i-zur. Whereas tribal unity thus loses its significance, each village is registered as the property of one or another of the *Begzada*, and *Jaf* identification, as well as the acceptance of *Begzada* leadership, is natural.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF TENANT VILLAGES

631 The political organization of the non-tribal areas is generally much simpler, unifying a much smaller group. Immediately above the village level, external administration takes over control. In the village itself, a *kikha* or *mukhtar* (mayor, headman) is elected to serve as an intermediary between the people of the village and the authorities. Frequently he is appointed from above rather than freely elected, in an attempt to achieve a balance of power within the village. In the official governmental system, the *kikha* of the village is the official of the smallest unit. A hierarchy of officers, appointed from above in the bureaucratic system, administers progressively more inclusive areas, terminating in the bureaucratic head, the *Mutasarriff* of the *Liwa* (governor of the province), directly responsible to the government ministries, and with considerable autonomy. In practice, however, the landowner of the village intervenes at the base of this hierarchy, and the *kikha* serves as an intermediary between the villagers and the landowner, and has few dealings directly with official administration.

622 When left to their own devices, the villagers generally elect to
• 621 office the older male leader of the largest kinship group. As a consequence of the marriage pattern, such kinship groups tend to separate off as endogamous blocks. But due to the lower frequency of FaBrDa marriage among the non-tribal villagers (see p. 68), these blocks show less organization and unity than the endogamous subsections in the tribal system, and could not properly be called lineages. Furthermore, they tend to be bilateral, in the sense that relationships traced through female links attain some importance. The relative sizes of these bilateral kinship blocks change fairly slowly, so village headmanship, as well as leadership in the kinship groups, tends to follow an apparently hereditary pattern from father to son.

622 The powers of the *kikha* derive in part from his powers as the head of such a group, in part from his closer relations with the landowner, and the implicit threat of reporting illegalities (or in fact making false accusations) to him. As the leader of the village,

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

he also exercises certain rights in his relations with the landowner — he can e. g. exclude any newcomer from village membership.

Among the various villages in an area, or those belonging to one landowner, there is no attempt at coordination. My host own among others, the three neighboring villages Hazar Merd, Decon and Darbaro in the Suleimani valley. These villages share, for historical reasons, the usufruct rights to the surrounding area. Rather than making any attempt at concerted action in matters concerning them all, e. g. by meetings of the village headmen, there exists considerable enmity between the three villages. A marriage between the son of the *kikha* of Decon and the daughter of the leading family of Hazar Merd does not seem to have had any «political» results, and was probably manipulated to enhance the prestige of the *kikha* and his son in their own village.

GENERAL FEATURES OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The application of these formal political organizations, both of the lineage and feudal types, is modified by one basic principle, namely, the universal application of status difference, and the resulting lack of conceptualization of «the office», as apart from the total person occupying it at any one moment. An example might illustrate the point: Upon my arrival in the village of Decon, a small group of workmen were engaged in laying a brick floor in the local house of my host, the landowner. In their social classification of me, the only criterion available to them was the fact of my being his guest; so I enjoyed a reflection of his high status position, and consequently found myself in a relation of super-ordination with respect to the workmen. They found it necessary to interrupt their work unasked to perform personal services for me, e. g. serving me my tea, etc. The workmen, brought to the village for the sole purpose of laying the brick floor, had no feeling that theirs was only a part-role in the situation, where they were expected to perform a specific service and no more. The status of bricklayers is clearly inferior to that of friend-of-the-landowner; the fact that their contact was by virtue of their office as bricklayers did not release them from universal sub-ordination to the occupier of higher status. Wherever a

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

A Hamawand *Agha*, normally a close relative of the leader of the warparty, would be appointed to the conquered village. He would settle permanently in the village with a small group of Hamawand supporters. What remained of the local taxes after their immediate needs were satisfied would be passed on to the *Agha* leader of the original party.

Conflicts easily arose between the Hamawand usurper and his original backer. As soon as the balance of power changed in favor of the former, and he further felt that he would be able to control the conquered village with his own forces, he would declare himself independent and thereby found a new lineage branch.

It may seem surprising that the smaller group in such a village should be successful in forcibly dominating the larger group for any length of time. As far as the conquest itself is concerned, the point was clearly made to me by the leader of one group of subjected serfs: «In those days, people were so busy with their farms and things, they had no time to be ready with guns and horses. Those who had enough money to feed the man that ride around on horses could conquer such poor villages.» And later, although the local Hamawands may have declared themselves independent of their old village, they could still count on support from their fellow tribesmen in case of revolt. The peasants, on the other hand, had no organization integrating a larger group. Furthermore, it is the peasant group who has the vested interest in peace, so that the crop can ripen and the stores survive. In case of conflict, the Hamawands risked only the loss of an asset, whereas the peasants, no matter what the outcome might be, were practically assured the loss of their whole year's crop.

The local group that emerged from these conquests has a very characteristic structure and organization. Except where external administration intervenes effectively, all political power is in the hands of a well organized Hamawand minority, led by an hereditary *Agha*. This ruling group has vested interests in remaining separate from the remainder of the village, and the close tribal organization limited by descent provides the necessary mechanism.

This political dominance serves primarily to enforce certain privileges in the economic field. The Hamawands regard themselves as

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NA11 Rural NA11

421 651 the owners of the land, and collect as tax the traditionally stipulated fraction of the peasants' crop: 1/5—1/10 of the cereal crop, 1/3 of the irrigated crop, where such is grown. Usually the Hamawand section of the village is too large to live entirely on these taxes, and since raiding activities are no longer possible (at least not on any scale, though they are still accused especially of cattle-theft by their neighbors), they find it necessary to contribute to subsistence by farming. The Hamawand farmers hold land as private, inheritable property. They recognize the rights of sons of non-tribal peasants to inherit the usufruct rights to specific fields from their fathers, but where the situation permits, such rights may easily be infringed upon.

• 621 A third group is also usually present in the village, consisting of laborers, generally of <foreign> origin. This group is in a similar economic position to that of laborers in the ordinary tenant villages, with the exception that upward mobility is virtually impossible. Neither of the two conflicting groups, the Hamawand or the subjected *Mrokjin*, are willing to weaken their position by transferring the rights on land to any outside group, and the laborer can therefore never procure the necessary land to rise to tenant farmer status, even when given the economic means.

The economic conflict between the Hamawand and the *Mrokjin* is more bitter now than before external administration pacified the area. Formerly, the relation was more nearly one of symbiosis. The peasants, by being attached to a militarily powerful tribe, were in fact protected from the raids of other war-parties in return for the tax they paid. Furthermore, they benefited from the raids of their Hamawand lords by serving as intermediaries in realizing the value of the loot. The Hamawands themselves could not enter the Bazaars of the towns, for fear of being recognized. The peasants, on the other hand, were free to enter the markets and sell the goods — for a consideration. If their war-lords were at all successful, the income from such transactions might well more than balance the rental tax paid on the farmland.

As a result of the persistent tensions between the two groups, and the clear difference in status position, very little, if any, inter-

marriage takes place. The marriage exogamous with respect to the close kinship group — few in any case — will among the Hamawands be with Hamawands of other villages. Thus a caste separation 621

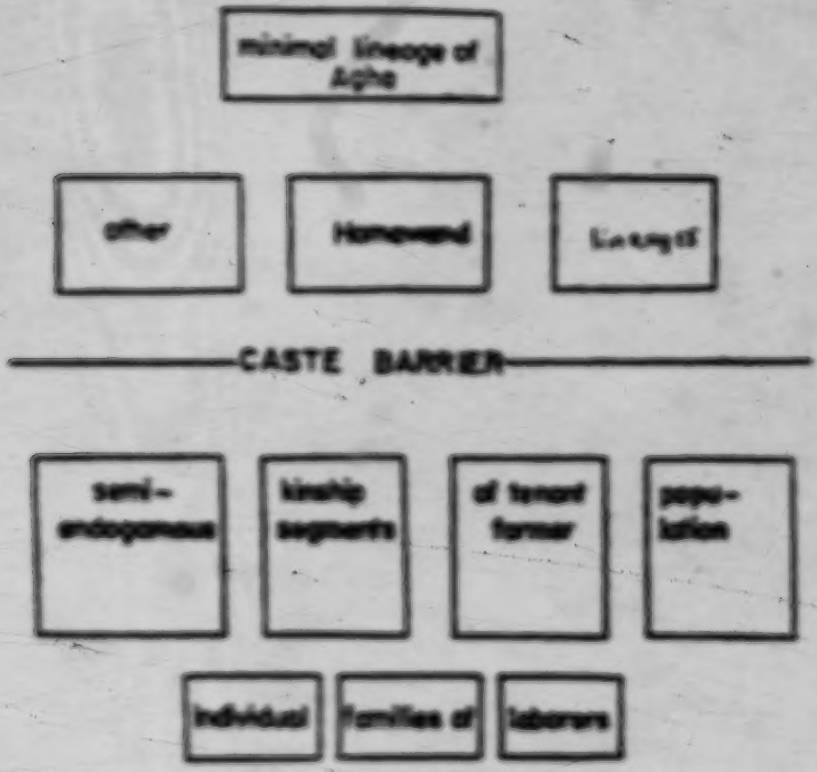

Diagram No. 1. Organization of composite village

tends to grow up, separating the Hamawand effectively from the Mukjin group, and the composition of the local group might be schematically represented as in diagram No. 1.

One of the composite Hamawand- Mukjin villages was studied briefly. However, due to increased tensions connected with the upp-

621 reaching review of their case in the Land Settlement Comission[1]), when claims and counter-claims would come to a head, it was impossible to obtain detailed census material.

The village in question was conquered some 40 years ago by a segment of the Rashawand Hamawands, and lies at present on the very edge of Hamawand territory. Villages to the north of it, formerly under Hamawand control, have lately torn themselves lose.

The total population is ca. 100 individuals; of them, 5—6 households are Hamawand, 15—20 households *Merkjiw*, subjected tenants, and there are a few families of laborers. The Hamawand faction is led by an *Agha*; the *Merkjiw* are led by the *kikha* (official headman of the village). The latter is descended from the former headman, and was elected by the majority of the villagers, so in the face of government approval, the Hamawands had to accept him. Between these factions there has been no intermarriage.

The conflict in this village is related to that in the neighboring village, to which, according to the *Merkjiw* version, the Hamawands wish to extend their privileges. The balance of power between the two factions seems at present to be quite labile. The *Merkjiw* have been gaining ground through a slowly rising standard of living whereby rifles and ammunition have become increasingly available to them, and through the growing mediating effects of external administration. To fully understand the present tensions, one rule of the Land Settlement Comission which is to review ownership claims shortly should be noted: Where conflicting claims are advanced, any party who has for the last 10 years regularly collected tax on the land is regarded as the de-facto owner. It is thus vital for the Hamawands to retain their power, and for the *Merkjiw* to break that power, before the Land Settlement Comission arrives on the spot.

578 To this end, the factions are mobilizing all available mechanisms.

[1]) The Land Settlement Comission, established during the British mandatory period, is a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure. Coordinated with a comprehensive program of mapping, its object is systematically to cover all agricultural land, and definitively settle and register proprietary rights (cf. Dowson 1931).

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Unless a certain sum of money is paid, all young male citizens of Iraq are liable to two years of military training and service. This is much resented by most villagers, and they attempt to avoid being called up. According to the *Meskjin*, the Hamawands have an arrangement with the police whereby they give the names of all *Meskjin* men in the two village who are liable for such service, in return for being left in peace themselves. Thus, it is said, the fighting strength of the *Meskjin* is constantly kept down.

The *Meskjin*, on the other hand, are accused of manipulating the religious brotherhood of Derwishes for political purpose, so as to organize all the *Meskjin* of the neighboring villages in a movement of resistance. To counteract this influence, the Hamawand *Agha* is at pains to expose the derwishes as fraudulent, and attempts to enhace the position of the local mullah, the recognized leader of the local mosque. — The final verdict, however, rests with the Land Settlement Commision, an institution the integrity of which few persons choose to question.

The rigidity of the Kurdish tribal system is here clearly illustrated, and might profitably be contrasted to that of the Nuer, as described by Evans-Pritchard (1940). The Nuer have, in spite of extensive conquests and various vicissitudes, retained a system of patrilineal exogamous lineages as the basis of their political organization. These lineages however are *not* corporate localized groups, but are conceptually identified with certain areas, where they tend to form the organizing core of the local villages. Through a system of adoption of conquered Dinka tribesmen to specific lineages, and by reckoning descent through females, a larger community is built around this core, based on «sociological» kinship. Among the Kurds, on the other hand, the general practice of FaBiDa marriage and other close family endogamy makes any initial *rapprochement* impossible between conqueror and conquered, and encourages caste separation. Furthermore, kinship through female links is given no political recognition. The principle of «sociological» kinship is unfamiliar and would be in conflict with Islamic doctrine — the kinship terminology describes actual, genealogical distance, and practices of adoption into lineages would be unacceptable. The only way two groups could fuse in the

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter III.

A. Kinship composition and organization of local groups.
B. The blood feud.

KINSHIP COMPOSITION AND ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GROUPS

The important dichotomy between tribal and non-tribal villages has been touched upon previously, and the actual differences in the formal political organization have been outlined. The following table (No. 3) attempts to illustrate co-variation between the type of formal political organization and the frequency of certain marriage patterns, resulting in a contrast in the kinship composition of local groups. In the limited period of fieldwork, and due to local difficulties in connection with land tenure and military training, it was not feasible to collect extensive census materials; and the table should serve as an illustration of a point, the validity of which was checked more extensively by less exact means, and does not pretend in itself to be statistically conclusive. 621 • 581

A further comment should be made to justify the separation of tribal vs. non-tribal frequencies in the ‹tribal› village of Koni Sard. The non-tribal category is made up of recent immigrant families, largely born or even married in other villages, and does not truly belong in the table as representative of Koni Sard.

The generalization that seems to hold for all the villages which were investigated would be: A contrast exists between the frequency

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

of cousin marriage in tribal as compared to non-tribal villages, high frequencies of cousin marriage being associated with a *tribal* political system, that is, with the lineage type organization. General village endogamy, on the other hand, remains high in the non-tribal villages, marriages exogamous with respect to the village having similar low frequencies in both groups.

Table III.
Illustration of the correlation between political organization and frequency of marriage with relatives:

NAME OF VILLAGE:	own village: amoats	khaloats	pura	other relative	un-related	foreign village:	total
NON-TRIBAL:							
Djashana	6	1	1	9	19	10	46
	village endogamy: 78 %						
	family endogamy: 37 %						
	cousin marriage: 17 %						
TRIBAL:							
Tazgah (Hamawand)	5	1	—	2	1		21
Koni Surd »	4	—	2	1	1	3	
	village endogamy: 80 %						
	family endogamy: 71 %						
	cousin marriage: 57 %						
Koni Surd (non-tribal)	—	—	1	—	—	6	7

As a result of these contrasting frequencies of marriage types, the kinship composition of the two types of villages show important differences. The tribal village constitutes one close-knit kinship group, or is made up of distinct endogamous lineage segments of a larger lineage group. The non-tribal village, on the other hand, presents a less organized picture in terms of biological relationships; though predominantly endogamous, it is internally essentially unstructured above the household level. The non-tribal village might

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thus be considered an example of Murdock's *deme* type of community, that is, an endogamous, but unstructured localized kin group (Murdock 1949, p. 63). 621 • 581

Some of the interrelations between marriage patterns, kinship composition of local groups, and type of political organization are fairly clear. In the tribal political system, patrilineal descent is of considerable importance. Membership in the political unit itself depends on patrilineal descent and one gains prestige from belonging to particular segments of the larger lineage. As compared to the non-tribal village, the whole status system is considerably more elaborated, as one would expect in a traditional system. Since marriage, both according to Islamic law and general Kurdish values should be between equals, and since each lineage segment wishes to preserve its own status position (and may in fact tend to over-rate it), neither sex is willing to marry *down* in the social scale, and near-kin marriage is the reasonable solution. Most clear is the status equivalence of children of brothers, and FaBrDa becomes the preferred spouse. [611]

This emphasis on equivalence is however only one factor inducive to a pattern of FaBrDa marriage. Perhaps more important is its political significance, briefly indicated previously.

A comparison of the tribal and non-tribal patterns may clarify this point. In the tribal system, power relations on the village level are more amenable to manipulation than in the non-tribal system, where most power is vested in the absentee landowner. At the same time, these power relations in the tribal village are defined in lineage and kinship terms. A man can only expect political support from his immediate agnatic relatives — those who by descent belong to his political sub-section — primarily brothers, sons, and brothers' sons, the relations to the latter being most critical. Political obligations can be reinforced in this group by giving them a daughter in marriage; conversely, the group would be alienated by being refused that daughter. The man who marries his daughter out of the lineage segment and takes a high bride-price for her thereby converts her into an economic asset, but also isolates himself from his agnatic relatives, his potential political supporters. He can then expect no support in a situation where actual *power* is important, such as in

[21 factional disputes or feud, and his initial economic advantage gained
581 from the daughter's marriage is thus abrogated. FaBrDa marriage thus reinforces the political implications of the lineage system. These relations might be summarized as follows:

TRIBAL:

power relations subject to manipulation	+ political units defined by agnatic kinship.	= political emphasis to marriage — high freq. of FaBrDa marriage.

In the non-tribal village, on the other hand, the power relations are given to greater extent, in the sense that they are outside the control of most villagers. Furthermore, they are based on economic considerations more than on kinship. The political units are similarly not lineage segments, but defined purely in regional and residential terms. As a result, marriages are manipulated more for economic ends, wealth being the main criterion of village standing. In marrying off a daughter, a man therefore attempts either to take a high brideprice, or to create a link of kinship with an other family in the residential unit. Thus, in a circular way, FaBrDa marriage decreases and the importance of affinals in the endogamous community increases. This can be seen in the bilateral character of the kinship blocks that form the factions in a tenant village, as contrasted to the patrilineal lineage segments of the tribal village. For comparison with the tribal system, these relations might be summarized as follows:

NONTRIBAL:

power relations more given, economic in origin	+ political units geographically defined	= economic emphasis to marriage — lower freq. of FaBrDa marriage.

621 The unity of the local group in the tribal system springs from an unquestioned solidarity; the leader of such a group has few if any coercive means at his disposal. His powers are of the patriarchal, informal, kinship-modeled type, and generally derive from the fact of kinship. This in conjunction with the marriage pattern tends to produce a rather small local group in the settled tribal areas. Lineage

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segments which have become widely separated in terms of descent will continue as separate, endogamous segments, and in such a situation it is difficult for one segment to accept the informally enforced authority of the leader of another segment. Especially where the two segments interpret their relative status positions differently, conflict will result, and the group will split in two. Such ruptures, though they may to a certain extent harm the group, function at the same time to keep it of such a size that the «unquestioned» leader with no coercive mechanisms can indeed lead it. Furthermore, the wider tribal organization coordinates the small local groups, and thus enables a larger number of them to act as a body when such conserted action is necessary, e. g. in defence or feud. As suggested in the discussion of Hamawand formal organization, this process of segmentation and splitting has been clearly recognized in the political organization.

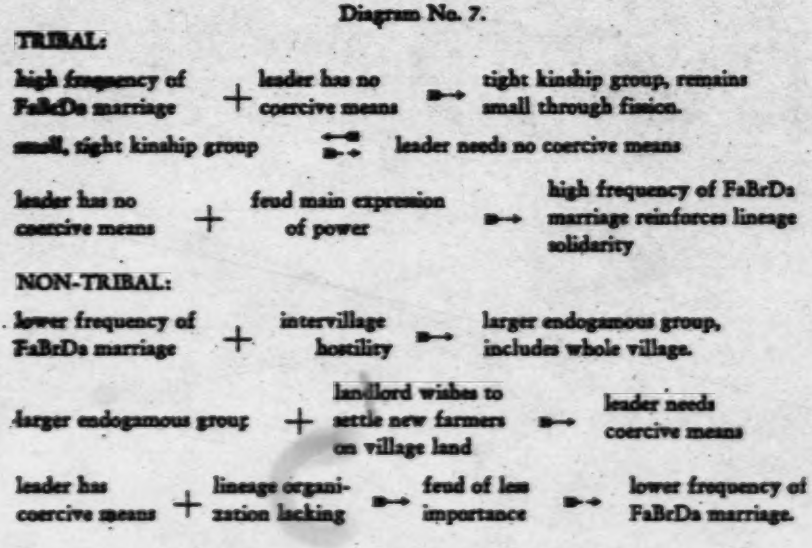
In the non-tribal, tenant, village, on the other hand, solidarity springs from the common subjection to a landowner. The status differences within the group become less elaborate, since the landowner is in a position to make or break any person's career, and inherited status thus becomes less significant. Hostilities tend to be channelized towards *other* villages (see below, p. 129), and village endogamy becomes more important than lineage unity. Even so, FaBrDa and other close kin marriage continues in a moderately high frequency, maybe primarily due to the traditional privilege of reduced brideprice.

At the same time, the difference in the political powers of the leader in the tribal as compared to the non-tribal village can be related to this. In the latter, unstructured kin groups (with agnatic bias) of varying size and relationship exist side by side, and the landowner will tend to perpetuate this condition, at times as a conscious policy, by alloting land to any competent farmer who desires it, no matter what his village of origin might be. The «unquestioned» type of leader found in the tribal local group, whose judgement carries authority in itself, could not even attempt to control such a group. Coercive means — here the implied powers as the agent

• 621 and advisor of the landowner, with the right to evict from land etc. — are necessary.

These interrelations might be represented diagrammatically as follows: (Diagram No. 7).

Diagram No. 7.



THE BLOOD FEUD

In the tribal political system, the localized, territorial groups occupying the separate villages are thus in effect lineage segments. Their corporate unity is expressed in communal ownership of land, cooperation and coordination in herding and irrigation, and political unity for purposes of defence and raiding. The present section will attempt to explore the extent to which these lineage segments operate as corporate entities in the field relating to homicide and law: whether the principle of collective responsibility is applied and a pattern of blood feud results. A discussion of these problems should contribute further to our understanding of the nature of Kurdish lineage organization.

The association of a lineage organization, small endogamous communities, and a weak development of governmental institutions in

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the Kurdish tribal system poses some unusual problems in this field. 621 •
In the travel literature, Kurdish tribes have a deserved reputation as [181]
warriors and bandits with little respect for human life, and without further analysis of the situation it has been assumed that much of their activities in this field is governed by a pattern of blood feuding. There is however good reason to analyse the situation more carefully, to discover just what patterns relating to homicide do in fact exist.

The material on which the following is based is, for obvious 628
reasons, very incomplete. Today homicide is the matter with which the external administration is most concerned, and immediate intervention on its part tends to prevent other action from being taken, or fear of such intervention prevents actual case histories from being discussed. All the data that I do have, however, indicates the absence or very weak development of blood feuding patterns in Southern Kurdistan. This absence may seem surprising, and it is necessary to make clear just what is meant by the statement.

It seems useful in the analysis of this phenomenon to adhere to a fairly specific definition of what is meant by institutionalized blood feud. In its most characteristic form, it has been described in numerous African societies, e. g. the Nuba (Nadel 1947): «In Heiban [homicide] entails blood feud, which is carried on until exact revenge has been achieved; a man must be killed for a man, a woman for a woman; even in their age the two must be as closely matched as possible. The duty to avenge devolves, not on an individual, but on the whole clan .... Again, the revenge is not directed against an individual — the murderer himself — but against any member of the enemy clan who satisfies the conditions of this law of revenge ...», p. 152). The pattern is thus a special form of institutionalized revenge, whereby a whole group of persons is held collectively responsible for the behavior of one of its members, and where the wronged party is similarly not conceived as the individual or his close family, but as the whole larger group to which he belonged. The reaction is one of retaliation, governed by considerations of equality, and subsidiarily one of compensation by traditionally stipulated blood money (e. g. ibid. p. 251).

In this form, the blood feud is not found in Southern Kurdistan.

the tribal leader retains longest in the face of breakdown of tribal organization (cf. Memni, p. 126). The ability to avoid or resolve such conflicts between villages is a prerequisite for the maintenance of lineage unity, and it is therefore essential that the principle of collective responsibility is *not* applied to the co-residents of the village community. 614 628

Leach (op. cit., pp. 56-7) discusses a feud between two competing lineages in the Rowanduz area. Though in effect a struggle for political supremacy between rival lineages, it appears to be governed by ideas of retaliation and equality. Hay (op. cit.) further lists the traditionally stipulated blood money to be paid for various classes of people. The Rowanduz area, as contrasted to Southern Kurdistan, is one where a number of well-organized lineages are in close contact. This is due in part to a difference in local history. Suleimani is an old center, and the whole territory was long subject to the feudal Baban administration, based on non-lineage principles. The Rowanduz mountain areas, on the other hand, retained a presumably characteristic tribal organization, with numerous territorially separate, independent lineages till quite late, when it was united by conquest in a larger state system under the Mir og Rowanduz around 1830. It is interesting to speculate whether the fusion of numerous lineages into a larger state may not have changed some of the factors outlined above in such a way as to permit the institutionalized extension of the South Kurdish pattern of personal revenge to a pattern of blood feud. 178 628

In Southern Kurdistan, it is difficult to see what sanctions would be brought to bear against homicide within the maximal lineage, other than this pattern of personal revenge. Other mechanisms, once existing, may however have been disguised by now through the activities of the external administration. 621 626 682

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hierarchy of his village and society. The formal political organization, discussed so far, is thus only one factor in the hierarchy of supra- and sub-ordination in the village, and it must be related to the other formal organizations or hierarchies that exist.

However, this phrasing of the relationship makes use of distinctions foreign to Kurdish thinking. As stressed in the discussion of general features of formal political organizations, the concept of an *office* is undeveloped, and relations of super- and sub-ordination spring from differences in the *total* status of individuals. The Kurdish villager is not concerned with abstract features of village organization — he sees the organization of his own village, and other organizations affecting him, in terms of hierarchies of *individuals*, of named and familiar people, each with a familiar total status. But to analyse the relationships and clarify some of the principles operative in this type of organization, it is necessary to break down these total statuses into component elements. Previously, the formal political hierarchies have been discussed. In the present section, som other status positions and hierarchies will be divorced from their contexts in observed total statuses, and described. It is not implied that the total status of individuals is merely a sum-total of these part-statuses; the integration of such part-statuses into a total status will be discussed later, after the village scene, where such integration takes place, has been described. Our present concern is with the principles governing these various, analytically separable, hierarchies, and the part-statuses defined by these hierarchies.

There is a distinction to be made between these *hierarchies* of institutionalized positions of super- and sub-ordination in an organization — hierarchies of part-statuses — and a more general *scale* of prestige. A person's prestige depends on the degree to which he approaches certain ideals; and one may distinguish between various such scales, relating to degree of piety, age, wealth, etc. The prestige that accrues to the individual from high rating on such scales is convertible into influence and power; part-statuses in a hierarchy, on the other hand, give power directly. To complicate the situation further, high rating on a scale of power might also be said to contribute to a person's prestige. Several scales have been implied in the

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554 previous discussion, and are indeed implicit in the systems of status
621 hierarchies. An attempt will be made to relate the various status positions to ideals expressed on such scales, and in the final paragraphs of the section to outline the main scales on which individuals may be rated.

ECONOMIC CLASSES

565 The village hierarchy of class differences, based on division of
621 labor and attendant differences in wealth, has been discussed above, pp. 20 ff. This hierarchy is, as we saw, produced primarily by the feudal principle of delegation of work on the land, and is conceptualized in terms of distinct social classes, each with traditionally defined rights and privileges in their relations to each other. Each class is thus a status category, and they are arranged in a hierarchy leading from *laborer* through *tenant farmer*, occasionally an *intermediary capitalist*, and culminating in the *landowner*. This is in itself a power hierarchy, since each superior status directly gives opportunity for control over persons of inferior status positions, within the traditional limits. The *freeholding farmer* class, on the other hand, occupies a status partly divorced from this immediate power hierarchy. Characteristically, where such freeholding farmers are found in a village partly controlled by a large landowner, every effort seems to be made on the part of the landowner to secure property rights also to the remaining fraction of land, and thus place all members of the community in the unambiguous hierarchy of control and power. Consequently freeholding farmers with property of any significance are generally found in tribally organized communities, and a dichotomy between only freeholding vs. only tenant communities generally holds true. *Freeholding farmers* as a class tend to be on a par with the *tenant farmer* class in the larger class system, and frequently control a small group of *laborers*, and in certain areas also the serf class, the *Meskjin*. The main features of the reciprocal relations between these classes have been sketched previously.

565 The special position of the *shepherd* remains to be discussed. He
621 is essentially a laborer, working for a stipulated annual payment in
243 kind (grain), but also receives a sheet of unleavened bread daily
609

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from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small tenant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
tenant farmers (incl. one mullah)	25	123
laborers	5	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Derwish, *Shaikh*, *Seyyid*, Mullah, and *Hadji*.

Derwishes. The derwish religious fraternities illustrate, in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

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792 613 can trace patrilineal descent from Ali unless the *whole tira* claims such descent. None of the South Kurdish *tiras* attempt this, however. *Shaikhs* are consequently characteristic of the non-tribal areas, where they occupy the whole gamut of social positions from landless laborer to feudal lord.

In characteristic Kurdish fashion, *Shaikh* families tend to split up into small endogamous lineage segments, and, though the census materials gathered from a few villages is not statistically reliable in the matter, there is strong suggestion that FaBrDa or other close kin marriage reaches considerably higher frequency than usual in tenant villages, and approaches that found in the politically organized lineages, the *tiras*. However, any embracive *organization* uniting the whole *Shaikh* descent group, or major segments of it, such as would in fact convert it into a type of widely dispersed *tira*, is lacking. It would on the other hand be equaly misleading to think of the *Shaikh* group as an endogamous caste, since extra-group marriages do in fact take place, and the emphasis is not on *Shaikh* endogamy but, in usual Kurdish fashion, on *local lineage* endogamy. It is convenient to think more in terms of these local endogamous *Shaikh* lineages, where they are found in the village community, and relate their comparatively higher endogamy to an effort to retain a special status in the *local* community by not dispersing kinship obligations too widely in that community. Where *Shaikh* families occupy higher social positions, this stress on lineage endogamy tends to disappear, or seems to reflect efforts to prevent the dispersal of family property through the multiple Koranic inheritance rights.

792 581 621 613 554 An example of a *Shaikh* lineage group of tenant farmers, residing in a small village community, might be given. Of 33 households in the village, 7 are of the *Shaikh* lineage, the remaining 26 belonging to various larger and smaller kin groups. Of the heads of these 7 *Shaikh* households, 4 have married a FaBrDa, 2 another close relative, and only 1 a non-relative from outside the community (the sister of a neighboring headman). At least in this generation, there is thus no intermarriage with other families in the local community.

The head of the *Shaikh* lineage is regarded as the most important man in the village, but he is not elected *kikha* (village headman).

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The present *kikha*, whose father and grandfather held the post before him, belongs to another, slightly larger kin block, counting at least 9 households. Furthermore, the frequency of family endogamy in this family of which the *kikha* is the head is less than 50 %, which may account for his «wider appeal» in the community. Thus the emphasis on the special status of the *Sheikh* lineage also tends to isolate this lineage, in part to their disadvantage.

The majority of the *Sheikhs* in the village are tenant farmers, and tend to be among the better situated. One occupies the position as mullah, to which his son will clearly succeed him. However, one of the *Sheikh* household heads is a landless laborer, giving a class distribution in the *Sheikh* lineage of 5 farmers / 1 laborer, as compared to 18 farmers / 4 laborers in the remainder of the community. The class position of the *Sheikh* lineage as a whole is thus not significantly high.

The status of this small *Sheikh* lineage might be contrasted to that of the above mentioned Leaders of Derwish, or to that of Shaikh Mahmud, both of whom have achieved their high position in part by virtue of their descent from the Prophet. The most reasonable generalization seems to be that membership in the *Sheikh* descent group defines a type of position in the religious field which contributes to the general esteem in which a person is held, and which may, in certain situations, contribute to justify a high position of actual power, but which in no way automatically ascribes such power to the individual.

A category of travelling holy men, similarly claiming descent from Mohammed, are given the Arabic name *Sayyid* by Kurdish villagers. Whereas the Kurdish *Sheikhs* claim descent specifically from Hussein, one of Mohammed's two grandsons, through a medieval Persian theologian, the claims of the wandering *Sayyids* are more variable. On the other hand, this reference to religious sanctity forms the basis of their livelihood. The spellation *Sheikh* need only imply high rating on a purely religious scale of sanctity — *Sayyids* convert this into a definite status position, fundamental to their occupation. Preferably conspicuously clothed, and wearing green head-dress as a symbol of their status, they ride from village to village carrying old

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responsibility for religious education taken over by the leader of the local *Sheikh* family. On the other hand, an intelligent mullah, though often formalistic and introvert in his orientation, may play a considerable part in improving the intellectual and sanitary standard of the village (the subject of clean and unclean having importance in a religious context), but does not seem to attempt to extend his influence any wider. His high intellectual standard and foreign values tend to alienate him from the «petty squabbles» of the village; and an ambitious attitude has no real place in the piously fatalistic Islamic world view. To the extent he does not convert his status and prestige into a de-facto power position, the mullah might be said not to be fully integrated into the social structure of the village. He is similarly in no sense an indispensable resident in the village community — very frequently, he is called in only for funerals, naming ceremonies etc., or these functions may even be performed by a local derwish or *Sheikh*. The pattern of training blind boys, necessarily marginal to village society, as mullahs, may in part be related to an appreciation of this marginal position which the mullah occupies.

Hadji. The *Hadji*, on the other hand, is an ordinary member of the village community. His position is related to the scale of piety, and derives simply from having completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. The title, however, is one of considerable respect — in part because it also implicitly indicates high rating on the scale of wealth.

The whole institution of the pilgrimage is the result of the command by the Prophet Mohammed, that any man who has the necessary means to make the pilgrimage *and* support his family at home, or whose family is able to support itself without him, should once in his lifetime journey to the holy city of Mecca. Thus the title of *Hadji* indicates (a) a pious eagerness to follow the command of Mohammed, and (b) moderately prosperous circumstances. One rarely finds more than 3—4 *Hadji* in any one village; these will tend to be at least *among* the leading members of their community.

Formerly, the initiative was individual and the journey hazardous, often achieved by relatively greater physical exertion and less expense, and the title of *Hadji* was thus less of a symbol of wealth than at present.

554 important Kurdish values relating to individual prestige. On the other hand, they are not pure constructs of the investigator, since they do represent verbalized ideals which the Kurdish villager is aware of as alternative modes of behavior in situations. The following are some important scales on which the prestige of a Kurdish villager may be measured:

Family: (a) prestige derived from descent from a person or persons with high prestige, or (b) membership in a large effective kinship unit.

Age: prestige derived from experience and maturity, increasing up to the onset of senility.

Sex: dichotomy favoring the male and relations in the male line.

Wealth: prestige from capital, real or movable property, and occupations tending to produce such.

Sacred powers: the extent of «unseen powers from Good Forces» delegated to the person.

Sanctity: the actual embodyment of sacred powers, or sacred position achieved by personal suffering and renunciation of the world.

Learning and piety: prestige from knowledge of, and conformity to, Moslem religious and moral ideals.

Honor and Bravery: the degree of approach to the Kurdish «hero» — physical prowess, valor, a certain recklessness, respect for women, kindness to the poor, unending hospitality, etc.

THE VILLAGE HIERARCHY

• 621 The formal political structure, and certain subsidiary hierarchies have been outlined, and it was pointed out how the actual power connected with positions in these hierarchies is dependent upon the prestige of the persons occupying them. The organization of the village thus becomes one of super- and sub-ordination of individuals, and universal relevance of status differences in the relations of these individuals.

However, because of the presence of several separable hierarchies of organization, the village relations of super- and sub-ordination do

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not have an opportunity to freeze and become converted into a formal structure (cf. the relations between Hamawand and Mzaljin, and the latter's use of the derwish brotherhoods). Individuals are constantly aligning into factions, manipulating these hierarchies, and the superordination of any particular formal status position will constantly be questioned, and must therefore be supported by the necessary superordination in terms of actual prestige. Thus, if the village were left to itself, the formal village organization of super- and sub-ordination would at any time relate to the differences in total prestige between the individuals holding these formal positions. (21)

An external factor does however enter in the autonomous Kurdish system, which tends to produce a de-facto power hierarchy more or less different from this «ideal» hierarchy. With the backing of an outside force, individuals may have powers vested in them out of proportion to their actual prestige in the local community. This type of outside force will usually be related to wealth — in effect, before the country was subjected to external administration, the economic ability to *buy* riflemen and thus tyrannize a village or section, as in the case of many feudal lords, or on the other hand the ability of one tribe or group, from superior numbers or organization, to suppress other tribes or groups.

The de-facto power hierarchy will then be determined by the balance between the one faction's ability to *buy* or otherwise introduce power into the system, as compared to the other faction's ability to *rally* supporters, referring to the «ideal» hierarchy based on prestige. An important feature of this balance is the fact that the further the de-facto hierarchy differs from the «ideal» hierarchy, the relatively more external power is needed to maintain the position, since the opposing faction's ability to *rally* supporters increases rapidly with the extent of the abuse. — Obviously, the actual balance varies over the area and through time, and a diversity of types of village organization results.

We have thus arrived at some appreciation of the structural reasons for the confusing variety of types of formal organization in the South Kurdish area. At the moment, however, we are not concerned with the specific historic events in these fictional con-

• 62 flicts, producing the present distribution of types, since these depend to considerable extent on variables outside the village system. More important in this connection is the structure of the «ideal» hierarchy, primarily how it develops and asserts itself in the village. For this purpose, the constitution of the village community and village life should be investigated further.

3SZ partial protection from the icy gales that sweep down from the Zagros mountains. In the warm weather, the family moves out on the flat rooftop after sundown, primarily to benefit from the cool breeze off the mountains.

3G1 Wherever a hill is available — which means nearly everywhere in Kurdish territory — the village is placed on a steep slope. That way, the flat rooftop of one house forms a kind of front terrace for the house above it in the hill, and the families tend to use the roof of the house below them for their own purposes, and so on down the line. As indicated by this, the village forms a very compact unit — maybe originally for defence purposes; certainly in part to save trouble by making double use of all walls and partitions in house construction. Frequently, the village is placed in the slope below a cool spring; only in the low country does it depend on wells for water. A common feature is a small pool, fed directly from the spring and protected from pollution by a low stone wall. Around the pool stand tall, shady trees, from which no branch must be broken, and in it one frequently finds large fish, fed by the villagers, [illegible] ritual washing and a favorite place of prayer.

• C2I Although considerable respect is shown for the sanctity of the home, many household activities must necessarily become public, especially in the half-year when they center around the rooftops. A certain everyday pattern of community life thus emerges in the cool of the evening. It requires much conversation and bustle to direct the returning animals to their respective homes in the evening, with shouting and chasing of stray goats over rooftops and along partitions, away from the grainbins and waterskins and infants. Later, each family gathers around the evening meal, and then there is visiting back and forth, news being swapped, a glow in the dark from the fires where the tea is brewing, and a steady murmur of conversation. All through the night, the clamor and activity continues, with braying donkeys, crying babies, dogs chasing cats, cows shifting and groaning.

Though the patterns of each village differ, and any one of them may appear to be only utter confusion, there are, of course, regulari-

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can then be discerned. The village, in all its confusion, sets the scene on which the competing factions act out their parts; even 631
faintly glowing lives of crowding individuals are discerned and appraised in terms of the ideals expressed in the above outlined order; control is attempted and leadership emerges. All these activities take place at more or less standardized occasions — and it is these occasions that will be described in the present chapter. In effect, any type of community or group activity gives an opportunity for status and competition to express itself, and a description of these occasions thus becomes virtually a description of community life.

INFORMAL GROUP FORMATION

Claudius James Rich, visiting Sulaimani in the 1820's, was sur- 574
prised at the regularities of the patterns of visiting, at the large groups that would congregate in the house of some acquaintance or in the open, and spend their time smoking and drinking tea, while talking way into the small hours [illegible]. This is also found strongly developed in Sulaimani today.

In the village, the farmer must of course keep rather different hours, and he invariably rises with the sun; but the same pattern is discernable. In the summer nights, visitors may be received on the roof-tops; in the daytime, or when the weather is colder, any important visitor is showed to a special room, and a more or less standard group will quickly congregate. In the hot weather, other kinds of groups will congregate during the day in any bit of shade — under the trees by the pool, or on the roof-tops that are shaded by trees. These informal groups seem essentially of two types, one the group of village leaders in «the smoke-filled room» to borrow an idiom from American politics, the other a less clearly defined evening society of persons of lower status.

«*The smoke-filled room*». In the traditional tribal system, the 573
Agha of the village should keep a guesthouse, in which the head of 574
families, all kinsmen of the *Agha*, and any visitor have a right to sit. In the area around Rowanduz, this seems to be an institution of

considerable economic importance, and a source of much prestige for the hospitable *Agha* (Leach op. cit., pp. 28—31).

The practice in South Kurdish area differs somewhat from this ideal — it would be a very important man who went to the expense of keeping an open house in a special room; men of such importance and means are no longer found as residents in the villages. The typical *Agha* among the Hamawands will receive visitors in a small room, kept clean and reasonably empty for the purpose; the hospitality extended to the visitor is out of all proportion to the means of the host, but is not normally extended to all persons who would have a right to sit in the guesthouse. Similarly, from being the common center of the village, to which all the important men repair, it has become in fact the center of only a faction in the village, though admittedly the most important one. This development is of course carried further in the non-tribal villages, where every man of any importance attempts to utilize a certain room as guesthouse, playing the role of host and senior member among the individuals who normally congregate there.

[illegible] be served tea. There is a formal pattern of etiquette attached to this, which unfortunately for the visitor who tries to be polite varies between different areas — some places, one is expected to leave after the third glass, other places they insist that the only polite thing is to drink seven or even eleven glasses in a string. The act of distributing of the tea gives an opportunity to express the prestige scale by the sequence in which people are served; also, in the presence of a visitor, everyone is careful to use the proper honorific titles to one another. All the time, cigarettes of dry Kurdish tobacco are smoked, the men crowd together in the half darkness and argue agitatedly, the fire smolders and smokes, and the atmosphere quickly becomes extremely heavy.

The persons assembling normally in the smoke-filled room are the policy makers of the village or a main faction of it. In this forum, all matters of common interest are discussed, the actions of the various members of the group coordinated, and opinions and plans crystallized. Within the group, of course, relative prestige is

[illegible] of the Agha's guest house. — [illegible]

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

constantly measured, and rivalry between members is directed towards out-doing each other in the eyes of the group as a whole. 521 • 534

«Roof-top society». An other immediately apparent type of informal group which is constantly formed is that of roof-top society. The smoke-filled room houses a more polite and essentially closed society; roof-top society includes more diverse persons, and emerges from practically any aggregation of individuals who are not engaged in productive pursuits. There is a tendency for the individuals of the highest prestige to stay away from such groups, since the joking and horse-play may be rather personal and quite free, and the rules of «proper» behavior easily forgotten. Thus, though formed from an open aggregation of individuals, which any male transient as well as villager may join, it develops in practice into a gang of village youths and men, primarily the younger and more irresponsible, and the men of lower class status.

The same problems that are debated in the «smoke-filled room» may also be discussed here, but with less stress on policy forming and more stress on the anecdotal. Prestige differences in the group [illegible] position to mediate. At the same time, the group serves as a forum for complaints against abuses. Here the attitudes of the less privileged sections of the village to specific issues become coordinated; pressures are applied and excitement created that may lead to concerted action where persons feel they have been badly wronged.

Women's groups. Women are excluded from both these types of groups, as well as from «political» activities in general. Though they prepare the food that may be consumed in the «smoke-filled room», they should not show themselves there, and, for example, tea-brewing, which should be done on the spot, is in the hands of a younger male kinsman of the host. In fact, when a visitor arrives in whom they take an interest, they may find domestic work to do within earshot though out of sight, or a small son of the house is slipped in as informant. The actual extent to which women contribute in shaping the opinions of their men is difficult to evaluate, and surely varies tremendously, but is usually probably slight. On the other hand, they have access to information, especially gossip, 562 573 [272]

which the head of the family has not, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in «the smoke-filled room», (b) the men of less prestige get together in an informal «coffee society», and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complete status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above; and many village mullahs find it difficult to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — «they come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home». Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

intensity of village loyalty is produced that is rarely found in other tenant villages.

Ritual homage. Whereas many villages lack the central focus of a mosque, religious activities still have considerable integrative functions, especially the standardized prayers, or, more properly, the ritual homage paid to Allah five times daily, facing Mecca, as the Prophet Mohammed commanded. This homage being of a standardized type and involving a stereotyped series of postures, supposedly performed simultaneously by all the villagers, it symbolizes a solidarity and *gemeinschaft* that must be re-inforced, shall the community persist. The personal prayer occasionally appended is unimportant; the emphasis is on the common ritual.

The time for prayer is specified in relation to sunrise and sundown, e. g. one two hours preceding, another one and a half hours after sundown. Since no clocks or watches are commonly available in the village, «calling to prayer» gives opportunity for controlling behavior in the religious field, and thus for the emergence of a type of leadership. Where a mullah is present, he naturally performs the function; where there is no mullah, the local derwish or head of the local derwishes tries to assume this responsibility. His melodious chant certainly thrills a Western ear in the quiet evening; but the call is not automatically responded to very quickly; furthermore, *Hadji* and other important persons will need to take an autonomous view of the proper time for prayers. Thus, unless a mullah of some importance is present, the degree of *leadership* implied in calling to prayer is rather slight. However, this fact would not seem to detract significantly from the integrative symbolism of the simultaneous ritual homage to God.

Communal magic. The only cases of communal magic which I became aware of are concerned with the most critical and unpredictable questions in Kurdish subsistence: rain. The other examples of magic are of different type: The ordinary derwish antics, performed in public, are not instrumental in the sense that they are directed towards achieving some practical and generally esteemed end; the magic connected with amulets for protection etc. are of a personal and private kind. The art of rainmaking, on the other hand, is still

practiced as a communal rite in cases of need, and gives the competent derwish an opportunity to reinforce his special position and demonstrate his control of power.

The actual rite is in rough outline quite simple. After an all-night session of prayer and purification on the part of the derwish, he is taken to a pool in the near-by, dwindling stream, and submerged in the water.

It is difficult to say just what degree of emotional intensity is involved in the rite as far as a majority of the participants is concerned. In the special case in question, they did not seem particularly impressed — the derwish involved was one who was frequently the object of mild horseplay, and the actual act of ducking him might have some appeal to the less serious minded. However this may be, the gravity of drought should not be underestimated, and would hardly be conducive to horseplay. The winter rains seemed to have stopped much too early, and the rite was a response to this serious situation. Considering this, the performance was probably more emotionally charged than some of the superficial comments might suggest, and certainly served to emphasize the unity and solidarity of the group. — It might incidentally be noted that this specific rite also was successful, in that fairly heavy rains followed shortly.

Thus, this ritual of rainmaking is concerned with a very critical communal problem, and enables the derwish to assume a momentary position of dominant importance in his community. An interesting deviation from the stated norm was also observed in this case: the young son of the village *Agha* was submerged alongside with the derwish[1]). This equivalence may be significant in several respects. From the point of view of the derwish, it indicates the considerable extent of his momentary prestige — from a normal status of laborer he is elevated to temporary equivalence with the heir apparent of the village *Agha*. It may also illustrate something in the Kurdish conception of power: there is no really clear distinction made between the

[1]) The fact that the son rather than the *Agha* himself was chosen is best understood in terms of the slightly ambivalent situation, and the rather undignified appearance of the actor following immersion.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

sacred powers of the derwish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma.

THE FEAST

The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnises feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread.

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a man, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige.

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrance in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and resultant total status positions become systematized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

takes place after sundown, since there should be a fast observed during the day in Ramadan month — as a matter of fact, this fast is observed by very few. However, this degree of Ramadan celebration is not usual. The last three days of that month, on the other hand, are universally regarded as holidays, and serve as formal occasion for forgiving enemies, affirming village loyalties, and reinforcing ties of friendship.

Ramadan is defined in terms of a year of lunar months, and thus falls some days earlier in relation to the seasons for every year. At the time of the present fieldwork, the end of Ramadan coincided roughly with the completion of the harvest; it is difficult to say which aspects of the proceedings were connected with the one, as distinct from the other event. The celebration on the main, first day consisted of four major phases: (1) religious service (2) formal communal meal (3) payment of tax to the mosque (4) informal social celebrations.

The religious service was led by the son of the mullah of the neighboring village, since the village in which I was staying at the time had no mullah of its own. It was held in the house of the *Hadji*, the actual leader and *kikha* of the village. The local derwish, reacting to the presence of only an un-ordained officiator, tried to assert himself by interjecting loud and pious exclamations, but was soon quieted down as the mullah's son speeded on through the text.

After the ritual followed the communal meal, supplied by the *Hadji*, and his prestige profited by a subtle balance between the conspicuous exhibition of plenty tempered with a pious avoidance of over-indulgence. Two of the lower-class laborers, who had been fidgeting and feeling out of place, took the opportunity to busy themselves by serving the tea; but the *Hadji* insisted upon their status as guests, and they were quickly relieved by a young son, whom he called in for the purpose. Before the meal, hands were kissed (with a tendency towards reciprocity only between social equals or very close kin), misunderstandings forgotten and grudges forgiven. After the meal, some small boys appeared and kissed the hands of all the men present.

This being completed, the heads of village households each pledged

a tax of three kg. of grain to the mosque for each household member. This is done by each of the men in turn seating himself before the mullah, with a symbolic tray of grain between them. The men follow one another in a descending order of prestige, involving public acceptance and confirmation of the actual hierarchy of individuals in the village. At one or two points there was some hesitation, and very elusive momentary pressures were brought to bear by the group on the actors to assure the «right» sequence. This occasion also gave the *Hadji* an opportunity to affirm his leading position in the village by pledging 3.5 kg. pr. person to the mosque, and with a grand gesture paying for a poor widow in the village, not represented by any male, as well as for my interpreter, who, not being of the village, did not dispose of any grain.

At the completion of this, the group dispersed. Later in the day, the landowner appeared, and people also from the neighboring villages drifted in in informal groups and congregated in a large circle in the courtyard of the house in which he was staying. For the remaining period, celebrations involved only smaller, informal groups and individual visiting.

— I have chosen to describe this occasion in some detail, since it was observed under favourable conditions and illustrates the situation in which the hierarchy of individuals in the village is expressed, and how the individual's rating of himself is confirmed or contradicted by the group. Other religious festivals serve an essentially similar function, though they may in part be more amenable to manipulation and «social climbing». For example, two months ten days after Ramadan follows *Qorbani*, the feast of sacrifice, lasting four days, and centering around the killing of a large animal — sheep or preferably cow. Any person may volunteer to do Qorbani, and offer his cow up — though there are probably informal controls on who may in fact presume to that extent. *Maolud*, Mohammed's birthday, is similarly celebrated by a semi-communal feast and conspicuous consumption; the various other holidays are of a more private kind.

Rites de passage. The various rites marking transitions in the status position of individuals through their life cycle are less formally controlled. They are communal in a different sense from the ritual-

765 in the vilage as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by pious ideals of moderation.

574 551 621 576 To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, ofers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especiallyn the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by idealsf moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which inividuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuas, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a egular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the tea coms out of the host's one samovar, individuals must necessarily be serv in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *firs* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarde as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to expos a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places conscious. In seating in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followd. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, bt are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instanc, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mchanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compard and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practicly all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southes Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can be expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

721 701 The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) This ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter VI

Integration of part-statuses

• 421 359 Such then is the «scene» on which most social activities take place, and where control and organization emerge. This organization however, as has repeatedly been pointed out, is one of supra- and subordination of individuals, and not a formal hierarchy of offices, divorced from the persons filling them. The actual position of the individual thus derives from all of his part-statuses, from his prestige, as derived from his rating on the suggested scales, and from his ability to exploit the possibilities offered by these factors and by chance occasions.

The integration of all these analytically separable factors into a final position in the local group hierarchy poses a problem, and in this problem the familiar anthropological techniques and concepts can offer little help. In a traditional system, where individuals are permitted to make political demands on their followers, not by virtue of being vested with an abstract office, but as *individuals* by virtue of their higher status, there must be a single, unitary hierarchy of individuals. In Kurdish society, status is derived from a number of separate and in part mutually exclusive hierarchies and contexts; these elements of status, or part-statuses, must needs be added up somehow — some common denominator must exist by which the elements are given relative values. This common denominator is locally spoken of, and it has seemed analytically convenient to regard it as a wide concept of *power*. But it is fruitless to attempt to con-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

struct a formula for the addition of these part-statuses. Their relative weights are revealed only in very few contexts of real life, since such a tremendous number of variables combine in the relations between any two individuals.

At least in certain situations, some qualifications to leadership take precedence over others, and impediments in one field can be overcome or outweighed by advantages in other fields. With respect to the part-status positions, some of these seem to be mutually incompatible, in that they can not easily be occupied by the same individual; others are mutually exclusive to the extent of not coexisting in the same local community. Finally, there are conflicts of loyalties: which units of reference take precedence over others in a situation of choice.

The culture of the Kurdish villager is not an integrated culture, in the sense that there are no discrepancies and conflicts between norms. Various rules and values may in certain situations come into clear opposition. Though for some such conflicts, standardized solutions or circumlocutions have been developed, this is most clearly not true of all. Such unresolved problems are the fields where change and adaptation take place. But by virtue of the lack of consistent logic and a minimum of agreement, these are fields that can not readily be described, much less analyzed, by the anthropologist. The following section contains a discussion, based on my own and some secondary material, of some of the more crude and obvious aspects of this situation. All I can attempt to do is demonstrate a few clearer cases of precedence and incompatibility, and suggest certain systematic distinctions between questions of (a) impediments to leadership, (b) general incompatibility of part-statuses, and (c) precedence of loyalties to alternative groups and identifications.

IMPEDIMENTS AND QUALIFICATIONS TO LEADERSHIP

The order of importance of the various qualifications to high positions are most clearly revealed in the emergence of formally recognized leadership. In certain situations, impediments to leadership may be overcome by the possession of other qualifications that take precedence. Since autonomous Kurdish institutions are only partially

563 In summary, the following diagram (No. 9) suggests the relative
• 621 positions of various social categories in the village hierarchy, and
554 their approximate spread on an ordinate of «low-high» — obviously a very impressionistic diagram, for illustrative purposes only. Different part-statuses that do not overlap in their spread on the low-high

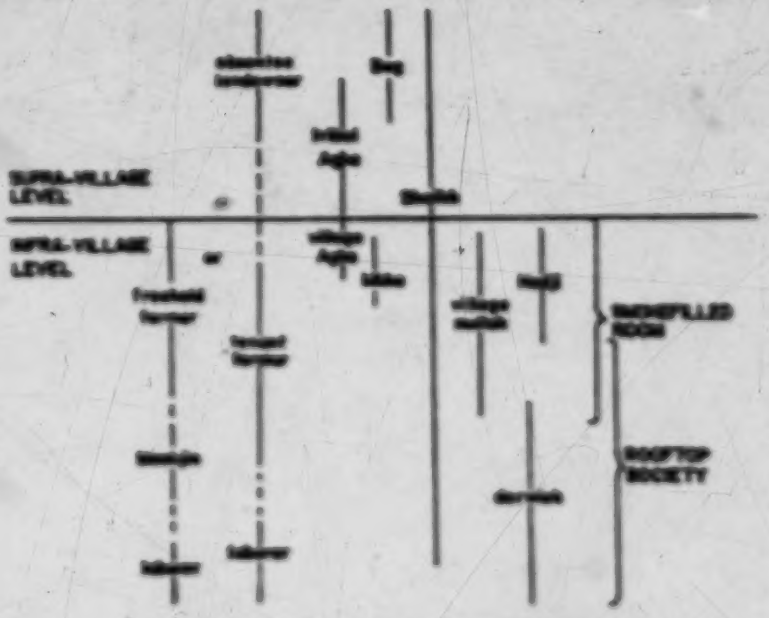

Diagram No. 9. Relative status of some social categories.

axis are incompatible; furthermore, the mullah often not being fully integrated in the community, there will be a lower frequency of combination of the status of mullah with the other, theoretically compatible, part-statuses.

PRECEDENCE IN LOYALTIES

571 In some conflict situations, any specific individual may be faced with a choice as to which group or person he should support — primarily the alternatives of lineage group vs. lord, lineage group

him by overstepping his «reasonable» area of free grace in his relation to them.

In thinking about social relations, this essentially involves substituting the word «reasonable» for «right» — the latter being rigid and absolute, the former being defined in terms of numerous considerations of the specific situation. Obviously, different individuals with different temperament, experience, and values will have various ideas of what is «reasonable» — consequently, any type of superordination that does not involve constant face-to-face relations with the subordinates must be an uneasy one — hence the importance of the bodyguard, even for the more minor Kurdish leaders.

In the case of conflicting loyalties, the specific situation in the village and area concerned decides which group identification takes precedence. This is clearly illustrated in choices between identification with, or loyalties to, the landlord, the lineage or kin group, and the village community. How completely considerations of power override general rules of loyalty is finally illustrated by conflicts within the family of the old Baban Pashas.

Lineage group vs. lord. In the Kurdish tribal system, genealogical and local groups coincide, and these groups are also the organizational units in a formal political sense. A somewhat similar correspondence is characteristic of the non-tribal tenant villages. Thus, since they coincide, the relative importance of the identification with the kin group and with the political unit, as personified by the political officeholder or lord, can not easily be determined. Only in the rather unusual cases where the two are different, do problems of identification and precedence arise.

An example of the relative powers of the landowner vs. the lineage leader is offered by the *Barzi Gawra* group, settled on the land of [illegible] Shaikh Mahmud as tenant farmers. The Barzi Gawra are one of ten branches of the *Mawsi tira*, the *Ratz* of which is Said Ali Khobar of Sulaimani.

Formally, the position of the *Ratz* is quite similar to that in other *tirat*, though more directly dependent on «democratic» approval. Succession is decided by a council of the important men of the ten villages. This council is limited by informal controls, being open to

FaBrDa marriage pattern, the characteristics become meaningful, and the different function of kinship terminology in the Kurdish type of lineage organization and other types of lineages emerges:

Where a moderately consistent pattern of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy is followed, the local, endogamous community becomes in fact the descent group. In the Kurdish system, these local descent groups are given names — in effect village names, which thus indicate both residence and descent, and thereby political affiliation. The corporate framework of the lineage is thus given directly in the named residence units, and kinship terms are unnecessary to further emphasize this corporate character. On the contrary, the terminology measures collateral distance, of considerable importance where relatives beyond a certain degree tend to form separate, endogamous sub-sections, disruptive to village unity and ultimately conducive to fission. Essentially, however, the kinship terminology is liberated from its functions in defining political units in the lineage system, and is utilized simply to describe relationship, possibly with a primary interest in inheritance. Here the effect of the complex Islamic law of inheritance may have been considerable — if it has in fact been applied to sufficient extent in its more subtle ramifications.

A second modification of the usual pattern, concerned with law and the blood feud, would seem to follow from the combination of a lineage organization and preferential FaBrDa marriage. Fortes (1953) summarizes: «where the lineage is found as a corporate group, all the members of a lineage are to outsiders jurally equal and represent the lineage which they exercise legal and political rights and duties in relation to society at large. This is what underlies so-called collective responsibility in blood vengeance and self-help as among the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940) and the Bedouin (Peters among the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940) and the Bedouin (Peters 1951).» On the background of this, the probable absence of weak development of collective responsibility and blood feud in Kurdish society might seem puzzling.

Where the lineage system is associated with a pattern of village endogamy, however, as in the Kurdish system, the maximal lineage becomes in effect «the society», not merely one organized group

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

within it. Thus the whole situation in which jural concepts are to be applied changes radically. No supra-lineage political authority is developed, and no interaction between a lineage and other groups is necessary, except for a certain minimum of trade. At the time of the present fieldwork, of course, and probably for most tribes in the area at most times in the last 300 years, the maximal lineages were in fact not totally independent. They were, however, subject to external administration, and that not consistently; and the indigenous social organization does not call for or lead to any supra-lineage integration. The concept of jural equivalence is thus meaningless as applied to a Kurdish maximal lineage; such a concept could only be relevant as applied within the lineage, between groups of recognized blood relatives within the political unit. In this case, the disruptive effects of conflicts between what are in fact territorial groups within the unit prevent the extension of patterns of revenge to include larger collectivities than the immediate family, or a group of accomplices.

However, the lineage organization is only one type of social organization prevalent in the Kurdish area. With the breakdown of this regional organization based on politically autonomous, endogamous descent groups, the integration of the separate, endogamous villages into larger political units poses a new problem. Non-tribal Kurdish social organization might be summarized as a system of hierarchical statuses, identified with particular individuals, and maintained by force more than anything else. This organization is then expanded into a larger, regional, semi-feudal system. This was at best a very labile structure, until frozen by the intervention of effective external administration which favored status quo. In the place of the regional displacements of lineage groups in large tribal districts, one finds an open web of relations between separate, endogamous, socially quite autonomous small villages. There form no natural larger units, except in purely physiographic or dialect terms. In this open web, feudal hierarchies might establish areas of influence, but until external administration imposed an arbitrary regional classification in terms of counties and districts, any areal units tended to be extremely fluid.

• 61 Parsons (1952) states the problem in general terms: «There seem
67 to be certain elements of inherent instability in societies where the overwhelming bulk of the population is organized on the basis of peasant village communities. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the village community as a primary focus of solidarity can only within very narrow limits be an effective unit for the organization of the use of force. It is, in the face of any more extensive organization, not a defensible unit. Hence there must always be a 'superstructure' over a peasant society, which, among other things, organizes and stabilizes the use of force. The question is how far such a superstructure is, as it were, 'organically' integrated with the self-contained village communities and often the level of integration is not high.» (pp. 142-3).

"This problem of *integration* the local non-tribal political institutions were unable to solve satisfactorily; and the secondary role played by the quite large Kurdish population in the history of the Middle East may to considerable extent be related to this failure.

B: Leach E-S (1958) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

Q4 The tribe in turn is frequently divided into subsections called tira (branch), though in many contexts the two terms appear to be interchangeable. The Hilanbarifi tribe referred to before are for instance subdivided into three tira each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Mella Sherif. These sons (I did not obtain their names) are supposed to have settled respectively in Serga, Galala and Bort, and these villages remain the centres of their respective tira to the present day. Thus the Agha of Bort is overlord of a number of villages by virtue of the fact that he is head of his tira. The Shevkini tribe is similarly subdivided into three tira, the names being given to me as Mala Agha, Bala Ewmed and Kamali Bahaddin Agha - these being presumably the names of the ancestral founders of the lineage. On the other hand some persons at least did not seem to be closely aware of this subdivision and on being asked the name of their tira would reply "Shevkini". Moreover I was assured by one informant that there is no difference between tribe and tira, but that the one is bigger than the other. This is I think an accurate description. Tira is a type of kinship group fairly frequently encountered by anthropologists. Usually termed lineage, but more aptly described by Firth as ramage, it differs only from the clan group in scale and political cohesion. With the loosening of political ties the distinction between the two types of grouping tends to disappear. The Agha of Bort for instance claimed to me that he was head of his own tribe and an equal rank to Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balesk. Sheikh Mohammed of course did not admit this claim but entertained that Mir Bahik, Agha of Bort was his subject.

From this description and the examples quoted it is clear that the terms subject, tribe and tira fall into the normal anthropological classifications of tribe, clan and lineage (ramage), with the single abnormality that the clans are in this case endogamous, or largely so.

Inheritance of Land Tenure

M/ The settlements for the most part consist of small villages (gund) scattered along the valleys. The term gund really includes both the houses and the cultivation surrounding them and may at times prove confusing. The gund of Sangasian for instance contains ten houses only, that of Sangala has over a hundred. Every gund is the "property" of a landlord (Agha). If the Agha owns only one gund as is the case of Bahik Amin Agha of Sangasian he will live in it himself; if

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*See C.Daryll Forde - Plurism and Accretion in the Peterillewed.
*See C.Daryll Forde - Plurism and Accretion in the Peterillewed. Clans of a semi-Bantu community in Southern Nigeria J.R.A.I. Vol. 69; 316.
D.Firth - We, the Tikopia:370,371.

512. Note however that owing to the rule of cross-cousin marriage, Kurdish tribe and tira tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous.

happens when the same empirical facts are considered without an adequate appreciation of the sociological significance of kinship. The following quotations illustrate the position of the Agha as understood by Soj.

The first is reasonable enough:-

(p. 45) A tribe is a community or federation of communities which exists for the protection of its members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and standards of life. Some tribes have an recognised chief's some have many.

The second is more hypothetical:-

(p. 45/46) The position of the chief varies greatly in different tribes. In the remoter mountains, though granted the most engrossing chieftancy, he is distinctly one of the tribesmen, the leading member of a family which has won its headship through military prowess. Lower down he often belongs to an entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections, and in different tribes we find many sections with the same names. This points to the fact that the sections represent the original owners of the soil, while the present chiefs belong to powerful families who have invaded their domains and stolen their lands. This is notably the case with the Bizai where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful family, against which a few old tribal Aghas and headmen still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than tribal.

The statement that in the foothill and plains area the Aghas are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has already been commented upon in Chapter I. The idea that the Saifs "represent the original owners of the soil", while the permanent tribal Aghas are conquering overlords is more fantasy; while as for the Bizai the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" (saifs) while the land is mostly held by town dwelling landlords who have no kinship affiliations with the Bizai at all. While this lineage distinction between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is quite simple:-

(Soj. p. 47) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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421 Such generalisations may lead to some startling sociological
422 conclusions:-
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(p.221) This village (Merga; Map 2) lies just below Sheikh Mohammad Agha's residence (Balash) in the Balik country, and its inhabitants, some fifty families in number, are nearly all his relations. Being of 'chiefly' descent they consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate the soil; they have therefore only two means of livelihood, sponging on Sheikh Mohammad Agha who pays them most of his salary to keep them quiet, and looting and taking toll from the caravans that pass along the Persian Road.

This paragraph I consider most illuminating. For it is precisely on the basis of such evidence that the British policy of 'military pacification' is carried out on all the outlying frontiers of Empire. The tribesmen just beyond the border are always, it seems, "desperate bandits and brigands" intent on plundering the innocent peasantry within the jurisdiction of the British raj. Hay of course does not intentionally deceive. He had only seen Merga from afar and was merely recording the position as outlined to him by Sheikh Mohammad. In giving this account however Sheikh Mohammad was fairly obviously blackmailing the British Administrator for more money, and was probably himself responsible for the particular piece of brigandage complained of. Merga today has one of the most extensive cultivations of the whole district, and is considered a prosperous village. There seems no reason to suppose that the position was radically different in 1920, even though the ravages of war had temporarily disorganised the agricultural arrangements of the whole area.

721 This is not special pleading on behalf of the villagers of Merga
161 or of the Kurds in general, but it is time that their nefarious activities were seen in proper proportion. It must be admitted that prior to the establishment of an external authority most Kurdish tribes freely resorted to brigandage on every possible occasion. It was a socially approved aspect of inter-tribal life and one upon which the Kurds themselves lay great emphasis in folk tale and tradition. But it is this very emphasis that has led to the fabulous distortions that appear in all accounts of Kurdish life either lay or official. To read the literature one must suppose that in former times the majority of Kurdish communities lived solely on the proceeds of plunder and ransom; and while the Government continues its present policy of cultural suppression such fallacies are obviously convenient. But the unbiased observer cannot avoid the conclusion that most of the more spectacular exploits of Kurdish brigandage are products of the Kurds' own imagination. Seen in their proper scale these warlike activities can never have been more than an exciting gloss upon the normal balanced cycle of agricultural economics.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

622 landlord of the soil - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village Guest House. As we shall see later these two functions are closely interrelated.

600 Social Organization Areas other than Balik

As explained earlier my information for groups other than the Balik must be treated with reserve. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

• 621 177 Area B. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as the Surchi and the Khushnaw were originally organized on much the same lines as described above but that owing to their relatively long period of contact with an external administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relation with their tenants. The villages moreover lack the clan homogeneity noticeable among the Balik.

621 Area C. Mention has already been made of the principle settled tribes of this area, the Dizai and the Girdi. With the Dizai as recorded by Hay the organization is feudal rather than tribal, since the village Aghas are not of the same kin group as their tenants. I was told that "all the Dizai call each other uncle" implying, if true, that the whole tribe consists of one half's only. With the Girdi the position appears to be somewhat different. Jamil Agha, their paramount chief, is himself a Girdi but is a townsman in habit and holds himself very much aloof from his followers.

361 312 In its technological aspects the plains culture differs markedly from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important sociological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are larger than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites (Bakrika for instance) have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Nomads

621 Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organization of tribes such as the Bashi differs in many respects from that of the settled tribes. In terminology the term hahila appears to correspond to mahleet and khel to taifa but the identity may not be exact. The term hahe corresponds to gund and implies a small settlement of tents in one location. This last term is also used by the settled peoples. Thus among the Harkiki

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowandiz

of Balik the people leave their villages during the hot months of the summer and live in tents instead. This was the case when I visited Ali Agha of Bayat. Bayat on this occasion had as a matter of fact divided into two separate bobs one under Ali Agha himself and the other under his brother, both were located within a mile or so of the deserted village. Among the nomads, I was told, the bobs are small in size, each group consisting merely of a single extended family (e.g. Father, brothers, sons and dependants). Although in the course of their annual migrations the Baliki spread out over a wide area the whole group of "more than 2000 tents" are directly controlled by a single paramount chief, Pirtak Agha i Baliki. According to my informants the Baliki own over a million sheep and some 20,000 cattle; but the Baliki are notoriously fond of large figures. A notable characteristic of the Baliki appears to be their extreme hardiness. They live in their black tents throughout the winter and I was told numerous improbable tales of the astonishing rigours and privations they are said to put up with. They appeared in fact to have an almost legendary quality even for the settled peoples through whose land they pass.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII Rowanduz

511 178 494 [511]

in other times, and that the economy of the village will not stand the strain.

Such point is best to this by the fact that Aziz Agha of Sayed [head of the Shaykhs], who being a central subordinate of Sheikh Mahmoud received no Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman of the tendencies towards sophistication. Moreover, far from resenting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shaykhs land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an addition to their own right instead of merely a tenth of the Sadik. It seems significant too that the Shaykhs, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalization emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the entertainment of the Guest House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commune. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commune not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distinction has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

511 Bil 494

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the "emphasis of production" varies considerably. One village may specialize in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical circumstances - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Agha concerned. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organization of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowandiz

Leach. The land possibly available for tobacco cultivation."

In roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated; - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 312 621

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Portable irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Portable irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dergala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Beine where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the Assyrian tenants were not settled in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alqosh villages of the Nahaum District, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there have to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the rock terraces were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such uncleared land rest at present exclusively with the Agha. 939 311

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant cultivators and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the chief harvest comes in 464 311

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

by established Kurds from the Shiranish area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Rowanduz area. Interestingly the cheapest labour is that which is least organized. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organization of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the actions for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different communes, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Smiths

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then washed up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Palwah and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the herdsman was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families sometimes to handed contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own sheep this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Herdlet of Bapat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hamlet, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This describes the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have an interest of their own. The men still scarcely all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Erbil.

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowandu:

48
Land Scarcity, Dowry Construction and Kinship

The indications are that land resources are for the most part only utilized at present technical equipment permits the exploitation of marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic investment in soil. Except on the overland country where Shalee shows conditions are too arduous, where is cultivated whatever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shallow ponds for subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried for up onto the steep hill face. There there is clear evidence that the land supplies grain are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

Land scarcity appears to be the most plausible explanation for the very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which would have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes as at Balak and at Sepir the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the relation of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village as can be seen from photograph 8a. The house in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is an exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconvenience of such close proximity it would hardly be attractive. If however economic developments of the future tend to overthrow the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which emphasizes any effort on the part of the Agha to recognize the rights of land owners and cultivators as those of greater effectiveness.

One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole agricultural economy is open about production and where the limitations of water supply naturally affect the whole economic organization of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. Such factors applies only to the villages of the

[illegible]

Pr Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mah-
721 mudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Sanandaj Road,
and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz.
The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers
of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers.
Finally a truce was effected whereby Iranian officers were ex-
changed,* each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds
were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to
Bonab and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from
reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki
returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

581 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his
609 iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his
country. Although feeling against the British on account of the
expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-
British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the
Kurds considered they had been victims of British oppression,
was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic,
at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests
of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going con-
642 cern. Although desirous of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi
• 621 Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing
only the title of its ministers from wazir (minister) to rais (chief).
629 Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party
(Pishewa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by
their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie
locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but com-
manded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Maha-
bad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had
become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with
Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated
Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

*The Kurdish Iranian officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Hosseinzadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army gained control of Mahabad and was executing resistant Kurds.

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 hSA11 Kurd hSA11
Iraq

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful aghā, whose armed retainers guarded the mukān (serfs) from any who might interrupt or tyrannize the village. In return for this the aghā exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An aghā used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an emergency, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of removing them from the powerful protection. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghā and the mukān, but the aghā are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikh. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *sayyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not remained themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used their religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p 392 (2)]

Hitchcock G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kent MA11
Iraq

735 Quite understand how men born and bred
739 in this village under the eye of their shaikh could not but regard him as possessing supernatural powers.

621 In modern Iraq the power of the shaikhs
622 and aghas has been curtailed. The
732 villager still works under his agha as the servant of the land—the only one, in fact, who is competent to organize and supervise the work of the village; but the simplest villager now realizes that all the power of his agha or bullying of his shaikh will avail him little should he unwisely be persuaded to act contrary to the law.

900 Certain individual Iraqis who cannot claim tribal ancestry talk glibly of "breaking up the tribes" and "exterminating the aghas" as has been done in some other countries, but on the whole the Iraq government treats the matter with greater foresight and seeks mainly to "break" those chiefs who use their influence against the government.

783

[A 393(c)]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

able to find their way back, settled in the mountains of Kürdistan.'

The two above described classes of Kürds are distinguished among themselves by terms signifying respectively, "Dwellers in tents," or "Nomads," and "Labourers," or "Subjects" (*Rayahs*).

The present Kürds are said to outnumber the warriors in the proportion of four or five to one. The latter are estimated at some thirteen thousand families, of whom ten thousand are nomad, the remainder being settled in the towns and villages. All these warrior Kürds are divided into tribes, of which they distinguish three kinds: *eshiré* (great tribes), *gushlik* (medium tribes), and *ilchi* (small tribes). These are counted by tents or houses, each of which contains from five to twenty inmates. The great tribes are subdivided into *gushlik* and *ilchi*, or merely into *ilchi*, which term is also generally used to denote a tribe, whether great or small. The small tribes which are unconnected with an *eshiré* are called isolated *ilchi*.

The tribe, or clan, consist of the family of the chief, and a number of other families more or less closely connected with it. In their encampments the tent of the chief is conspicuous among the others by its size, for it is the council chamber, court of justice, and general meeting-place of the elders of the tribe, and in it general hospitality is exercised. Clan feeling and devotion to the chief are the leading characteristics of these wild people. The head of the tribe is, however, not an arbitrary ruler, the voice of the

[1] Rhodes, *An Abridgment, or Chronicle, &c.*, p. 100.

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

630
631 elders having great weight, and, as I shall subse-
632 quently point out, even the women are not excluded
from a share in the politics of the tribe.

175 Though more or less dominated by the numerous
176 conquerors who have successively, for three thousand
years, overrun those regions which are now called
Kurdistan, the Kurds have never ceased to own a
distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest
they have been constantly wavering between the two
rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as
represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively,
siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now
with one party and now with the other. Notwith-
722 standing their sufferings in the destructive wars of
649 conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian,
176 and the constant internal feuds fomented by both
those nations in order to weaken the power of the
Kurdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-
independence, preserving their nationality as distinct
from that of their neighbours as in earlier days,
though possessing no dynasty, political constitution,
ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to
bind them together.

667 Three times during the present century have
national aspirations incited them to throw off the
Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of
mountainous country over which they are scattered,
their successes have been but partial and ungatory.
181 Representatives as they probably are of the ancient
179 Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long pre-
served its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

II

At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines, the country is divided into fourteen livas, each under a mutesarif. The liva is subdivided into qadhas, each under a kaimmaqam. The qadha is in turn subdivided into a number of nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a belediye municipality appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the intricacies of metropolitan administration. The people have a mukhtar, selected from the local inhabitants, who, while in no sense a public official, acts in liaison between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the 'umda in contemporary Egypt.[1]

The qadha or district of Rowanduz belongs to the Erbil liva, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Rowanduz. In spite of this official's labors in resolving a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the "villages" here referred to may vary from a few isolated

[1] Agresti, 1945, pp. 47-48.

and lords. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the matter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted to move the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were once nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Medieval days but a generic term for rough wanderers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the hetahir, with their mobility and firepower (the sword of the Middle East emphasizes weapons to a much greater extent than the agriculturist), exercised until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with hetahir groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

[1]Bamberg, 1911, p. 254.

Unlike many Kurdish and Nestorian villagers, as well as the people of Ruwanduz itself, the Jutaliq all belong to one or another "tribe" (Kurdish, 'ashiret, from Arabic, 'ashira), a matter which also demands clarification. The typical Kurdish tribe contains several elements of a different character. Membership usually depends upon descent, but individual families or much larger groups can change their tribal allegiance, and either join another group, or form an individual tribe of their own. While some of the larger confederations appear to be of considerable antiquity, the smaller groups come and go with the vicissitudes of war, wealth, and leadership. Nor are the tribes made up exclusively of nomads, for, while the nomad may play a dominant role in furnishing pugnacious leadership and armed men, the wealth and numerical strength of such a group come largely from its villagers. Because many of the chieftains are landowners, persons living in villages owned by them, whether Muslim Kurds or Nestorian Christians, are said to "belong" to the chieftain's tribe. Nestorians often dress in the typical garb of their "tribe," taking part in many of its common affairs, although there is almost no possibility of intermarriage between them and their Muslim fellows. While there seems to be little historical evidence to support or refute such a view, the Kurdish tribe appears to represent an intermediate stage between groups whose membership was actually based on descent and those whose character is purely feudal, a situation which may have

Batutsi and Bilima from remote villages--every in an a cloth-covered Queue for their long-winded depositions. In the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate any offense which may have taken place within his grounds or to vouch for a suspect, the little shebleng or tea-shop across from the government building is full of his body-guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town.

Those tribes having connections in the Ruwanfun district, while not necessarily confined to it, include the Bahati under Mulla Wuse Agha, the Barwiret under Mahmud Beg Khalifa Gould, the Barti under Fetah Agha, the Bavrti under Hajji Hamy Agha, the Bhayleni under Bulla Agha, the Bamni under Mahammed Seyidi, the Bajiati under Fetah Agha, and the Barshi under Kadir Agha. The most important and numerous are the Bahati, the Barwiret, the Barti, and the Barshi. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be seen later that a chieftain need have no connection with a tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views of the names of tribes and their leaders, that of the government and that of the local inhabitants. The list given here is that officially furnished by the seiks of Ruwanfun, and does not necessarily correspond with some segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain "lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized, while others, such as Ja'at Agha who keeps to a well-guarded house in Ruwanfun, are unable to return to their villages because of a feud.

because of a feud. Lastly it remains to mention the Barzani, formerly one of the most powerful groups in the district. In the series of events which followed the withdrawal of the Russian army from Azerbaijan in 1946, one of the Barzani chieftains, Mulla Mustafa, was forced to flee to the Armenian S.S.R. and the tribe was theoretically broken up. Officially the Barzani no longer exist, but in the popular mind they are much alive. If a policeman or another is shot in a remote district, the deed is usually attributed to "the Barzani," a convenient testimony for the gendarme's court. 622 619

The administrative control of an extensive mountainous area inhabited by a scattered population of some 35,000 poverty-stricken farmers and shepherds, most of whom belong to an ethnic group noted for its unruliness, is not without its difficulties, and requires of the gendarmerie and his officials the extensive daily exhibition of qualities, among them unlimited patience and a fine sense for popular opinion, rarely demanded of similar magistrates in Europe or North America. Locally, in the police, the greater part of the burden rests almost completely with the mufti and his several assistants, for within his own sphere he is given much of a free rein. It has been often and widely noticed that bureaucratic personnel in the Middle East far tend to endanger and submerge the requirements of efficiency, but this is valid only for capitals and larger towns, for the distasteful tasks of rural order find but the barest of notice. The 617 618

The town of Rwanda, as has been noted, has a popula- 621
tion of some 3,000 persons, the constitution of which shall 623
be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a
municipality (ikoshi, bwiriza) and the paramount of Rwanda
occupies, in addition to his own office, that of mwiru 622
bwiriza, a position similar to that of an American mayor,
save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally
the mwiru bwiriza in Irag has a headquarters, comparable to
the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including 624
a treasurer and other officials. In Rwanda, however, there
has not been any particular need for the institution of such
a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative require-
ments are met through chiefs or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear 625
to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the
traffic-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of
the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as 627
legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In 624
comparison with the outlying districts, the town is rela-
tively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile
pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the 579
cause most often a fight between their children. Such
altercations begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite),
and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with
fighting (a wooden mallet with a leather strap; in Amahic, 611
kiboko or gukubita). The neighbors usually intervene, and 627
rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official atten-
tion. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

dangerous if it reaches the point of knives. The blow with the closed fist is unknown in Rawandiz, and one strikes with the open palm or wrestles. Biting or pinching are the most favored weapons in such an exchange, and it is considered shameful for a man to bite or scratch like a woman. As in other Iaisula communities, quarrels, sometimes quite serious, are much more common during the fast of Ramadan. Four violent exchanges were observed between women on one day during Ramadan. However, there had been in 1951 no homicides in the town for a period of three years. Criminals of a higher order are at present unknown. The last of them, Hurî Bewîl Agha, who dabbled in brigandage, smuggling, and bloodmoil, now suffers life imprisonment for the murder of Isma'îl Beg. Hurî is said to have often arranged the theft of goods from merchants, and then to have sold them back to the owners for appropriate sums.

The office of the mukhtar, Ra'ûf Effendî, in Rawandiz is peculiar, for it does not seem to have an incisive everyday definition. It is not elective, and a mukhtar is selected by the government with the more or less tacit consent of his fellows. His work, such as it is, consists in acting in liaison between the people and the civil bakaliya (at present, the kaimmaqam) and, to a certain extent, being a guarantee for their good conduct. He is without police authority, but acts to mitigate minor quarrels between townspeople, and, with the force of public opinion, as some power to command. He stands between the people and the government, presenting the

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622.
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ha'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowanduz itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, instigated by her relatives in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ha'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

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In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rowanduz was the seat (a kaza) of a sanjakate under the Kirkuk wealy of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

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husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shakir Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the woman with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (gholam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes shubeng). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bawil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

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tagger who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for elms in the shorthouse, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community. 792 755

Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the 565 174 622 619 [648] 565 622 619 423

tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the male family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 585

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is _fesilîye_, puzzling in its similarity to the Latin _familia_. The same term is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and _seyrids_, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (_şejere_, from Arabic _shajara_, "tree"). In the case of the _seyrid_ the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowandiz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include _beg_, _agha_, and _mir_, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times _pasha_ was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic _shaykh_, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, 585 596 [173] 64 585 585 554

uted for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jiaflan is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amire, "princess," or shaq, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations.

The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of bedalkheir or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

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usually there is speedy recourse to arms and a vendetta can extend over decades and count scores of victims. In the case of commoners, the chieftains of the people involved often intervene, and sometimes pay the indemnity from their own purses, but, failing this, they are expected to aid in obtaining revenge. In the case of aristocratic households, the matter is not settled so easily, although, in rare situations, a third neutral party, a great chieftain known for his piety and justice, may be asked to arbitrate. The most famous feud of the district was that between the Houses of Isma'il Beg and Hurî Bawîl Agha, beginning in the days of the First World War, temporarily at an end with the murder of the former and the life imprisonment of the latter. There were many casualties on both sides, and several of the participants are still in prison, such as Isma'il Beg's bailiff, and the two uncles of his mother, Lell Khas, Mustafa Agha and Hirer Agha. Although Kawandoz is non-tribal and is not bound to this or that chieftain, the townsmen took sides in the quarrel, mostly on that of Isma'il Beg, and the quarrel lingers on. The party of Hurî Bawîl Agha has now practically disappeared, and his son, Karim Agha, who resides in the town, does not dare approach the vicinity of Isma'il Beg's house from fear of further reprisal.

The vendetta has been one of the foremost features of Kurdish life for centuries, and, in spite of its toll in lives, has something of the aspect of a game or sport. Unless commoners or whole tribes are involved, most of

government personnel. It would be easy for an outsider to 628
constitute this situation, and this could not be far from
true, for the Hutu do the same themselves. The chieftain 622
is the summation of a peasant's ideals, a formidable
warrior, unrivalled in vengeance, generous in hospitality,
and gallant in conduct. An aristocratic youth is educated
to play this part. It would be difficult to find many
peoples among whom the hero, so defined, has so extensive
a daily role and so general and attractive an audience. A
number of persons in the Ruhengeri area, queried on this
point, were unable to name more than one or two chieftains
of the aristocratic group, perhaps two or three hundred
men in all, who had not been imprisoned or exiled by the
government at least once.

Safeguard, as in the case of revenge, is a matter 484
of aristocratic honor. Formerly, anyone who wished to pass 579
through a chieftain's territory was expected to put him-
self under the latter's protection, because, failing this,
he became more or less fair game for bandits or, indeed,
the chieftain himself. In past decades brigandage, like
cattle-stealing, was something of a sport, and holding up a
caravan was considered an amusing, as well as lucrative,
occupation for the aristocracy. The luckless merchant could
only apply to the chieftain for his goods which, in con-
sideration of a fee, were "recovered" and returned to him.
The easiest technique, of course, was to obtain right to
passage at first, at the expense of a few gifts, and a
number of the chieftain's men would be delegated as guards.

for the Hurds themselves, safeguard had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a vendetta, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, were obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own.

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Hurds. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the bekhilbela or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, so they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter

of generosity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most complex of vendettas could follow.

The integrity of the women is perhaps the primary asset of a family's honour. If a Hutu insults anything other than the women of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honour of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious imputation cannot be taken lightly. The honour of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this second regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus cast to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or

to the great cities, and even in these places the feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chief'ain, as the personification of his people's honour, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence.

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chief'ain's honour, and an ideal of all. "To be a chief'ain," it was said, "a one must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Since the aristocratic houses maintain *ilyoshikuwa* which vary considerably in size and form according to their status. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chief'ains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the *ilyoshikuwa* of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chief'ainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion,

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his produce, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a committee, tribesmen or tenant, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a shebeen, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gentle. As in the case of the Arab Bedouin, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send the away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the harvest country, a Hurd said, "It is necessary for them

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to let Ahmed Beg know of their presence and visit his [622]
[residence], or he will think they look down on his hospital- 574
ity, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a
chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen [423]
from the section on administration that the government [649]
takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The
state lays claim to all unregistered land, [miriye], which
includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory,
and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the pea-
sants, thus cutting off the most important source of
aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, shrewder of
the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered
in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to [649]
the government, either the civil code of the judge or the [642]
tribal code of the [mirmiran]. Vengeance is also of the
state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and [610]
the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and
sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be
unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and [554]
such titles as [agha], [beg], or [shaikh], while they are widely
used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the
constabulary are thought adequate to handle military
vengeance, and the arming of a populace, particularly
hordes of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not
dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of [525]
its important functions and perogatives. They are no longer [174]
leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

say technical device within their means have been associated with slavery. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We see," said an elder, "some of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Tutsi, regarding themselves as the acme, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the evil and social intercourse, but are oblivious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Tutsi aristocracy represents an extremely active class, unhampered by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissensions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Tutsi chieftains of the Rwandan area are often enumerated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. They, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rwanda only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isaa'li

Sha, Hurl Ismail Agha, and Sadiq Agha. Because that of 672
Hurl Ismail Agha has suffered adverse fortunes, the House 545
of Isma'il Beg, headed by Lali Khan, has the greatest interest in the town, owning considerable property therein. Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Mohammed 'Ali Agha might be mentioned, for it is nearby at Jiaolan, and its men, such as Sadiq Agha, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, not only of these families but of the district at large, enter into daily life to a large extent. They provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, revenue, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. One might inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Agha, the son of Hurl Ismail Agha, or Ismail Agha of Jiaolan, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the government personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmed of Betas and the army officer, Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, who had captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor. Sayyid Ahmed,

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in contrast to the government, treating such affairs more as sport rather than anything else. Sayyid Ahmed subsequently recounted with more pleasure his experiences in exile, for he did not speak Amsila at the time. He learnt the official in charge of his, for example, called "stupid" until his back by ostentation, and concluded that this was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer as "Stupid Dog" until he was finally corrected. In order to designate the type of meat he desired for his meals, he was forced to resort to imitations of the animals in question, and thought his own picture, that of a Scottish aristocrat, a man of the great Stuyth Tube, flapping his arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, most amusing.

Toward the townspeople, the chief's are much more friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy merchants. They are not fond of either the shopkeeps or the mosque, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer the daughters of the wealthy merchants and landowners of the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and hence to have greater prestige, than any village maiden. The daughter of Ra'uf Effendi, for example, is married to an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, Agha Rashid Agha (the first agha here used as a proper name). Among themselves, there is extensive community of interest and

social exchange, extending beyond the district itself, according to certain alignments. Lali Khan always has a number of visitors, such as Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers, and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of Sadiq Agha. These alignments, spoken of above, are formed on the basis of old feuds, family friendships, political sentiments, and the like. Normally the guests of Sadiq Agha are not to be seen at the house of Jamal'il Beg, and the reverse is true, although there need be no ill-feeling between the two groups. To draw up a chart of these matters would be complex and of little value, inasmuch as they are particularly changing and are vast in number. To give some examples, Karim Agha never visits the house of Jamal'il Beg because of a feud, but those of Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers because the latter are friends of Lali Khan. His own friend, a Kashki Agha (out of District) calls on Sadiq Agha, but does not visit Lali Khan or Sayyid Ahmad because of his friendship with Karim Agha. Mahmud Beg of the Darashuri is friendly with Sayyid Ahmad, but has nothing to do with Sadiq Agha, and hence Karim Agha and his friend, because he does not sympathise with a feud in which Sadiq Agha was involved. To extend the matter further, Karim Agha does not patronize merchants in the Jang who are friends or clients of Lali Khan. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad, whenever he visits the town, has no traffic with those who favour Karim Agha. This network of friendships and alliances among the aristocracy is an important feature of their life, but it need not extend to the

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of the details are commonplace. Marriages between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can be done with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered demeaning for men of the "upper" class to work with their hands. The group of persons who are not so talented, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, sailors or priests, and businessmen, such as the caravan merchants and the owners of the slaughter and the hotel. Another person is termed effendi or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two examples are provided by Shaikh Effendi and Ha'af effendi, both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shaikh Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Ha'af Effendi is the mukhtar or representative of the townspeople. The chief cadi of the town is addressed as "Hallo 'Abd-el-Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the

unrelated families. For the townspeople, then, the mii is both a building and the group of relatives who live therein. A townsman who occupies a new dwelling, although he retains his connection with his parental home and may speak of himself as a member of that mii, has formed a new unit which becomes a mii in the social sense in its own right. 58

The matter of the chieftains and a few large and wealthy families of social pretensions is otherwise. It is customary, as in the case of commoners, to refer to an aristocratic household as a mii, for example, the "House of Iawa'ii Bag," but a chieftain belongs to a family, an extended patrilineal group in which a much wider and more exact accounting of kin relationships is kept. The chieftains, as has been said, are, with the exception of certain descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, the only persons who memorize genealogies, and this, more than anything else, is the distinguishing feature of the families. Like the mii, this group is endogamous and exogamous, and is not formally named. The point of reference in the genealogy is some more or less illustrious forebear. Thus the deceased Iawa'ii Bag and his mother Lalii Khoo (who was a collateral relative of Iawa'ii Bag's father) are referred to as "descendants of Kar Pasha," that famous revolutionary chieftain who achieved a temporary independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The nucleus of this genealogy is a list of patrilineal ancestors in a direct line ascending some seven or eight generations, a 63 [illegible]

each one having the same claim on his brothers. The latter custom is reflected in the transmission of aristocratic Ewedish titles. All of the sons of a chieftain, irrespective of age or the rank of their mothers, receive the title of the father and enjoy an equal share in the property. Tribal chieftainship, as opposed to feudal overlordship, is usually settled on the oldest son, despite of the fact that the remaining brothers continue to enjoy the privileges of rank and share in the goods of the estate. Thus, if one have a plurality of sons and daughters in each generation and the original holding is supplemented by additional gains, it follows that an individual's inheritance grows progressively smaller with each death. Among the Ekalia peasantry, where the amount of arable land is limited, as in certain areas in Egypt or in Syria, a single person's plot can soon diminish to a size insufficient to support a couple and the luckless legatee must seek employment elsewhere, usually as a tenant cultivator on some larger holding. The situation in Kapeletma is not quite so difficult, inasmuch as a person can always put out a new field from the unclaimed lands of the state domain. In a situation in which the brothers or other relatives have quarrelled, property which by virtue of its size could guarantee an income for all can be reduced through inheritance into segments which are far from profitable. The practice in such cases, commonly handled by process of law, is to sell the property in question and to apportion each his share in money. It

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this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the camp with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth.

There was a man in Rewarden who had great influence, Sayid Ahmed Effendi Jabirland. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Sayid effendi bore names of title. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the prisoners elected me mukhtar which appointed me governor of the town. I sought Sayid Ma'ud and pulled his into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rewarden," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being governor and Sayid effendi was given the post again.

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the prisons, the municipality. I asked the prisoners to give me full authority, and remember one letter on steam. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of mukhtar anyone who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five piastres, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measure. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rewarden its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his clothes in it. When people saw me, they ran for alley. On my reports, the government collected 170 piastres from the people of Rewarden, Lewizan, and Spelm. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the prisoners about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post.

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You here see my shop in the house and you know that I am the best barber in Rewarden. I became a darvish and a shaikh (=arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with one old man, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their lists with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare

and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the democratic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Rowandux district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the nomad, because of his mobility and firepower, has a military advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Basian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[31], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khas, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

[522] 562 114

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 1. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

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613 criteria and assumes a functioning organization. A simple descent group or lineage is in Kurdish called *boz; Hoz-i-Kako-Hamma* is simply the family, all the descendants in male line from Kaka 614 Hamma, and not a *tira* in any sense of the word. However, since the concept of the genealogically defined lineage group is important in the definition of the *tira*, and, in fact, ideally the whole basis of it, a certain confusing interchange of the terms might be expected. In the above list, *Hoz-i-Jarweiz*, the family or descendants of Jarweiz, serves as the name of a *tira;* but this group is a *tira* by virtue of its organization as a political unit, not merely because relationship in a large *boz*, founded by Jarweiz, has been recognized.

Further confusion may result from the use of Arabic synonyms for the Kurdish terms: Leach (op. cit., p. 13 ff) unsuccessfully attempts to make a distinction, based on size of the unit, between *tira* and *taifa*, the latter being in fact an Arabic term for *boz*, family.

The term *tira* is regularly used for tribes and tribal sections of highly variable size, and seems to refer to the political unit of the size which is significant in the context of immediate discussion. Thus the solidary Jaf will tell strangers that he is of the Jaf *tira*, while among a group of Jaf the term *tira* will have reference to subtribe or branch.

• 632 614 Each *tira* in the above list is led by a hereditary *Reiz* (leader), and has traditional rights to specific pastures and camping sites. These grazing rights are usually exclusive, or they may be shared with local villagers, who raise a crop in the spring and let the Jaf flocks graze there in the fall. Formerly, this relation between nomad and sedentary might be established by force by the Jaf on any land; now some rent is generally paid to the local farmers in return for right to pasturage. The migrations of the whole Jaf *ashiret* are coordinated, and the movement of each *tira* is regulated by its *Reiz*, who serves as intermediary between his group and the *Begzada* leaders of the whole *ashiret*.

614 BRANCHES. With the internal growth of population in one *tira*, or due to tensions and conflicts within it, a branch may split off and become an independent unit. This group then traces descent from the parent group, but is formally independent. In the above

7: Barth B-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

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565 respecting men should not engage in economic pursuits, their main
461 role was formerly that of warriors, protecting the people and flocks
554 from attacks by other groups. Only the very poor herded their own cattle. Where one person does not own enough animals to make up the normal herding unit of 100, composite herds are created along kinship lines, with father, brother, mam, etc. Differences in wealth are tremendous, apparently on a continuous scale, some persons owning a total of 2,000 animals, some as few as 10, some quite destitute and dependent on richer relatives for subsistence and work.

621 With the tendency towards parallel cousin marriage, every group
64 tends to split up into separate lineages, which continue separate over long periods of time. Thus semi-endogamous sections are created within the *tira* itself, usually identified with separate *khels*. But since the *khel* is a residential unit, the main unity of which stems from economic ties, persons of any lineage section may travel for longer or shorter periods with any *khel* to which their economic activities might attach them. Generally, one of these semi-endogamous lineage sections will form the wealthy core of a *khel*, to which a more or less variable group of less privileged families, related or not, are connected by economic ties.

• 622 These endogamous tendencies are also operative in the family of
614 the *Raiz*. The position as *Raiz* is inherited, and the family of the
581 *Raiz* therefore takes on the appearance of a noble class or caste. The process by which such a caste would truly emerge, however, would be through intermarriage with the «noble» lineage segments of other tiras. There seem in fact to be few such kinship ties established between *Raiz* families of different groups. A certain number of marriages will be exogamous as far as the *Raiz* family is concerned, if only from the occasional lack of available spouses in the limited family group. But these exogamous marriages more frequently establish ties between the *Raiz* and wealthy lineage segments among the «commoners» within the *tira* itself. It would thus seem that marriages are manipulated to reinforce the power of the *Raiz* within the *tira* itself, rather than to separate him off as a member of a distinctive and noble caste. To reify a distinction between «nobleman» and «commoner» within the *tira* would thus be an error, since the separa-

7: Barth E-5 1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

teness of the *Raiz* lineage follows from common marriage usage, and is no different in nature from the separateness of the wealthier as compared to the poorer lineage sections of the group.

The hereditary position as *Raiz* is simply vested in the leading lineage segment of the *ina*. An interesting problem arises as to what adjustments are made in the event of decline in wealth or the appearance of other impediments to leadership in this lineage. It is customary for persons ina position of leadership to appoint their successor, usually a son, while they are still in a position of control. In the case of disagreement between the existing *Raiz* and the general population as to who should succeed him, the pattern of succession is probably decided by the bias in the balance between the positive power (primarily economic) of the *Raiz*, and the degree of general resentment to his decision. Where the power and prestige of the *Raiz* has declined, leadership might thus fairly easily be shifted to a stronger and wealthier collateral line. (Compare p. 126 for a more nearly «democratic» mechanism of appointing successor to the *Raiz*.)

I had no opportunity to ascertain the actual extent of the power vested in the *Raiz*. It would seem to be rather dependent on his means and personality, be, these permitting, to afford him considerable possibilities to enforce his decisions. He is on the other hand regarded as being subject to the *Begs* in all matters, and directly responsible to them.

The *Beg* leaders of the Jaf are sometimes represented as belonging to a *tira* of their own, the *Begzada*; more correctly the *Begzada* is regarded as a family *oimaq*, divided into the three branches Welled Begi, Kikhasrao Begi, and Bahram Begi. The political head may be drawn from any of these. The Kikhasrao Begi and Bahram Begi of today are descended by 7 generations from the common ancestor Zahir Beg. The Welled Begi are somewhat further removed. All the *Begzada* are now settled and live as absentee landowners of numerous Jaf and other villages. It is thus extremely difficult to form any picture of the true position of the leaders in the political organization of the nomadic Jaf. Some 60 years ago, authority was divided between the two Begzaa brothers Osman and Mahmud Pasha, the latter being the leader of the nomadic section. Mahmud Pasha was

wand, and Begzada. As will be noticed, the branch of Yadjar, to which the Koni Sardis belong, is not in this list. The Koni Sardis in fact belong to the Begzada branch, so either Yadjar is the ancestor of all the Begzada, or a smaller segment category has been elevated to the level of a major branch, for the greater glory of the Koni Sard group. The villagers in Tazgah assert to belong to the Bablawand division, again made up of the villagers from Tazgah and Chalokachal, the latter now having been abandoned and the villagers scattered. The Bablawand were derived from the Rashawand, in unspecified fashion. A Tazgah model of their position in the *tira* would thus read as shown in Diagram No. 4.

The *Agha* of a village is appointed or granted power by the male inhabitants of that village. In practice, the position is hereditary, but not according to any rule of seniority, and village preference undoubtedly influences the pattern of succession. The village *Agha* has only the authority which follows from his own power and prestige, and the goodwill of his followers.

The position as *Agha* of one of the four major branches is either similarly hereditary, or, «if there is no suitable son of the old *Aghas*», a new *Agha* is elected by the villagers. These *Aghas* will generally have the position and means to support a group of retainers, paralleling the *Pyshtmala* of the Jaf *Begs*. They thus have a vaguely institutionalized mechanism to enforce their authority. Thus, though the formal position of the *Aghas* of the four major Hamawand segments is unlike that of the Jaf *Begzada*, the actual differences more reflect the difference in scale than in formal position.

Neither the Jaf nor the Hamawand lineage organizations function in the «ideal» pattern closely exemplified by the Cyrenaica Bedouin, discussed above. A position of authority and super-ordination does in fact become vested in the individual *Agha* and *Raiz*, who tends to apply coercive means to support such a hierarchy of authority. Though the ideal «charter» of the political structure is that of a segmentary lineage organization, the system does in fact function in a somewhat different pattern, as will be shown more fully later.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF TENANT VILLAGES

631 The political organization of the non-tribal areas is generally much simpler, unifying a much smaller group. Immediately above the village level, external administration takes over control. In the village itself, a *kikha* or *mukhtar* (mayor, headman) is elected to serve as an intermediary between the people of the village and the authorities. Frequently he is appointed from above rather than freely elected, in an attempt to achieve a balance of power within the village. In the official governmental system, the *kikha* of the village is the official of the smallest unit. A hierarchy of officers, appointed from above in the bureaucratic system, administers progressively more inclusive areas, terminating in the bureaucratic head, the *Mutasarrif* of the *Liwa* (governor of the province), directly responsible to the government ministries, and with considerable autonomy. In practice, however, the landowner of the village intervenes at the base of this hierarchy, and the *kikha* serves as an intermediary between the villagers and the landowner, and has few dealings directly with official administration.

• 622 621 When left to their own devices, the villagers generally elect to office the older male leader of the largest kinship group. As a consequence of the marriage pattern, such kinship groups tend to separate off as endogamous blocks. But due to the lower frequency of FaBrDa marriage among the non-tribal villagers (see p. 68), these blocks show less organization and unity than the endogamous subsections in the tribal system, and could not properly be called lineages. Furthermore, they tend to be bilateral, in the sense that relationships traced through female links attain some importance. The relative sizes of these bilateral kinship blocks change fairly slowly, so village headmanship, as well as leadership in the kinship groups, tends to follow an apparently hereditary pattern from father to son.

622 The powers of the *kikha* derive in part from his powers as the head of such a group, in part from his closer relations with the landowner, and the implicit threat of reporting illegalities (or in fact making false accusations) to him. As the leader of the village,

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

he also exercises certain rights in his relations with the landowner — he can e. g. exclude any newcomer from village membership.

Among the various villages in an area, or those belonging to one landowner, there is no attempt at coordination. My host own among others, the three neighboring villages Hazar Merd, Decon and Darbaro in the Suleimani valley. These villages share, for historical reasons, the usufruct rights to the surrounding area. Rather than making any attempt at conserted action in matters concerning them all, e. g. by meetings of the village headmen, there exists considerable enmity between the three villages. A marriage between the son of the *kikha* of Decon and the daughter of the leading family of Hazar Merd does not seem to have had any «political» results, and was probably manipulated to enhance the prestige of the *kikha* and his son in their own village.

GENERAL FEATURES OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The application of these formal political organizations, both of the lineage and feudal types, is modified by one basic principle, namely, the universal application of status difference, and the resulting lack of conceptualization of «the office», as apart from the total person occupying it at any one moment. An example might illustrate the point: Upon my arrival in the village of Decon, a small group of workmen were engaged in laying a brick floor in the local house of my host, the landowner. In their social classification of me, the only criterion available to them was the fact of my being his guest; so I enjoyed a reflection of his high status position, and consequently found myself in a relation of super-ordination with respect to the workmen. They found it necessary to interrupt their work unasked to perform personal servises for me, e. g. serving me my tea, etc. The workmen, brought to the village for the sole purpose of laying the brick floor, had no feeling that theirs was only a part-role in the situation, where they were expected to perform a specific service and no more. The status of bricklayers is clearly inferior to that of friend-of-the-landowner; the fact that their contact was by virtue of their office as bricklayers did not release them from universal sub-ordination to the occupier of higher status. Werever a

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

554 clear status difference is recognized, such an all-inclusive relation of super- and sub-ordination seems to result, and demands even of personal services by the possessor of higher status are thought reasonable.

• 622 554 In the formal organization, groups are clearly defined, on criteria of descent and residence, and each group is furnished with a named leader. But the nature of the leader's *office* remains rather vague; he is, in Max Weber's terms (Parsons 1941, p. 121), granted a liberal sphere of «arbitrary free grace». For a large part, the political leaders are not followed by virtue of their holding an «office», but are granted the right to make political, as well as other, demands on their followers by virtue of their higher status position — which waxes and wanes with the vicissitudes of fortune. Though the formal political categories are named and hierarchically ordered, the actual distribution and foci of power and control in the village and lineage remain quite fluid.

It is profitable in our analysis to make a distinction between *authority*, the more or less «legitimate» powers attached to a specific office or part-status, and the blanket term *power*, which depends upon the *total* status position of a particular individual, and his personal charisma (Weber, 1947), and is taken to cover the individual's total ability to lead or otherwise control the actions of other people.

This distinction is generally not made by the Kurdish villager, since, indeed, the abstract concept of an office is hardly developed; but it is useful in an analysis to distinguish the legitimate powers that belong with the office or part-status. The lack of a conceptual distinction in Kurdish thinking between authority in this sense and total power is evident in the almost complete absence of *lateral* relations between a specialized staff of functionals, in favor of a complete dominance of *line* relations of supra- and sub-ordination.

Returning to the applicability of the term *authority* in such a system: The total status position of the individual, from which his power stems, is a product of *all* his part-statuses, not only in the political field, but also in other hierarchies (e. g. hierarchies of religious power, wealth and class status, etc, cf. p. 78 ff.). Any for-

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

mal, named political position, however, is connected with an approximate total status position as a sort of stereotype. The relative grading of formal political positions is vaguely defined, and the individuals of a village, through competing for the positions, will align in super- and subordination according to this grading. Thus certain ill defined demands and powers are *expected* (and therefore more readily submitted to) from persons occupying such positions. This amount of expected and generally unquestioned power is the authority that belongs with the particular position. The authority is thus not *derived* from the part-status, as it would if it were an office; it is brought to it. Persons occupying the position may at times not be able to exert it; nonetheless, in the formal political organization, this authority and degree of ability to apply sanctions of some kind is assumed.

These considerations are applicable in both the tribal and the non-tribal political systems, and modify the expression that these systems take. The evident differences between Kurdish tribal and non-tribal structure are thus reduced, and the Kurdish segmentary lineage organization becomes in its actual application more similar to the Kurdish non-tribal organization than to the classical segmentary organizations, exemplified above by the Cyrenaica Bedouin. When combined with this principle of universal application of status difference, the segmentary structure of the lineage offers the framework for a hierarchical organization of leaders of segments. And these segments are residential and territorial units, as are the units in the non-tribal system. In the following, then, Kurdish lineage organization will be seen as a hierarchy of leaders of groups of increasing genelogical spread, rather than in the classical manner as whole segments in opposition.

The general characteristics of Kurdish political systems correspond in many ways to those of the *traditional* system of Max Weber (op. cit.). The rules governing the various positions in the hierarchy are not enacted, they are traditionally defined. «The order underlying a system of traditional authority always defines a system of statuses of persons who can legitimately exercise authority». The concept of the *office* is undeveloped: «Such a status is different from an «office». It does not involve specifically defined powers with

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

A Hamawand *Agha*, normally a close relative of the leader of the warparty, would be appointed to the conquered village. He would settle permanently in the village with a small group of Hamawand supporters. What remained of the local taxes after their immediate needs were satisfied would be passed on to the *Agha* leader of the original party.

Conflicts easily arose between the Hamawand usurper and his original backer. As soon as the balance of power changed in favor of the former, and he further felt that he would be able to control the conquered village with his own forces, he would declare himself independent and thereby found a new lineage branch.

It may seem surprising that the smaller group in such a village should be successful in forcibly dominating the larger group for any length of time. As far as the conquest itself is concerned, the point was clearly made to me by the leader of one group of subjected serfs: «In those days, people were so busy with their farms and things, they had no time to be ready with guns and horses. Those who had enough money to feed the man that ride around on horses could conquer such poor villages.» And later, although the local Hamawands may have declared themselves independent of their old village, they could still count on support from their fellow tribesmen in case of revolt. The peasants, on the other hand, had no organization integrating a larger group. Furthermore, it is the peasant group who has the vested interest in peace, so that the crop can ripen and the stores survive. In case of conflict, the Hamawands risked only the loss of an asset, whereas the peasants, no matter what the outcome might be, were practically assured the loss of their whole year's crop.

The local group that emerged from these conquests has a very characteristic structure and organization. Except where external administration intervenes effectively, all political power is in the hands of a well organized Hamawand minority, led by an hereditary *Agha*. This ruling group has vested interests in remaining separate from the remainder of the village, and the close tribal organization limited by descent provides the necessary mechanism.

This political dominance serves primarily to enforce certain privileges in the economic field. The Hamawands regard themselves as

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

struct a formula for the addition of these part-statuses. Their relative weights are revealed only in very few contexts of real life, since such a tremendous number of variables combine in the relations between any two individuals. 621 554

At least in certain situations, some qualifications to leadership take precedence over others, and impediments in one field can be overcome or outweighed by advantages in other fields. With respect to the part-status positions, some of these seem to be mutually incompatible, in that they can not easily be occupied by the same individual; others are mutually exclusive to the extent of not coexisting in the same local community. Finally, there are conflicts of loyalties: which units of reference take precedence over others in a situation of choice.

The culture of the Kurdish villager is not an integrated culture, in the sense that there are no discrepancies and conflicts between norms. Various rules and values may in certain situations come into clear opposition. Though for some such conflicts, standardized solutions or circumlocutions have been developed, this is most clearly not true of all. Such unresolved problems are the fields where change and adaptation take place. But by virtue of the lack of consistent logic and a minimum of agreement, these are fields that can not readily be described, much less analysed, by the anthropologist. The following section contains a discussion, based on my own and some secondary material, of some of the more crude and obvious aspects of this situation. All I can attempt to do is demonstrate a few clearer cases of precedence and incompatibility, and suggest certain systematic distinctions between questions of (a) impediments to leadership, (b) general incompatibility of part-statuses, and (c) precedence of loyalties to alternative groups and identifications.

IMPEDIMENTS AND QUALIFICATIONS TO LEADERSHIP

The order of importance of the various qualifications to high positions are most clearly revealed in the emergence of formally recognized leadership. In certain situations, impediments to leadership may be overcome by the posession of other qualifications that take precedence. Since autonomous Kurdish institutions are only partially 622 •

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

functioning in these fields, the data is incomplete; moreover, the relative importance of various qualifications seem to differ somewhat between the infra-village and supra-village levels, and between the tribal and feudal organizations.

The impediment of female sex. The clearest case, illustrating the type of problem I am concerned with, relates to the position of the women who, except for her sex, fulfills all the requirements of a leader. I have previously stated that the woman plays no active part in political life in the widest sense. On the village level, that seems to be invariably true. But on the supra-village level, there are some exceptions. The problem, in the Kurdish system, amounts to what should take precedence, the impediment of female sex, or the qualifications of high family status, wealth, etc. In the village, the differences in family status and wealth are not great enough to counterbalance an obverse difference in sex; among the leading families of Southern Kurdistan, these differences in status and wealth as compared to the general population become great enough to override the impediment of female sex, and in several cases women have emerged as leaders of considerable consequence.

The most spectatcular case was that of *Adela Khanem*, leader of the Jaf confederacy around the time of the First World War. She belonged to the ruling lineage of Ardalan princes in the southern provinces of Persian Kurdistan, and married Osman Pasha, the leader of the sedentary section of the Jaf. To him, she was of assistance in administration etc., and upon his death she retained or assumed the position as leader of the Jaf *Begzada*. Soane (op. cit.) after his visit with her before Osman Pasha's death, speaks very highly of her, both as a person and as a ruler. In 1919, she is described as «. . . about 60 years of age, but, thanks to the skillful, though liberal, use of artificial aids, she did not look a day over 40». (Lees, 1928, p. 257). In the conflicts following the war, she pursued an independent policy of cooperation with the British and opposition to Shaikh Mahmud.

A contemporary example is *Hafsakhan*, cousin and sister-in-law of Shaikh Mahmud. As a young girl, in the critical period of Shaikh Mahmud's rebellion, she assumed the responsibility for a handful of imprisoned British officers, in order to protect them from Kurdish

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

irregulars. The just treatment extended to these prisoners was later the official British grounds for commuting Shaikh Mahmud's death sentence to life-long exile (later commuted further).

Hafsakhan has since retained a prominent position in Suleimani, and today receives visitors of both sexes in her own gardens, independent of her husband, Shaikh Kader. A small, darkhaired, attractive woman, she shows a social grace and intelligence that fully justifies her reputation.

Women who are active in the political field remain the exceptions, however, even among the most prominent families. It would seem that in addition to exceptional ability as well as interest — and the latter is probably fairly rare too — somewhat unusual circumstances are required to give a woman the opportunity to enter publicly into political life. Adela Khanem did so as the trusted representative and later widow of Osman Pasha, and surely gained popularity in Ottoman times from her Persian origin; Hafsakhan showed wise resolution in a situation for which there was no clear precedence. But the mere fact that such women are found at all in Moslem Kurdistan indicates the very great prestige attached to their other qualifications, primarily the fact of membership in the prominent families to which they belong.

The impediment of low birth. A second impediment to leadership is that of low birth, or, in the tribal system, descent from a non-lineage member. This, just as female sex, does not seem ever to be an absolute impediment that can not be out-weighed by qualifications in other fields. Status in Kurdish society is certainly in part inherited, and descent from prominent persons is a contributary qualification to leadership, but does not seem in any political context to be an absolute *requirement*.

Before external administration «froze» the formerly fluid feudal hierarchies of Southern Kurdistan, there were constant changes in personnel and organization of territories. Political power was roughly related to land ownership — obviouly, since land was passed on in family lines, political hierarchies may be spoken of in terms of «dynasties». But there were only practical, no fundamental, difficulties preventing a laborer's son from working his way up

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

565 through a feudal hierarchy, and eventually be rewarded with a
• 622 feudal fief, or alternatively to become a leader of a war party large
654 enough to conquer a domain. Both these paths of upward mobility were in fact in constant use, and the problem facing the ambitious youth was simply that of how best to become qualified, in terms of wealth and prestige, to assume leadership. This wealth and prestige could be achieved through luck in small raids, bravery and self-assertion, ability to handle people, wide extension of ties of friendship, and the impediment of low birth could thus be out-weighed.

There is, however, an aristocratic undertone to much Kurdish political thinking, and especially members of the highest leading families of the area are ascribed charisma by virtue of their descent, on the same pattern as are the descendants of the Prophet. Thus, what is passed on in the families of high status is more than mere wealth; and the fact of low birth, quite apart from its disadvantage in terms of initial poverty, would create considerable difficulty if the person were pretending for the very highest status positions. This aspect is clearly expressed in several traditional accounts from Baban times, where the brave hero of modest birth in the critical moment, when he could have achieved the highest position, «knows his place» and is later rewarded by the Baban Pasha. (E. g. a story of Salim Beg, who was offered the position as ruler of Southern Kurdistan by the Persian Nadir Shah). But the Baban family itself is said to be descended from Fakka Hamma Derishman, who owned no more than one small village in Pushdir.

In the tribal system, there enters the additional factor that descent from the apical ancestor of the lineage is a theoretical prerequisite for membership in the group, and thus for political power in it. Even this basic principle of organization can be circumvented, however, if a person appears who by high status or de-facto power can control the group.

An obvious example is the Jaf confederacy, where the *Begzada* do not claim common descent with all the *tiras* in the confederacy, but none the less occupy a position of unquestioned authority. Other examples are found in the recent history of the Hamawands, who for a while followed the Jaf *Begzada*, later the Berezinje Shaikhs a

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

the time of Shaikh Said and Shaikh Mahmud. Thus, while no one who is not a member of the lineage can achieve a position within the segmentary lineage system, the lineage group as a whole, or even a section of it, temporarily broken away from the remainder of the descent group, can join a larger confederacy under a «foreign» leader.

In summary, one might say that there are no *absolute* impediments, or, inversely, necessary requirements, relating to leadership in any of the Southern Kurdish political systems; that persons theoretically may qualify for leadership by any combination of part-statuses, so long as they add up to a total status position sufficiently exhalted to correspond to, or «justify», the political and other demands involved in leading the group in question.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF PART-STATUSES

Clearly, only ascribed status positions, based on sex and birth, could function as true impediments to leadership. Various achieved status positions may be incompatible with high political positions, but since such status positions can be changed, they are at most temporary impediments, and can better be discussed under the present heading.

Most of these incompatibilities have been suggested above. Of the part-statuses in the religious field, the *mullah* will tend to be rather separated from the general village community — he is frequently a tenant farmer, but rarely occupies any other part-status position, with the occasional exception of *Hadji*. Membership in a *derwish* brotherhood is clearly a badge of low class, and the derwish will not occupy any of the higher status positions. Conversely, the title of *Hadji* is a badge of high status, and is combined with any of the higher part-status positions, including that of the mullah. A woman can not be a mullah.

The hierarchy of class, as implied in the discussion, seems to divide the local community into separable categories that do not significantly overlap in terms of prestige or general position in the village and supra-village hierarchy.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

him by overstepping his «reasonable» area of free grace in his relation to them.

In thinking about social relations, this essentially involves substituting the word «reasonable» for «right» — the latter being rigid and absolute, the former being defined in terms of numerous considerations of the specific situation. Obviously, different individuals with different temperament, experience, and values will have various ideas of what is «reasonable» — consequently, any type of superordination that does not involve constant face-to-face relations with the subordinates must be an uneasy one — hence the importance of the bodyguard, even for the more minor Kurdish leaders.

In the case of conflicting loyalties, the specific situation in the village and area concerned decides which group identification takes precedence. This is clearly illustrated in choices between identification with, or loyalties to, the landlord, the lineage or kin group, and the village community. How completely considerations of power override general rules of loyalty is finally illustrated by conflicts within the family of the old Baban Pashas.

Lineage group vs. lord. In the Kurdish tribal system, genealogical and local groups coincide, and these groups are also the organizational units in a formal political sense. A somewhat similar correspondance is characteristic of the non-tribal tenant villages. Thus, since they coincide, the relative importance of the identification with the kin group and with the political unit, as personified by the political officeholder or lord, can not easily be determined. Only in the rather unusual cases where the two are different, do problems of identification and precedence arise.

An example of the relative powers of the landowner vs. the lineage leader is offered by the *Barai Gawra* group, settled on the land of Shaikh Mahmud as tenant farmers. The Barai Gawra are one of ten branches of the *Merwai tira*, the *Ra'is* of which is Said Ali Khobar of Suleimani.

Formally, the position of the *Ra'is* is quite similar to that in other *tiras*, though more directly dependent on «democratic» approval. Succession is decided by a council of the important men of the ten villages. This council is limited by informal controls, being open to

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

any one of the *tira* who «feels important enough». The qualifications 571
of the *Raiz* are that he must be experienced, old, and rich (receiving 622
no remuneration for his services), and in fact be acclaimed by a majority of his followers. His field of power, on the other hand, is minimal, and concerns only the relations between the various Memni villages. Considering that these are spread over a large area, and that the *Raiz* has no way of enforcing his decisions, he constitutes little more than a mediator in intra-tribal affairs.

Two of the Memni villages lie on the land of Shaikh Mahmud, 571
and are as completely under his control as are his non-tribal tenants. Shaikh Mahmud freely appoints the village headman himself, and collects the normal shares in tax — according to one critical old woman of the village, he frequently takes considerably more too! In the rather inconceivable case of conflict between the *Raiz*, with no formal powers, and Shaikh Mahmud, with the power to evict and fine the villagers, there is little doubt whose orders would be followed. The Shaikh even has the primary loyalties of many of the Baroi — the most succinct statement of the Kurd's attitude to his leader was made by the farmer-mullah of the village: «When Shaikh Mahmud was a religious leader, I was a mullah. He became King, I became a rifleman. Now he is a landowner, I am a farmer.» This does not leave very much to the *Raiz*.

There is thus a contradiction between the feudal hierarchy of which Shaikh Mahmud is the head, based on considerations of locality and economic relations, and the genealogically defined tribal organization, relating these two villages to the other Memni villages. This lineage organization is still retained, and headed by the *Raiz*. But the extent of the *Raiz*'s power is minimal, whereas the landowner's *de facto* power is necessarily considerable; the presence of these de facto powers has been fully recognized, and loyalties shifted accordingly. Because of the rigidity of the Kurdish lineage system, no modification of its form has been possible; the field in which it is relevant has simply been reduced.

In effect, this may also be seen as a situation of conflict between two *leaders*, each heading an organization. Since organizational hierarchies are in terms of individuals and not abstract offices, the

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
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102 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 The Surun group whose full tribal name is Surani Bagawada (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Surun") are few in number. The 622 group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mallasherifi, Shevtini and Bakri, of which Mallasherifi is much the largest. The Shevtini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mallasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Valash - Sheikh Mohammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Valash, Bost and Galala. The Bakri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Baliki; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Valash.

794 The two villages of Khalan and Ibim i Sheikh require special 162 mention. (See Map pp. ??? and ??? where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman). 439 The heads of these two villages, *Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Taidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhchwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

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The Class Agha

The gund Aghas' relations to their tenants has now been defined; they in turn owe allegiance to the Agha of the taifa. This individual also may glibly claim to own all the land of all the gunds under his suzerainty, but his ownership is of a much more nominal variety than that of the gund Agha. The taifa Agha does not levy any specific charge upon his underlings but rather receives from them gifts in proportion to his usefulness. Thus Hamid Amin Agha of Banyarian, even though he belonged to the same tira as Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Qalash head of the Hillasharifi and nominal paramount of all the Balis, did not admit that the latter was in any general sense his superior; though Sheikh Mohammed for his part claimed that Hamid Amin was his vassal. This discrepancy I think is only partly due to the recent lessening of political ties. In general it would appear that prior to the coming of the external administration the function of the taifa Agha was roughly that of arbitrator and court of appeal rather than dominating overlord. He seems to have been called in to arbitrate in small scale feuds, settle disputes between neighbouring villages over grazing rights and water, settle diverse disputes and so forth. For these services he would be suitably recompensed by the parties to the disputes.

This system of justice was doubtless exceedingly corrupt by European standards, but probably worked tolerably well. It is not clear what sanctions could be employed to enforce judiciary decisions of this sort. Today the claimant is encouraged to short-circuit the traditional machinery of the Aghas' courts and appeal for justice direct to the police. To some extent the two systems continue to operate side by side but with the continual lessening of the Aghas' authority litigation tends more and more to be a matter for the external administration only. I tried to obtain some opinions as to the relative efficiency of the old system and the new. The results were interesting. It was admitted that the decisions of the Agha in the old days were somewhat arbitrary, being based on considerations of wealth and nepotism rather than moral right, but at least a decision was arrived at quickly. The modern procedure on the other hand though plainly well intentioned is considered in practice to be slow, complicated and costly, and since the wealthier litigant can nearly always manage to appeal to a higher court if the first decision goes against him, the "justice" is nearly as one sided as before. Moreover it was argued that the police were just as corrupt as the Aghas with the disadvantage that, whereas formerly the Aghas were to some extent limited in their decisions by kinship obligations, the police had no interest at all except to sell justice to the highest bidder. Though this is certainly an overstatement of the case, many of the Iraqi police do appear to be exceedingly corrupt. So much so in fact that the new Qa'im Maqam of Rowanduz, chief magistrate of the district, was generally acclaimed by all as the almost unique example of a sincere

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627 692 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

• 622 721 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Bayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 622 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[721] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammad asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Nanpuria on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammad ran away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammad as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Hay ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

[731] "Hay (p. 68) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Hay however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.

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Administration moreover adopted the Turkish expedient of paying the tribal Aghas an annual salary provided they kept their tribe in order. This procedure undoubtedly gave the tribal Aghas an altogether disproportionate economic influence, and has had various repercussions which will be discussed further in the next chapter. 619 622

The salary awarded to Sheikh Mohammed of Balash was stopped some years ago and, as might be expected, his influence as tribal leader declined rapidly. As is evidenced by the rival claims of the Aghas of Bayat and Bunt noted above, the Balik has scarcely any functioning unity as a tribe at the present time, though Sheikh Mohammed with a wide sweep of his arm, still declares that all the land belongs to him and that the taifas of Shevtin and Sukr are only there on sufferance. At the present moment (1938) his prestige is probably on the upgrade since he has recently been appointed a "member of Parliament" and regularly attends the legislative assemblies in Baghdad. The appointment carries with it a small salary, but its real importance so far as the tribes are concerned is that it demonstrates that the holder is in favour with the Mutasarrif and with the Baghdad Authorities. 619 622 554

Kinship Structure

While I have here sketched out the superficial political structure of the community the real nature of the relationship between the various Aghas and their followers can only be understood in terms of kinship.

The essentially conditional nature of the Aghas' authority was only vaguely understood by the earlier British Administrators. Ely for instance remarks (p. 67) "The Aghas are very oppressive to their tenants, more especially where the Government is close at hand and can assert its authority. In the mountain districts the tribesmen are exceedingly poor, they have little to fear from the Government, and their chief finds it difficult to coerce them. A rival chief would probably soon appear if he did". This statement brings out the fact, already well known from examples in the African field, that Government support for "the Chief" frequently gives that individual a tyrannical authority quite foreign to the ordinary tribal system of government, but it does not explain the Aghas normal relationship to his followers.

Marriage of Consanguines

As we have seen already the taifa is essentially a patrilineal clan. It is moreover largely endogamous by virtue of the system of ortho-cousin marriage common to most Mohammedan societies. Reference to the tables of Kinship Terminology at the end of this book 614 582 000

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In the ideal, the Kurdish family which maintains ortho-cousin marriage and does not require the wife to change her place of residence on marriage forms what may be termed a "fratrilocal" group. Brothers are close neighbours or even share the same house. They frequently work their landholdings jointly, perhaps even in cooperation with their cousins. The marriage of ortho-cousins clearly serves to simplify and perpetuate such cooperation. Moreover in such a case the bride-price, whatever its nominal amount - and the Kurds are keen to flatter their wives by asserting that they have paid a quite fabulous price for them, - is in practice nothing but a sort of book entry, a transfer of assets from the right hand to the left. Even where the marriage to father's brother's daughter does not take place, there is still a strong tendency for a man to marry a girl from his own village - i.e. a classificatory "ortho-cousin" - if for no other reason than that the Agha must approve of all marriages and he has an obvious interest in keeping the group as closely unified as possible. Besides, a man of the commoner class would normally have comparitively few opportunities of either meeting or bargaining for a girl from another village, still less for a girl of another clan or tribe. Startling romances and elopements do take place, but they are the exception and are usually followed by a long and bloody trail of vengeance. For the commoner the general rule of marriage within the taifa is fairly well maintained. In this connection the building of the road will probably have important consequences for the Balik in the near future, since the ordinary tribesman can now [illegible] more readily make contact with groups other than his own immediate kinsfolk.

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Marriage of Aghas

The foregoing applies however only to the marriage arrangements of commoner families (kurmanj). Quite different are the conditions that govern the marriage of the son of an Agha. Mohammedan law permits a man to have four wives at a time, and to effect divorce simply by the pronouncement of the word taleq three times. In practice scarcely any of the commoners among the Balik can afford more than one wife, and polygyny is the almost exclusive prerogative of the Aghas. The marriage to father's brother's daughter serves to simplify and concentrate the inheritance of cattle, implements and other items of 'capital' equipment within the economic working unit of the group household and to avoid friction over the inheritance of tenancy rights. But the Agha is not swayed by considerations of inheritance since, in the limited sense already described, he 'owns' all the available land anyway and there is no question of splitting up the territory at death. His aim rather is to gain prestige and live at peace with his neighbours. We find therefore that the marriages of Aghas tend to take the form of political alliances, rather after the style of the royal marriages of mediaeval Europe. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Walash for instance, who in the course of a long life has had 9 wives and 15 surviving children, appears to be related either by marriage or

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622 581 through the marriage of his sons to nearly every important leader, tribal, religious, or townsman, within fifty miles radius. More humble Aghas are content with one or two alliances with neighbouring notables, while the rest of their offspring are married off to members of their own community, thus further strengthening the bonds of kinship between the Agha and his followers. It is interesting to examine the effect of this in greater detail.

> Sheikh Mohammad of Walash was one of 9 surviving brothers; he himself has had nine wives and has six surviving sons, and several daughters
>
> Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala has had 6 wives and 24 children of which there survive 9 sons and 5 daughters.

If we consider the male side of the tree only, it would appear that the average reproduction rate of a 'princely' Agha is of the order of 8 surviving sons. If we assume that the total population of the villages remains very roughly stationary we must reach the conclusion that the effective birthrate is very heavily loaded in favour of the Aghas. The effect of this would seem to be that in many of the smaller villages the Agha is not only of the same clan as nearly everyone but actually quite closely related to about half the population. I was unable to make any accurate census of a village but my observations at *Walash were I think reasonably accurate, and tend to confirm this calculation.

622 592 There appeared to be twelve separate households, of which four are accounted for by the Agha's fortress and the establishments of his third and fourth married sons and of a brother. (The two eldest sons have been established as Aghas in their own right over neighbouring villages). The population I estimated at ninety, in the proportion twenty five men, thirty women, thirty five children. The Aghas household appeared to consist of about twenty persons including his younger children and personal servants; while the households of his married sons and his brother contained about eight persons each. In this case therefore quite half the population of the gund was in immediate kinship or economic relationship with the Agha. The case may be exceptional, but serves to explain why a rental of 50% of the yield of the land does not in practice prove entirely extortionate.

622 614 114 Comparison of these observations and those of Hay

The foregoing account shows the interrelationship of the political and kinship organisation among the Balik Kurds. As a commentary upon sociological method it is interesting to note what

*This village would appear to be fairly average so far as size is concerned, though centres such as Dergala and Merga are vastly larger. Walash however is in some respects the private fortress of Sheikh Mohammad and its kinship organisation may not be typical.

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happens when the same empirical facts are considered without an adequate appreciation of the sociological significance of kinship. The following quotations illustrate the position of the Agha as understood by Hay.

The first is reasonable enough:-

(p. 65) A tribe is a community or federation of communities which exists for the protection of its members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and standards of life. Some tribes have no recognised chiefs some have many.

The second is more hypothetical:-

(p. 65/66) The position of the chief varies greatly in different tribes. In the remoter mountains, though granted the most ungrudging obedience, he is distinctly one of the tribesmen, the leading member of a family which has won its headship through military prowess. Lower down he often belongs to an entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections, and in different tribes we find many sections with the same names. This points to the fact that the sections represent the original owners of the soil, while the present chiefs belong to powerful families who have invaded their domains and siezed their lands. This is notably the case with the Dizai where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful family, against which a few old tribal Aghas and headmen still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than tribal.

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The statement that in the foothill and plains area the Aghas are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has already been commented upon in Chapter 1. The idea that the taifas "represent the original owners of the soil", while the paramount tribal Aghas are conquering overlords is mere fantasy; while as for the Dizai the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" (taifa) while the land is mostly held by town dwelling landlords who have no kinship affiliations with the Dizai at all. While this lineage distinction between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is quite absurb:-

(Hay, p. 42) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

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Such generalisations may lead to some startling sociological conclusions:-

> (p.221) This village (Merga; Map 2) lies just below Sheikh Mohammad Agha's residence (Walash) in the Balik country, and its inhabitants, some fifty families in number, are nearly all his relations. Being of 'chiefly' descent they consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate the soil; they have therefore only two means of livelihood, sponging on Sheikh Mohammad Agha who pays them most of his salary to keep them quiet, and looting and taking toll from the caravans that pass along the Persian Road.

This paragraph I consider most illuminating. For it is precisely on the basis of such evidence that the British policy of 'military pacification' is carried out on all the outlying frontiers of Empire. The tribesmen just beyond the border are always, it seems, "desperate bandits and brigands" intent on plundering the innocent peasantry within the jurisdiction of the British raj. Hay of course does not intentionally deceive. He had only seen Merga from afar and was merely recording the position as outlined to him by Sheikh Mohammad. In giving this account however Sheikh Mohammad was fairly obviously blackmailing the British Administrator for more money, and was probably himself responsible for the particular piece of brigandage complained of. Merga today has one of the most extensive cultivations of the whole district, and is considered a prosperous village. There seems no reason to suppose that the position was radically different in 1920, even though the ravages of war had temporarily disorganised the agricultural arrangements of the whole area.

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This is not special pleading on behalf of the villagers of Merga or of the Kurds in general, but it is time that their nefarious activities were seen in proper proportion. It must be admitted that prior to the establishment of an external Authority most Kurdish tribes freely resorted to brigandage on every possible occasion. It was a socially approved aspect of inter-tribal life and one upon which the Kurds themselves lay great emphasis in folk tale and tradition. But it is this very emphasis that has led to the fabulous distortions that appear in all accounts of Kurdish life either lay or official. To read the literature one must suppose that in former times the majority of Kurdish communities lived solely on the proceeds of plunder and ransom; and while the Government continues its present policy of cultural suppression such fallacies are obviously convenient. But the unbiased observer cannot avoid the conclusion that most of the more spectacular exploits of Kurdish brigandage are products of the Kurds' own imagination. Seen in their proper scale these warlike activities can never have been more than an exciting gloss upon the normal balanced cycle of agricultural economics.

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Points of Analysis calling for Further Study

The foregoing analysis has thrown emphasis on the fact that the Agha is of the same kinship group as the majority of his followers and very closely related to many of them. It was interesting to note that in conversation Mir Hamid Amin of Dergala differentiated between "Khesm khoisana" (my relatives) and "kurmanj" (peasantry), but I doubt whether there is any precise dividing line between the two classifications. I noted that he included in the former term at least some of his second cousins. The practical distinction seemed to be that his khesm were allowed to sit in his guest house by right while the kurmanj could only do so by special invitation. Linguistically there appeared to be a confusion between the terms kurmanj and muakeyn both of which were translated to me as arabic fellahin (peasant). In this area however there is considerable overlapping between the two Kurdish dialects of Kirmanji and Kurdi and the confusion is probably only due to my linguistic incompetence.

Another point that requires further examination is the precise inheritance of the title Agha. We have seen that from the point of view of political organisation each gund has at any time one, and only one, Agha, in the sense of landlord. The succession however does not necessarily follow the rule of primogeniture. As it happens both Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash and Ali Agha of Rayat have living with them in the same village brothers who are older than themselves. In the former case the elder brother leads a retired life and takes no part in village affairs; in the latter Abdullah Agha who lives in Ali Agha's house in Rayat throughout the winter moves off into the mountains in the summer with the sheep and goats and a few of the villagers and establishes his own hoba (settlement of black tents). But though Abdullah is the elder brother there is never any suggestion that anyone but Ali Agha is head of the group. On the other hand though the Agha of Rayat is quite definitely Ali Agha the title is much more widely distributed as a form of address. Thus in Rayat the old chief Ali, his brother, his two nephew's Kharim and Ali and presumably his adult son also (who was away during my visit) are all given the title Agha in ordinary speech. And this seems to be the normal usage, thus Hamid Amin's brother in Nawpurdan is known as Rasul Agha though he does not function as a landlord, and Sheikh Mohammad Agha's four eldest sons all carry the title. What is not clear is how the title is inherited as the lineage spreads, for instance will the sons of Kharim, who will in their time presumably be second cousins of the reigning Agha of Rayat also carry the title? Probably there is no definite rule.

In the remainder of this book where I refer to the Agha or the Aghas of a particular group I shall imply only those individuals who fulfil the sociological function of the Agha, and not any sons or near relatives who happen to bear the same title. The sociological function of the gund Agha can be quite clearly defined. He is the

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622 landlord of the soil - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village Guest House. As we shall see later these two functions are closely interrelated.

000 Social Organisation Areas other than Balik

As explained earlier my information for groups other than the Balik must be treated with reserve. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

621 177 Area B. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as the Surchi and the Khushnao were originally organised on much the same lines as described above but that owing to their relatively long period of contact with an external administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relation with their tenants. The villages moreover lack the clan homogeneity noticeable among the Balik.

621 Area C. Mention has already been made of the principle settled tribes of this area, the Dizai and the Girdi. With the Dizai as recorded by Hay the organisation is feudal rather than tribal, since the village Aghas are not of the same kin group as their tenants. I was told that "all the Dizai call each other amosa" implying, if true, that the whole tribe consists of one taifa only. With the Girdi the position appears to be somewhat different. Jemil Agha, their paramount chief, is himself a Girdi but is a townsman in habit and holds himself very much aloof from his followers.

361 312 In its technological aspects the plains culture differs markedly from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important sociological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are larger than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites (Bahrika for instance) have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Nomads

621 Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organisation of tribes such as the Herki differs in many respects from that of the settled tribes. In terminology the term kabila appears to correspond to ashiret and khel to taifa but the identity may not be exact. The term hoba corresponds to gund and implies a small settlement of tents in one location. This last term is also used by the settled peoples. Thus among the Shevdini

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CHAPTER 3

The Guest House

622 So far we have been mainly concerned with describing the relative social positions of the different individuals that go to make up the Kurdish tribal community. It is now necessary to consider these same relationships on an institutional plane and to examine more specifically the economic context in which they operate.

I have defined the position of the village Agha in functional terms as (a) the individual who 'owns' the land and who receives rent by virtue of that title and (b) the individual responsible for the upkeep of the Guest House. We must now examine this definition more carefully.

574 622 554 It is a cardinal feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha. The more lavish the Agha's hospitality the greater the esteem of his fellows; so much so that the prestige a man gains by virtue of being a good and generous host may in terms of reputation fully discount disadvantages of birth. Hamid Amin Agha of Nampurdan for example though only a poor man and a fairly distant cousin of the ruling chief of his clan has a tremendous reputation throughout the district simply on account of his hospitality. On all sides it was maintained that he was much more of a man (piao - the Kurdish idiom is the same as our own) than his nominal overlord Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Walash. If Hamid Amin was not so generous, it was argued, he also would be rich and powerful; *Sheikh Mohammad was miserly and an old woman. It must be admitted that a mere reputation for generosity may not bring with it any particular tangible reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the pattern of the society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered.

344 574 352 †In the Balik country the Guest House is seldom actually a house. Winter travellers are few and can be accommodated if necessary somewhere in the Agha's own residence; during the summer on the other hand a shady pergola is erected somewhere close to the Agha's house and furnished with carpets, seats and cushions. It is here that the traveller is expected to take his meals and sleep.

* This incidentally seems to have been Sheikh Mohammad's reputation throughout his life: see Hay p. 253.

† In the plains villages however the great heat of the summer and the greater frequency of winter travellers necessitates a permanent building for the Guest House. For description see Hay 47 - 49.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shevdini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab bedouin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which he suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else depute one of his sons to do so. 342 574 622.

But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance. 574 431

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammad of Walash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Nawpurdan. On average my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (36 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure 574 556 622.

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in olden times, and that the economy of the village will not stand the strain. 511

Much point is lent to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Rayat (head of the Shevdini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mohammad received no Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. Moreover, far from lamenting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevdini land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an ashiret in their own right instead of merely a taifa of the Balik. It seems significant too that the Shevdini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense. 178 434 [622]

One further generalisation emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Guest House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Aghas concerned. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organisation of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community. 621 311 433

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433 being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
249 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is so enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the Baghdad market, - hardly a desirable development.

249 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation
427 may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents.
435 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added exasperation that the commoner who trades tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

249 On the analogy with the lowland areas the ultimate line of
622 evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill; thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

249 From the Government's point of view such a development is not
464 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors effecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is miri land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

311 241 421 denied this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of commoners must hold in separate plots at least the following:- one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of fallow. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my first hand evidence is very slight. As I have shown, it appears that so far as land is concerned the injunctions of the Koran have scarcely even a nominal relevance. Granted however that the Agha as landlord has a nominal right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land tenure among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

243 622 The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Agha - this being true at least for Walash, Rayat and Dergala. I did not discover what particular individuals are conscripted to work this cultivation or how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Walash this cultivation is not turned over to tobacco. Sheikh Mohammad actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with his enemy the Mir of Dergala was that the latter owing to better water supplies was also to grow so much more tobacco. Possible political reasons for this conservatism have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Kurdish point of view it just is not sense to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Aghas show remarkable intuitive foresight.

The Mill

256 402 An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Dergala, Rayat and Merga. Walash has none but there is one at Naupurdan. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very advanced. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked as a horisontal turbine and thus uses the 'velocity' head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it disposes of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were 'precision made' there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the crudity of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about ½ ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

free house and cultivation and from the commoners gifts in accordance with particular services rendered. He usually marries into the community concerned and his heirs will become ordinary kurmanj of the village. 793

It is difficult to assess what, in the norm, is his social position vis-a-vis the chief. He is one of those who has the run of the Agha's Guest House, a right otherwise reserved for strangers and near relatives (khesm), and he is always greeted with formal respect. But beyond that it is difficult to generalise. Ideally no doubt he should use his religious influence to back up the prestige and authority of his patron the Agha, but the facts seem at variance. The Mulla in Rayat was clearly the close confidant and right hand man of the Agha, he dined every evening in the Guest House and was present at all discussions. In Walash on the other hand the Mulla though frequently in the Guest House was treated as a person of small importance and I never saw him in conversation with the Agha. In Dergala again, the Mulla though admittedly a person of importance never came to the Guest House at all during the week of my stay and considerable precautions seemed to be taken that I should not meet him myself independently. In this case there was some definite source of friction between the Agha and the Mulla, though I do not know its nature. 793 554 622.

To sum up then it is clear that though the Mulla holds his land and his position as a direct fief from the Agha, his functions are such that he may yet gain considerable independent wealth and influence. In the old days it must have been necessary for the efficient working of the gund that the Mulla and the Agha should be in harmony and work in close collaboration. Under present conditions the attitude of the Mulla appears to be of less significance for the community as a whole

On the other hand it may well be that in the plains where the Agha is frequently an absentee landlord, the social influence of the Mulla is much greater than is at present the case among the hills. Hay for instance attaches much greater weight to the Mulla's influence than seems justifiable on my own evidence.

The Mosque

In Arabic the word masjid simply signifies a place of prayer. The essential constituents are an open courtyard where the faithful may assemble and a place for ritual ablutions. Historically the covered courtyards, the domes and the minarets are later accretions to the simpler form. In the cool of the hills the open courtyard has been maintained. In most of the villages the mosque is simple paved courtyard of slatestone, surrounded by stone seats with a spring or a fountain in the middle. The slatestone courtyard has the same sanctity as the floor of an ordinary mosque and the visitor must remove his shoes before stepping onto the stone. 778 [346]

778 his shoes before stepping onto the stone. Here the Mulla recites
771 prayers five times a day and those who feel like it join in. The
• 622 average commoner is very casual about his prayers; many do not pray at
782 all, those who do mostly pray only at sunset. The Aghas on the other hand are frequently excessively sanctimonious; of my acquaintances Hamid Amin of Dergala in particular made a tremendous fuss about his prayers and ritual washings. It was interesting to note that he would often break off in the middle, give orders to his servants, and then go on again where he left off. While one can have no insight into his
[554] real religious feelings, I got the impression that it was largely done for show. There is a definite prestige value attached to being a devout Mohammedan - it is the characteristic of a gentleman. In the same way the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual.

782 A man need not of course go to the mosque to pray. Each man's prayer mat is in effect his own mosque. The actual practice varies in different villages depending I fancy upon the example set by the Agha. Anyway I noticed that there was always a much higher attendance at prayers when the Agha was there in person. The conventions seem to be analogous to those of English churchgoing, there is a much bigger attendance on the Sabbath. The devout Hamid Amin of Dergala for instance said his prayers at home all the week but on Fridays attended at the mosque, and most of the village went too.

778 Some villages have a supplementary roofed building which is
346 used as a mosque during the winter, but this is not invariable. In the foothills area and on the plain the mosque is normally a roofed building with minaret attached. In this case prayers are held either within the covered courtyard or on the roof.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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Plate 1.
People. Young Kurdish Agha—a nephew of Ali Agha of Rayat.

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• 622

Plate 2.
People. Hamid Amin Agha of Naupurdan, his elder brother, and a visiting Mulla.

[opposite page 74 - A]

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

101 131 648 In September 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, toppling over the structure painfully erected by Reza Shah Pahlavi. As his soldiers scattered, they sold or surrendered their arms to the tribes which still roamed the desolate mountains of Iran, holding to their organization, mores, and way of life in spite of the old Shah's efforts to subdue them. Among those thus benefiting from the Iranian collapse were the Kurdish tribes occupying the mountains along the Iraqi and Turkish borders from Maku, in the shadow of Mount Ararat in the north, to Qasr-i-Shirin, on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road in the south.

In the north, the Kurdish tribes in the mountains west of Lake Urmieh found themselves contained by the strong Soviet garrisons in Rezaieh, Shahpur, Khoi, and Maku. In the absence of effective Iranian authority, the Soviets maintained direct relations with the tribes — the Jalali in the north, the Shikak in the mountains west of Shahpur, and the Herki west of Rezaieh. The chiefs of these tribes were allowed to manage their own affairs by the Soviets, who only required that they maintain security and provide grain for the Red Army. At the southern extreme of the Kurdish area, near the Kermanshah-Baghdad road — one of the main supply links between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union — British troops kept the tribes quiet.

622 668 It was in the large area between the British and Soviet forces, in the vacuum left by the fleeing Iranians, that the Kurds were able to regain their autonomy. At first the two main centers of disturbance were Merivan and the Avroman Mountains, where Mahmud Khan of Kani-Senan established a precarious hegemony; and Baneh, where Hama Rashid Khan, long in exile in Iraq, built up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. Both of these tribal chiefs were recognized for a time by the Iranian Government as semi-official governors of their areas, but were then driven into Iraq by the reorganized Iranian Army. By the fall of 1945, all of Kurdistan south of the Saqqiz-Baneh-Sardasht line was again firmly in government hands. The vacuum was thus reduced to the small area between this line and the Soviet forces based on Rezaieh, in which there was only one town of any size — Mahabad, formerly known as Sauj Bulagh, a few miles south of Lake Urmieh.

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177 668 Three impartially, the Komala moved inevitably into the Soviet orbit.

During this period VOKS, the Soviet international propaganda organization, was starting a number of "Iranian-Soviet Cultural Relations Societies" in all sections of Iran. As the Komala had grown too big to continue meeting in private homes, its leaders now asked the Soviets to found a branch in Mahabad; they hoped thus to obtain a place to meet without attracting too much attention. The Soviets readily complied, and it was founded, not as a branch of the Iranian-Soviet Relations Society, but as the "Kurdistan-Soviet Cultural Relations Society" (Anjoman-i-Farhangi-i-Kurdistan-u-Shuravi). The clubhouse was soon crowded with Kurds, who showed their gratitude to their new patrons by sending ten cases of cigarettes made of Kurdish tobacco to the victors of Leningrad.

186 536 668 It was at a ceremony in the society's clubhouse, in April 1945, that the Komala finally came into the open. The Soviet Consul from Rezaieh and the chief of VOKS in Azerbaijan were honored guests. The main feature of the program was an "opera" in which a woman called "Daik Nishteman" (Mother Native Land) was represented as abused by three ruffians, "Iraq," "Iran," and "Turkey," finally to be rescued by her stalwart sons. The audience, unused to dramatic representations, was deeply moved, and blood-feuds generations old were composed as life-long enemies fell weeping on each other's shoulders and swore to avenge Kurdistan.

177 • 622 668 At this ceremony the future head of the Kurdish state, Qazi Mohammad, was finally admitted to the party, to the gratification of the Soviets, who had not liked the democratic organization of the Komala and had long been looking for someone on whom they could count to lead it according to their suggestions. At first the Soviets, realizing the strength of the tribes, had approached tribal chiefs with requests to lead the nationalist movement. But only three of them commanded sufficient prestige for the task — Qaranei Agha Rais-ol-Ashair, venerable chief of the Mamesh and the acknowledged leader of the federation of which they were a part; Amr Khan Sharifi, chief of the Shikak and "grand old man" of Kurdistan; and Amir Asad of the Dehbokri, die-hard

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conservative who, as honorary chief of the gendarmerie, had been made responsible for security of the area by the Iranian Government. But Soviet overtures to each met only polite evasion.

Thus it was that the Soviets finally turned to Qazi Mohammad, hereditary judge and religious leader of Mahabad, and a member of its most respected family. They were frequent guests at his house and eventually helped him, through pressure on the Iranian Government, to replace Amir Asad as government representative in the area, by his brother Seif Qazi, who took over the title of Commander of the Gendarmerie. Qazi Mohammad is said to have learned of the Komala only about a year after its formation, when he sent emissaries discreetly offering his adherence. Komala leaders had decided not to admit him, fearing that because of his strong and authoritarian character and also because of the deference which they themselves had been accustomed since childhood to show him and his family, he would eventually dominate the party and end its democratic character. When at Soviet insistence the Komala finally did admit him, there came about precisely the result they feared — one-man rule of the party.

Qazi's admission enabled the Soviets to draw the Kurds rapidly into line with Soviet policy, which, by the summer of 1945, began to reflect the growing aggressiveness shown by the Soviets elsewhere. Previously the instrument of Soviet penetration in Iran had been the Tudeh Party, a popular front of Iranian left-wingers which, although successful in other parts of Iran, had never been able to take root in Kurdistan.[2] Now, however, the Soviets were considering a new and ambitious plan — the attachment of northwestern Iran to the Soviet Union. Accordingly they formed an independence party to replace the Tudeh in Azerbaijan, a party which could then without embarrassing the Tudeh in other parts of Iran stage a revolution, declare the province independent, and possibly request incorporation in the Soviet Union. Obedient to Soviet orders, the Tudeh abolished itself and re-formed as the "Democrat Party of Azerbaijan," whereupon it began to use Azerbaijani Turkish as its official language and to demand separation from Iran.

[2] For a discussion of the Tudeh Party, see George Lenczowski, "The Communist Movement in Iran," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), pp. 29-45. [Source # 24]

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668 642 The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Banei (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zero Beg Herki [1] received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.[2]

578 668 The new government, which controlled only a minute territory including the towns of Mahabad, Bokan, Naqadeh, and Ushnuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Senandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains west

177 622 624 645 [1] Zero Beg was a bandit chief originally associated with the famous Shikak rebel chief, Simitko. Upon the latter's defeat and murder by Reza Shah, Zero Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Barandus Valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have been their favored protégé. Although of little importance in his own tribe, the Herki, most of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, these Soviet connections enabled him to play an important role in developments in Kurdistan.

[2] Other officials of the new government were Hajji Baba Shaikh, local religious leader, Prime Minister; Sadiq Haideri, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Nasuf Karimi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Mu'ini, Minister of Commerce; Ahmad Ilahi, Minister of the Treasury; Seyyid Mohammad Tahazadeh, Minister of Health; and Khalil Khosrovi, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.

St Roosevelt G-S (1948-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
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Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalists everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, ascetic face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not form the same combination as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Suleimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Hawar* and *Hilal*.[10] All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

[10] A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Komala period, such as *Kolanda* and notably *Nishtiman*, official organ of the party, which bore a picture of Saladin on the cover and circulated in Iraq as well as Iran.

10cJohnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

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J. C. A. Johnson

An replica of the Pitdale rider on his favourite mare. Among the Kurds an agha holds the position of a feudal baron, offering in the main the protection of armed guards and receiving in return service from. He will always ride a mare in preference to a horse because it is gentler and more manageable. Pedigree horses are kept by the rich for breeding purposes; the others are used as pack animals.

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful agha, whose armed retainers guarded the miskin (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannise the village. In return for this the agha exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An agha used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from less powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghas and the miskēn, but the aghas are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *seyyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not contented themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p. 392 (c)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

Quite understand how men born and bred in this village under the eye of their shaikh could not but regard him as possessing superhuman powers.

In modern Iraq the power of the shaikhs and aghas has been curtailed. The villager still works under his agha as the owner of the land—the only one, in fact, who is competent to organize and supervise the work of the village; but the simplest villager now realizes that all the power of his agha or holiness of his shaikh will avail him little should he unwisely be persuaded to act contrary to the law.

Certain individual Iraqis who cannot claim tribal ancestry talk glibly of "breaking up the tribes" and "exterminating the aghas" as has been done in some other countries, but on the whole the Iraq government treats the matter with greater foresight and seeks mainly to 'break' those chiefs who use their influence against the government.

[p. 393(c)]

4s Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
Iraq Bedouin MHI
Kurd MHI

B 619 558 178 461 a severe slump in the camel market. Slowly and very reluctantly the bedouin are turning to cultivation and feel themselves immeasurably lowered in the process. Strangely enough, they are also to be found in greasy overalls, working on the rigs of the Mosul Oil Companies. In this work they do not lose caste as they do if they become cultivators.

B 6a3 Shaikh Ajil al Yawar is the paramount Shaikh of the 'Iraqi Shammar. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular astuteness he has managed to control his tribesmen, keep on the right side of successive governments and at the same time amass a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab steed or liver-shaking "dhillool" (trotting camel).

Turkomans

I 173 162 Leaving the Arabs, we come to the Turkomans. They are the remnants of ancient immigration and are to be found in Tel Affar town between Mosul and Sinjar and in a string of villages across to Altun Keupri and Kirkuk. Arbil is also largely a Turkoman town. The village of Nainawa, the ancient Nineveh, just across the Tigris from Mosul, is Turkoman. In a mosque built on unexcavated Assyrian remains it contains the reputed tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the vertebræ of the whale!

Kurds

I 162 K 101 144 619 Next we come to the Kurds, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages well south of the mountains. The Kurds are Aryan in origin and Sunni Muslims by religion. The mountain Kurds and in fact all the mountaineers of Kurdistan bear a close resemblance to the Scottish clans of two hundred years ago. They are still organized on a tribal or clan basis, though the increase in government control and influence is naturally tending to destroy this organization and undermine the power of the chiefs, or Aghas as they are called. Aghas may, however, still be seen proceeding to town or market with a "tail" of armed henchmen and even a pipebearer. The Kurdish pipebearer is, however, concerned with the Agha's tobacco pipe and not with music. Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe

K 6a2 657 644 276 619 ooo

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

the Jaf confederacy of nomadic as well as sedentary tiras. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Hamawands, an independent tira of population ca. 1000-1500, which became sedentary some two or three generations ago.

The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defence and offence in war. Property rights to land and grazing area are held jointly by the tira as a whole; exclusive usufruct rights are vested in its localized segments, inhabiting compact villages with a population of 50 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have traditional rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as normal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degrees of kinship (on any one level of segmentation, "brothers" exclude "cousins" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1932, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in toto if a segment were attacked from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary charter when conflicts arose within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both within, where they led to fission, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

There is a clear contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the readiness with which the problems of fission and fusion are solved. A man's rights to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as hired farm help ("sapani") of degraded status. The territorial exclusiveness of lineage segments thus tends to be maintained to high degree, and there are no kinship mechanisms for developing "attached" lineages with local territorial and political rights.[7] The segmentary nature of the maximal lineage expresses itself directly in geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited nearly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map or clearly seen where one has a view of the valley bottom. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the tira as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. No religious or ritual

7 A permanent relationship may occasionally be established between a conquering lineage group and a conquered, non-tribal peasant population, who retain certain rights as serfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a caste barrier is set up, preventing intermarriage between the two groups. This relationship, observed on the northern margins of Hamawand territory, does not seem to be very stable.

614 list, the Benadjut are such a branch, which has split off from the parent, Shaikh 'Smail *tira*. The Shatri group of *tiras*, on the other hand, are all «sons of one father», and no one of the *tiras* takes precedence. Such groups have more than mere legendary unity. Firstly, as «brothers», they have the right of inheritance to each others' pastures and campsites, in the case of one of the *tiras* dying
• 623 out. There is also a minimum of political coordination: In the case of war or other far-reaching decisions, the leaders of all Shatri *tiras* meet in a council. So that no one of them should have an advantage, this council meets in the tent of a rich follower, *not* in the tent of any one *Raiz*. The council reaches agreement by discussion, and has, as a body, no formal powers.

621 *KHEL.* Though the *tira* holds grazing rights in common, it will rarely camp in one unit, but generally divides into several separate tentcamps, each called a *khel*. The *khl* may vary in size and composition, but may roughly be regarded as a lineage segment. It is, however, held together by economic as well as lineage ties. Hired shepherds etc. may thus belong to a specific *khel* without being members of the Jaf *asbiret*, or economic partnership between persons of different lineage segments may temporarily influence *khel* membership. The *khel* is led by an older man, more or less informally elected or granted authority because he is the person with the greatest power and prestige. The *khel* is thus primarily a residence unit, and is less permanent in its composition than the larger units which are based on descent only.

HOUSEHOLDS. Each *khel* in turn is made up of a number of households, frequently some 20—30, each inhabiting a separate tent.
592 The households seem to have roughly the same size and composition as those of the sedentary village Kurds, described above. If a father can afford the necessary expenses in tent and utensils, he will set up an independent household for his married son. Poor people, on the other hand, may find this impossible. — Marriage is preferably with FaBrDa or other close relative, very rarely outside the *tira*. Brideprice varies from £ 200 to occasionally nothing in the case of close relatives. Payment may take any form, either in kind or cash, but is computed in terms of money.

temporarily into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the qaimmaqam, and, after greetings and handclasps have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sherbet. The servant is resummoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant re-enters with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a mudir feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with dossiers requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the qaimmaqam's staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a problem trys, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

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Some of the qaimmaqam's more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the qaimmaqam must supervise and coordinate the activities of the mudirs and qadha officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a mudir is given considerable local power, but because the qaimmaqam is responsible not only for the

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conduct of lesser officials but also of the populace as a whole, he tends to keep in close informal touch with both of these. Similarly, he is the step in authority between a mudir of his qadha and the mutesarif of Erbil and reports, taxes, recruits, and prisoners must pass through his hands. The same relationship described between mudir and qaimmaqam obtains between the latter and the mutasarif, because the qaimmaqam must refer his own reports and problems to higher authority. Lastly, it has been intimated above that the qaimmaqam is referred to as an appeal for all sorts of requests. In the Arab Middle East the private citizen has two customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is usual in most European governments, or at the "top." If, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the submission of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through chief clerk, mudir, and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, accumulating documents on its way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, often a perogative of higher social rank, the direct application to the highest available authority, is, of course, the more effective because it bears the signature of authorization at the outset. It follows that the qaimmaqam is constantly beset by those, either in their own interest or in that of some "client," wishing to bypass the normal paths of transmittal.

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Throughout their history the Kurds have suffered a

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distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qadha is charged to the qaimmaqam.

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Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

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The town of Rowanduz, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowanduz, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. 159 792 [443]

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Hussai Effendi Zakriani. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ra'uf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ra'uf Effendi was given the post again. [622] [574]

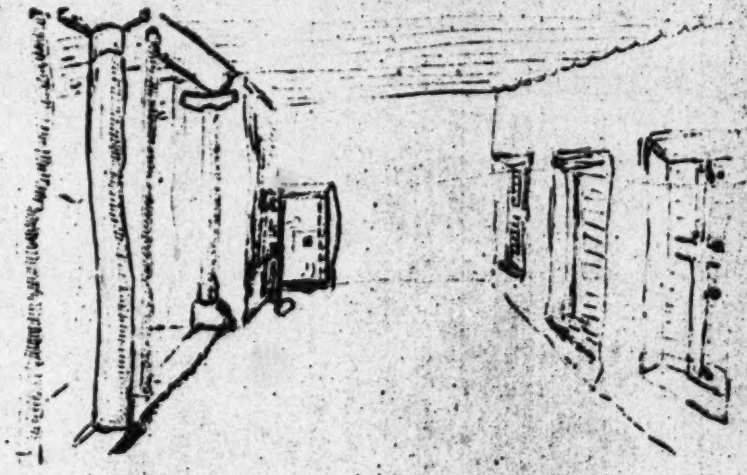
After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Aziz any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [624] [687] [364]

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a darwish and a khelifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [305] [785] [767]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

659 The idea of the Land Settlement Commission was apparently to get control of the ground and the fees hitherto paid for it, but by so doing the old relation between the owner of the village and his tenants would be dissolved, as in return for the dues he would obtain he would have to settle all the village's disputes with the administration and government of the country, give assistance in criminal, juridical and military matters, and maintain a guest house[73], a very important factor in the life of the village and its face to the world. The guest house was the place where every traveller, within definite limits, could obtain shelter and food. It was maintained in the house of the owner of the village as a part of it, and was at the same time the village club which the male inhabitants freely visited and felt part owners of. The guest house is not a business, but the village's joint solution of the obligations of hospitality[74]. It serves to enhance the reputation of the squire and of the village as a whole. If the peasants are relieved of this burden of payment to the village owner, a structural element of the village is at the same time abolished. Concerning this problem see Edmond's account[75].

C24 Within the village the peasants elected a parish officer, *mukhtār*[76], who registered births, attended to the military muster rolls and to local disputes.



9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 642 The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Banei (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zero Beg Herki [3] received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.[4]

578 668 The new government, which controlled only a minute territory including the towns of Mahabad, Bokan, Naqadeh, and Ushnuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Senandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains west

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[3] Zero Beg was a bandit chief originally associated with the famous Shikak rebel chief, Simitko. Upon the latter's defeat and murder by Reza Shah, Zero Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Barandus Valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have been their favored protégé. Although of little importance in his own tribe, the Herki, most of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, these Soviet connections enabled him to play an important role in developments in Kurdistan.

[4] Other officials of the new government were Hajji Baba Sheikh, local religious leader, Prime Minister; Sadiq Haideri, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Nanaf Karimi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Mu'ini, Minister of Commerce; Ahmad Ilahi, Minister of the Treasury; Seyyid Mohammad Tahazadeh, Minister of Health; and Khalil Khosravi, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 721 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mahmudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Senandaj Road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby liaison officers were exchanged,[1] each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to Baneh and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

186 609 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British opportunism, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going concern. 642 Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi 621 Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wazir* (minister) to *rais* (chief). • 624 Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishwa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

[1] The Kurdish liaison officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Nanaverzadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army plane in which he was traveling crashed near Baneh.

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kotchir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kotchir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kotchir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimmaqam such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country.

221 233 [625] [491] [693] [648]

mudir, "exiled," in his own words, to the country, must account for a nahiya or sub-district, in this case with an average population of some 10,000 souls, with a staff of a few tax-assessors, clerks, a police detachment and servants which together usually numbers less than 30 or 40 men, less than 1/250th of such a population. 647 648 [625]

The lot of the typical mudir is not an enviable one. His chief tasks are those of the great trinity of Middle Eastern administration, the maintenance of order, the collection of taxes, and the selection of army recruits. Because these three demand most of his time and energy, other problems, such as public health, must suffer in comparison. The government headquarters in the central village of a nahiya is usually a decrepit one-storey outpost of mud-brick or rubble, built about an unpaved courtyard. It contains some offices, a guardroom and quarters for the police, and a primitive jail, and boasts neither plumbing, heating, or electricity. The mudir himself is assigned a house, but he can rarely have more than the minimum in furnishings, just as he usually cannot yet afford marriage. He is most often a younger man from 25 to 35 years of age, a lawyer by training, and in high hopes of some better favoured assignment. Moreover, he finds himself an alien in the community, not only because his origins are elsewhere, but also because his social rank does not seem to admit of free intercourse with those he governs. There are, to be sure, mudirs who take a great part in the social life of their nahiyas, but [344] [697]

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

647 648 [265] [546] [571]

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

344 [625] [411]

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolla" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qadha is charged to the qaimmaqam.

181 579 [628] [177] [491] [625] [704] 625 647 624

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

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and his Marsh Arab constable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police force receive uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who can bear the expense may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is pinned, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in Baghdad and other larger towns, is never seen in Rowandus. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality, long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Arabic terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender batons to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Rowandus police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries.

The police are assigned in small numbers to the Mudirs, while a larger unit is kept in Rowandus at the

disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not [625]
[illegible] to the serai but occupies a similar, smaller
building of its own a short distance up the road which
serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. How-
ever, the actual direction of the police has its place in [647]
the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director,
and his assistant, the nemr (Arabic, "official"), an
officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there.
These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their [554]
rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of
the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the
police. During the summer of 1951, the nemr's adjutant, [661]
also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the towns- [578]
people for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy,
helping himself to refreshments and other small items at
the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of
the police in Rowandus itself includes watching the
market by day, providing guards for government buildings,
transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the
streets by night.

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of in- [423]
vestment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how [454]
small the amount involved, than precious metal or land.
To all classes of society these two are tangible objects
of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such
things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers
are highly variable, but agil or gold are always of value.

The town of Rowandus, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowandus occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowandus, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

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and weavers. Of slightly lower rank than these are the barbers and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-roasters. As has been seen, the meat-roaster or kababchi is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the atar or itinerant traders and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from effendi to the lowliest manial, is the question of relative wealth. A mason with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in conduct to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the grand cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality, judged

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the chaykhanas or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsman or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowanduz fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an anamolous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated aristocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

565 571 647 [431] 875 571 565 626

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive," not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

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the tribal leader retains longest in the face of breakdown of tribal organization (cf. Memni, p. 126). The ability to avoid or resolve such conflicts between villages is a prerequisite for the maintenance of lineage unity, and it is therefore essential that the principle of collective responsibility is *not* applied to the co-residents of the village community. 614 628

Leach (op. cit., pp. 56-7) discusses a feud between two competing lineages in the Rowanduz area. Though in effect a struggle for political supremacy between rival lineages, it appears to be governed by ideas of retaliation and equality. Hay (op. cit.) further lists the traditionally stipulated blood money to be paid for various classes of people. The Rowanduz area, as contrasted to Southern Kurdistan, is one where a number of well-organized lineages are in close contact. This is due in part to a difference in local history. Suleimani is an old center, and the whole territory was long subject to the feudal Baban administration, based on non-lineage principles. The Rowanduz mountain areas, on the other hand, retained a presumably characteristic tribal organization, with numerous territorially separate, independent lineages till quite late, when it was united by conquest in a larger state system under the Mir og Rowanduz around 1830. It is interesting to speculate whether the fusion of numerous lineages into a larger state may not have changed some of the factors outlined above in such a way as to permit the institutionalized extension of the South Kurdish pattern of personal revenge to a pattern of blood feud. 178 628

In Southern Kurdistan, it is difficult to see what sanctions would be brought to bear against homicide within the maximal lineage, other than this pattern of personal revenge. Other mechanisms, once existing, may however have been disguised by now through the activities of the external administration. 621 626 682

roadside chaykhana between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a chaykhana. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowanduz and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

The town of Rowanduz, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowanduz, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he [556] [574]
is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowanduz itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, [554]
occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives [627] ●
in a love affair; may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the 175 634 648
present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rowanduz was the seat (a kaza) of a qaimmaqam under the Kirkuk sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186 563 571
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167] the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582] group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627 837 548
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553] them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771 commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578 "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his produce, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a commoner, tribesman or tenant, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaykhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the Arab Bedouin, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send him away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Baradost country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them

now fallen into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed men and diwankhanas open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example of the manner in which the chalabis and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose its distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

initial advance, and he must slap her or draw his knife with 585
a threatening gesture. This done, sometimes seriously, the couple may retire to their bed.

The virginity of a maiden must be attested, and from the white undergarments and bedding the maid who makes up the room in the morning is able to report on her "virtue," for the only test is the blood of the hymen. Occasionally the youth will smear a handkerchief with this blood and present it to his mother. In either case, the mother kisses the girl on the forehead and praises her for her chastity. The stained handkerchief, accompanied by an expensive gift, may be sent to the mother of the girl. If no blood is in evidence, a suspicious husband can return [586] [627] [684] the girl to her father's house, and her relatives are more or less obligated to kill her. If, however, the youth's father is "pious," he requests his son to pardon the girl and to say nothing. After the bride has remained for seven days, a delegation of women from her father's house escorts her to her old home for a visit of several days. Her husband comes to take her a second time, on this occasion with no ceremony, and exchanges gifts with his father-in-law at this meeting. The feasting and dances which accompany the wedding can endure for a week or more, but most townspeople consider two or three days sufficient. The marriages of the poor are conducted with less ostentation, although relatively high sums may be expended, and those of the Kurdish aristocracy with the greatest display, the slaughter of dozens of animals

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Clan Agha

The gund Aghas' relations to their tenants has now been defined; they in turn owe allegiance to the Agha of the taifa. This individual also may glibly claim to own all the land of all the gunds under his suzerainty, but his ownership is of a much more nominal variety than that of the gund Agha. The taifa Agha does not levy any specific charge upon his underlings but rather receives from them gifts in proportion to his usefulness. Thus Hamid Amin Agha of Nsupurdan, even though he belonged to the same tira as Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Walash head of the Mullasherifi and nominal paramount of all the Balik, did not admit that the latter was in any general sense his superior; though Sheikh Mohammad for his part claimed that Hamid Amin was his vassal. This discrepancy I think is only partly due to the recent loosening of political ties. In general it would appear that prior to the coming of the external administration the function of the taifa Agha was roughly that of arbitrator and court of appeal rather than dominating overlord. He seems to have been called in to arbitrate in small scale feuds, settle disputes between neighbouring villages over grazing rights and water, settle divorce disputes and so forth. For these services he would be suitably recompensed by the parties to the dispute.

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This system of justice was doubtless exceedingly corrupt by European standards, but probably worked tolerably well. It is not clear what sanctions could be employed to enforce judiciary decisions of this sort. Today the clansman is encouraged to short-circuit the traditional machinery of the Aghas' courts and appeal for justice direct to the police. To some extent the two systems continue to operate side by side but with the continual lessening of the Aghas' authority litigation tends more and more to be a matter for the external administration only. I tried to obtain some opinions as to the relative efficiency of the old system and the new. The results were interesting. It was admitted that the decisions of the Agha in the old days were somewhat arbitrary, being based on considerations of wealth and nepotism rather than moral right, but at least a decision was arrived at quickly. The modern procedure on the other hand though plainly well intentioned is considered in practice to be slow, complicated and costly, and since the wealthier litigant can nearly always manage to appeal to a higher court if the first decision goes against him, the "justice" is nearly as one sided as before. Moreover it was argued that the police were just as corrupt as the Aghas with the disadvantage that, whereas formerly the Aghas were to some extent limited in their decisions by kinship obligations, the police had no interest at all except to sell justice to the highest bidder. Though this is certainly an overstatement of the case, many of the Iraqi police do appear to be exceedingly corrupt. So much so in fact that the new Qa'im Maqam of Rowanduz, chief magistrate of the district, was generally acclaimed by all as the almost unique example of a sincere

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8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

627 692 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 721 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Rayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 622 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[721] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammad asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Naupurdar on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammad ran away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammad as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Hay ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

[731] "Hay (p. 68) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Hay however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The affair got wind, and it was everywhere reported that Sâtir of Begirîv had found a treasure. The news finally reached the ears of the Pasha of Van, who sent for him and shut him up in the city prison, where he lay some time. He confessed the truth, and obtained his liberty only at the price of a quantity of gold, which he gave to the Pasha of Van. In short, Sâtir had to scatter his gold in all directions. 539

Sensible folks will, perhaps, doubt the truth of this story. It is, however, firmly believed in these districts, and often related, and, what is more, the descendants of Sâtir still live at Begirîv in great prosperity. They have lands, mills, many a yoke of oxen and fine flocks, and they keep open house. One might say that it is a *tekkeh*,[1] for every one receives hospitality in this Armenian house; Moslems even are never repulsed, but welcomed with every mark of attention. From that time Sâtir became well known among the Kûrds, who made great friends with him, and brought him presents of sheep. It sometimes happens that they are at feud with the inhabitants of Begirîv, and commit robberies and depredations in that town, but they always spare the house of Sâtir, saying that it is as sacred as a *tekkeh*, and that not even an indiscreet glance must enter it. [577 628 778]

The following curious story has been preserved by the late Mr. Rich,[2] who took it down literally from the lips of the narrator, a tribesman of the Bebbehs of Darishmana, without, as he says, adding to or 538 114

[1] Dervish monastery, where hospitality is generally exercised.
[2] *Narrative, &c.*, vol. i. p. 291.

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance 114
or mendacity. This may be seen from one of the more recent
examples:

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most [181]
> of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six
> or seven men, he is not respected and considered
> unworthy to live. My father once told me a story
> he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he
> had a son who was very bashful, and this was con-
> sidered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs
> is always made leader in case of war. It would also
> be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls
> unless he was a successful thief and robber. He
> carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter
> how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it
> only adds respect and honor to his name.[1]

The sanguine reputation is not wholly without reason. In 579
other times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering
expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have
proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be 669
considered in this study. This has not endeared them to 648
their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks.
Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiye, the irregular 702
bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd 648
al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic move-
ments in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians
and other Christians who suffered from their depredations,
as well as missionaries and spokesmen in Europe, have been
loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. 579
Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in [628]
Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with outsiders,
but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the

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[1]Soane, 1913, p. 193.

notchir and hillmen from remote villages--sworn in on a cloth-covered Quran for their long-winded depositions. In the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate any offense which may have taken place within his grounds or to vouch for a suspect, the little chaykhana or tea-shop across from the government building is full of his body-guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town.

Those tribes having connections in the Rowanduz district, while not necessarily confined to it, include the Balaki under Mulla Musa Agha, the Baradost under Mahmud Beg Khalifa Ismail, the Harki under Fatah Agha, the Harruti under Hajji Huway Agha, the Khaylani under Salim Agha, the Mansal under Mahammad Sayidi, the Sarhati under Fatah Agha, and the Surchi under Kadhir Agha. The most important and numerous are the Balaki, the Baradost, the Harki, and the Surchi. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be seen later that a chieftain need have no connection with a tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views of the canon of tribes and their leaders, that of the government and that of the local inhabitants. The list given here is that officially furnished by the qadha of Rowanduz, and does not necessarily correspond with some segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain "lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized, while others, such as As'ad Agha who keeps to a well-guarded house in Rowanduz, are unable to return to their villages because of a feud.

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "talla" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qaḍa is charged to the qaimmaqam.

181 579 [628] [177] [491] [625] [784] 625 647 624

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

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husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Ghafir Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (ghulam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes khidmetgar). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Dewil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

noted for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Rashid Agha of Jindian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amire, "princess," or shaq, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations.

The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of bahaikhwa or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

usually there is speedy recourse to arms and a vendetta can extend over decades and count scores of victims. In the case of commoners, the chieftains of the people involved often intervene, and sometimes pay the bedalkhwin from their own purses, but, failing this, they are expected to aid in obtaining revenge. In the case of aristocratic households, the matter is not settled so easily, although, in rare situations, a third neutral party, a great chieftain known for his piety and justice, may be asked to arbitrate. The most famous feud of the district was that between the Houses of Isma'il Beg and Muri Rawil Agha, beginning in the days of the first World War, temporarily at an end with the murder of the former and the life imprisonment of the latter. There were many casualties on both sides, and several of the participants are still in prison, such as Isma'il Beg's bailiff, and the two uncles of his mother, Lali Khan, Mustafa Agha and Zirar Agha. Although Rowanduz is non-tribal and is not bound to this or that chieftain, the townsmen took sides in the quarrel, mostly on that of Isma'il Beg, and the quarrel lingers on. The party of Muri Rawil Agha has now practically disappeared, and his son, Karim Agha, who resides in the town, does not dare approach the vicinity of Isma'il Beg's house from fear of further reprisal.

The vendetta has been one of the foremost features of Kurdish life for centuries, and, in spite of its toll in lives, has something of the aspect of a game or sport. Unless commoners or whole tribes are involved, most of

the casualties are sustained by the chieftains and their bodyguards, a sort of exchange of assassinations, and there is nothing which might be termed "total warfare." If a chieftain is engaged in a feud with another, he does not ordinarily try to kill off the other's peasantry or destroy their crops, but rather attempts the ambush of his adversary or that person's immediate relatives and followers. There are several examples to indicate that feuding parties do not like the idea of decisive contests. The causes of such conflicts are extremely varied, although women are said to be one of the most frequent, and are often trivial. The government, insisting on its own justice, has a great deal of trouble with these affairs, and, at the same time, has used them to its own advantage. One of the chief reasons for the failure of Kurdish revolts over the years has been the fact that the leaders are just as interested in the overthrow of each other as in that of the government. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe performed welcome service in aiding the defeat of Mulla Mustafa's abortive rebellion, not because of his loyalty, which need not be questioned, but because of an old feud. It is interesting that certain persons treat their relations with the government in the same way, that is, as a matter between families, carrying on what might be classified as private vendettas with the authorities. If one's brother has been hung or imprisoned, the next step is the assassination of a policeman, not necessarily the

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constables who apprehended the culprit or the judge who pronounced sentence, but "any member of the government tribe." Quite a number of this last type of feud come to light from time to time, and in 1951 one "brigand" near Rania is credited with having disposed of numerous policemen, not primarily occupied with his capture, but engaged in their customary duties. 628● 648

Europeans or Americans are apt to lose sight of the deadly nature, sport or not, of the Kurdish vendetta, particularly, as is often the case nowadays, when it is coupled with politics. The investigator was seated one evening in the "club" in Rowanduz with Sayyid Ahmad of Betas, a son of Shayth Taha, and one of his bodyguards. Sayyid Ahmad was not directly concerned in the Rowanduz feud, but he was a regular guest of Lali Khan and his sympathies lay with the House of Isma'il Beg. It was interesting to notice that when Karim Agha, the son of Kuri Bawil Agha, and hence a possible enemy, entered the garden, Sayyid Ahmad quickly loosened the holster of his pistol and his follower automatically took up a strategic position behind the new visitor, leaning against a wall. On another evening, Sayyid Ahmad forbade, with some violence of expression, a well-meaning person who wished to accompany him across an exposed meadow with a lantern, again, a simple precaution. This atmosphere of violence is an everyday feature of life in Rowanduz, but it must be stressed that actual danger does not in any way extend to the common people nor, under normal circumstances, the 628

government personnel. It would be easy for an outsider to romanticize this situation, and this could not be far from wrong, for the Kurds do the same themselves. The chieftain is the summation of a peasant's ideals, a formidable warrior, unremitting in vengeance, generous in hospitality, and gallant in conduct. An aristocratic youth is educated to play this part. It would be difficult to find many peoples among whom the hero, so defined, has so extensive a daily role and so general and attentive an audience. A number of persons in the Rowanduz area, queried on this point, were unable to name more than one or two chieftains of the aristocratic group, perhaps two or three hundred men in all, who had not been imprisoned or exiled by the government at least once.

Safeguard, as in the case of revenge, is a matter of aristocratic honor. Formerly, anyone who wished to pass through a chieftain's territory was expected to put himself under the latter's protection, because, failing this, he became more or less fair game for bandits or, indeed, the chieftain himself. In past decades brigandage, like assassination, was something of a sport, and holding up a caravan was considered an amusing, as well as lucrative, occupation for the aristocracy. The luckless merchant could only apply to the chieftain for his goods which, in consideration of a fee, were "recovered" and returned to him. The easiest technique, of course, was to obtain right to passage at first, at the expense of a few gifts, and a number of the chieftain's men would be delegated as guards.

For the Kurds themselves, safeguard had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a vendetta, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own. 484 579 628

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Kurds. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the bedalkhwin or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, so they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsman. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter 696 628 622 [583] 628 584 622 [684]

of generosity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most sanguine of vendettas could follow. 622 628 584

The integrity of its women is perhaps the primary facet of a family's honor. If a Kurd insults anything other than the woman of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honor of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious enunciation cannot be taken lightly. The honor of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this second regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus sent to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or 577 562 554 [684] [585] 684 562

to the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence. 684 562 628 683 622

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Hence the aristocratic houses maintain diwankhanas which very considerably in size and form according to their estates. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the diwankhana of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion, 574 622 [342] [343]

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grandfather prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 159 792 [767]

Sayyid Hesani, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hesani was not directly concerned in the feud between Nuri Bawil Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hesani for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hesani was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, mukhtar, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop, 159 [628] [669] [205] [579] [651] 159 463

The most productive comparisons would be with the Turks or the Persians, but, unfortunately, no such monographs are as yet available. To utilize the scanty and widely scattered materials on Turkish or Persian life would be at best haphazard. This study of Rowanduz, with certain exceptions, stands by itself, in the belief that it will afford accurate data for the comparative treatments of the future.

Something of the content of Kurdish life, as observed in Rowanduz, has been presented. It has been seen that the town dominates, partly in an administrative and partly in a commercial way, a large agricultural district. The bulk of the townspeople are merchants, craftsmen, and servants who depend for their livelihood on commerce with the villagers and the patronage of government personnel. The basis of the town's importance is both economic and political. Life within the household, the structure of society, and religion have been treated. What is perhaps of great importance is the ample demonstration that the Kurds are not savages devoid of culture, that they are not all "robbers" and need not "kill six or seven men" in order to be respected. With the exception of revolts and blood feuds, the district is relatively peaceful and normally one is rarely in danger of molestation. The old brigandage, carried on largely by the chieftains as a lucrative diversion, was directed against commercial travelers who could protect themselves from it by the simple expedient of making "gifts" in advance. A district population of some fifty thousand

could scarcely support itself by robbery alone. It is interesting that the Arab Bedouins, among whom the vendetta and brigandage are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Bedouin, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticized rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of Medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been moulded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is mute testimony to the character of Islam and to the force of its protagonists in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

and larger confederations of kinship groups are articulated with a similar phraseology. The Kurdish tribe, which has not been extensively discussed, represents in large part such a unit. The lands of the tribe, agricultural or pastoral, are the property of kinship groups, extended patrilineal families, as are the flocks and herds, and an individual cannot alienate them in quantity without difficulty. Chieftainship is hereditary, commonly with the democratic approval of the men of the tribe. Some chieftains are undistinguished from their tribesmen save in the size of their families' holdings, and others receive a customary share of the annual produce. The Kurdish tribe, then, is traditionally an alliance of extended patrilineal families, sometimes with the fiction of a common ancestor, and membership in the tribe depends on membership in the family, a matter of "blood" descent. Tribal life is directed by the chieftain, and the murder of a member or the theft of property by an outsider is never permitted to go unavenged.

Feudalism, an arrangement different than that of the tribe, requires no redefinition here. It is a personal exchange of duties between landlord and tenant, and is not represented in the Rowanduz district by the nomads whose society is exclusively tribal. It seems to have arisen in two ways, in the first of which the chieftains of nomadic groups took agricultural villages under their protection. One might remark again that the nomad, because of his mobility and firepower, has a military advantage over the villager. In the second, some powerful families, by the

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

the Kurdish tribal system poses some unusual problems in this field. 621
In the travel literature, Kurdish tribes have a deserved reputation as [181]
warriors and bandits with little respect for human life, and without
further analysis of the situation it has been assumed that much of
their activities in this field is governed by a pattern of blood feuding.
There is however good reason to analyse the situation more carefully,
to discover just what patterns relating to homicide do in fact exist.

The material on which the following is based is, for obvious 628 •
reasons, very incomplete. Today homicide is the matter with which
the external administration is most concerned, and immediate inter-
vention on its part tends to prevent other action from being taken,
or fear of such intervention prevents actual case histories from
being discussed. All the data that I do have, however, indicates the
absence or very weak development of blood feuding patterns in
Southern Kurdistan. This absence may seem surprising, and it is
necessary to make clear just what is meant by the statement.

It seems useful in the analysis of this phenomenon to adhere to a
fairly specific defintion of what is meant by institutionalized blood
feud. In its most characteristic form, it has been described in nume-
rous African societies, e. g. the Nuba (Nadel 1947): «In Heiban
[homicide] entails blood feud, which is carried on until exact revenge
has been achieved; a man must be killed for a man, a woman for a
woman; even in their age the two must be as closely matched as
possible. The duty to avenge devolves, not on an individual, but on
the whole clan . . . . Again, the revenge is not directed against an
individual — the murderer himself — but against any member of
the enemy clan who satisfies the conditions of the law of rev-
enge . . .», p. 151). The pattern is thus a special form of institution-
alized revenge, whereby a whole group of persons is held collectively
responsible for the behavior of one of its members, and where the
wronged party is similarly not conceived as the individual or his
close family, but as the whole larger group to which he belonged.
The reaction is one of retaliation, governed by considerations of
equality, and subsidiarily one of compensation by traditionally stipu-
lated blood money (e. g. ibid. p. 251).

In this form, the blood feud is not found in Southern Kurdistan.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

• 628 721 In fact, the basic principle underlying the institution, namely the collective responsibility of the members of the descent group, seems to be lacking. Where the descent group is in fact the local community, one is faced with the problem of deciding whether the group at any one time acts *qua* descent group or *qua* local, that is territorial, unit. To analyse the data relating to this, it is necessary to make a distinction between (1) such collective responsibiltiy relating to homicide, where a whole group is held responsible for the initial act of *one* member, and (2) the collective nature of other types of *feud and warfare*, where the whole group as a political unit is involved in the *initial* action — such as would be the case where a death resulted from any kind of organized and premeditated raid that one group might make upon another, with a primary interest in booty. If, in this latter case — though it might lead to retaliation — the retaliation were not governed by considerations of equality, it could not properly be called blood feud.

Incidents of type (2) have certainly been frequent in Southern Kurdistan. Incidents of type (1), on the other hand, did not come to my knowledge, either in historical material or on the contemporary scene. It would rather seem that a pattern of individual and particular *revenge* prevails, which extends only to very near kinsmen and accomplices. Certainly, the only case history which I can document fairly completely (see Appendix II) is appropriately described in such terms. In this pattern of revenge, the harm and retribution is definitely directed towards the person who committed the initial murder, only secondarily towards his nearest kinsmen, and that only if they have taken a clear stand in the conflict. There can be no feeling of collective responsibility within the whole descent group, since random retaliation within the lineage or even village of the offender is never considered. Conversely, only the very close kin of the deceased are motivated by the desire for revenge. The orphan would experience great difficulties in calling on lineage mates to assist him by virtue of their righteous indignation — he would do much better if he emphasized an economic motive, constituting himself as the leader of a small group of «bandits» in an attempt to rob his opponent. Thus, both in the case of homicide between

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

tirat and between sections of a single *tira*, the procedure seems to be one of personal revenge, and not retaliation within the whole group to which the offender belongs. It therefore seems useful to emphasize this difference by limiting the term blood feud to its typical form, as found e. g. among the Nuba, and to explore the possible reasons why the jural concepts of collective responsibility, on which the blood feud pattern is based, are *not* applied to a Kurdish lineage group or segment of such.

It is necessary to emphasize the unique situation, as compared to most societies described in the anthropological literature, in which these jural principles are to be applied. Kurdish lineages are not organized factions within a community, as is often the case in other societies; nor do they have the usual ramifying kinship connections with other groups. With a high frequency of close kin marriage, as described above, a Kurdish lineage, and even the lineage segments down to the village level, are endogamous, socially isolated units. They are, furthermore, geographically isolated. The *tira* as a whole occupies a large, contiguous territory; the members of the *tira* are essentially the sole residents of that territory. The local group, the village, is also the lineage segment. There is no indigenous political authority above the level of the maximal lineage; and such a maximal lineage has no vital relations with other groups (except a certain minimum of trade). The maximal lineage can therefore, in the autonomous Kurdish system, be regarded as «the society».

The concept of collective responsibility thus hardly applies in the usual sense in the relations between segments of *different* lineages —between groups in separate «societies». Jural principles of this type can only be applied *within* moderately homogeneous societies, where any individual as a sociological person is an approximate equivalent of his co-lineage mates. (Fortes 1953). With the geographical separation of Kurdish lineages, furthermore, feud between them would in fact necessitate aggression into «foreign» territory. The maximal lineage is a politically unified corporate group for purpose of defence, and thus conflicts on any scale between segments would lead directly to all-out war between the lineages to which they belonged. In such a situation, economic and other considerations favoring continued

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

peaceful relations would take precedence over the desire for personal revenge on the part of anyone but the most powerful leader. Personal conflicts between such leaders might well be patterned by the desire for revenge, and none the less involve whole groups in the conflict; but considerations of equality in retaliation would not be relevant on this ‹inter-societal› level, and blood feud is thus an inappropriate name for inter-tribal feuds, no matter what the immediate cause that ostensibly produced the feud were.

In a system with endogamous lineages, conflicts between subsections of a maximal lineage, of the type discussed in Appendix II, would seem to lend themselves more readily to solution by blood-feud. Whereas the individual's has few personal dealings with persons outside his *tira*, there is much room for disputes and conflicting claims *within* the endogamous, landholding *tira*. Such disputes would not immediately become ‹international› problems, subject to all the attendant tactical and practical considerations, but would create factions *within* the group, where concepts of justice and settlement be equality are more applicable. The only further prerequisite for a development of a blood feuding pattern is then a certain minimum strength of the kinship bonds, to ensure clear kinship alignment in the factions and near-universal identification with the kinship group and the action of kinsmen. This degree of development of the kinship bond seems to be lacking in Southern Kurdistan at the present time.

It should also be remembered that with the Kurdish type of lineage organization, the individual's loyalties are not to the descent group *in abstracto*, but are felt and expressed in terms of local groups, which very nearly correspond to the lineage segments. Because of this, any armed conflict between lineage segments will necessarily be in territoreal terms; it will be a feud between villages. Thus complicating factors enter, involving territorial interests in areas where there is no surplus of arable land (e. g. much Hamawand territory today), conquest and vassalization of villages, etc. The larger territorial organization of the whole lineage is directly endangered by such internal inter-*village* wars, and characteristically enough it is the function as arbitrator in intra-lineage conflicts that

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

the tribal leader retains longest in the face of breakdown of tribal organization (cf. Memmi, p. 126). The ability to avoid or resolve such conflicts between villages is a prerequisite for the maintenance of lineage unity, and it is therefore essential that the principle of collective responsibility is *not* applied to the co-residents of the village community.

Leach (op. cit., pp. 56-7) discusses a feud between two competing lineages in the Rowanduz area. Though in effect a struggle for political supremacy between rival lineages, it appears to be governed by ideas of retaliation and equality. Hay (op. cit.) further lists the traditionally stipulated blood money to be paid for various classes of people. The Rowanduz area, as contrasted to Southern Kurdistan, is one where a number of well-organized lineages are in close contact. This is due in part to a difference in local history. Sulaimani is an old center, and the whole territory was long subject to the feudal Baban administration, based on non-lineage principles. The Rowanduz mountain areas, on the other hand, retained a presumably characteristic tribal organization, with numerous territorially separate, independent lineages till quite late, when it was united by conquest in a larger state system under the Mir og Rowanduz around 1830. It is interesting to speculate whether the fusion of numerous lineages into a larger state may not have changed some of the factors outlined above in such a way as to permit the institutionalized extension of the South Kurdish pattern of personal revenge to a pattern of blood feud.

In Southern Kurdistan, it is difficult to see what sanctions would be brought to bear against homicide within the maximal lineage, other than this pattern of personal revenge. Other mechanisms, once existing, may however have been disguised by now through the activities of the external administration.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

A person exhibiting similar virtues to a lesser degree will naturally tend to lead the local «rooftop society» of his own village, and is the type of person who frequently makes his career as the retainer of a feudal lord, thereby attaining elusive but probably considerable powers. 701 554

An occasional legitimate expression for this type of leadership today is the «posse», organized on a village level e. g. when cattle is stolen, on a larger scale when cooperating with the police in tracking a brigand. It should be noted, incidentally, that such assistance on the part of a whole district or tribe is only extended to the police when the outlaw has made himself obnoxious to the villagers of the area in question. 628 •

FaBrDa marriage pattern, the characteristics become meaningful, and the different function of kinship terminology in the Kurdish type of lineage organization and other types of lineages emerge:

Where a moderately consistent pattern of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy is followed, the local, endogamous community becomes in fact the descent group. In the Kurdish system, these local descent groups are given names — in effect *village* names, which thus indicate both residence and descent, and thereby political affiliation. The corporate framework of the lineage is thus given directly in the named residence units, and kinship terms are unnecessary to further emphasize this corporate character. On the contrary, the terminology measures collateral distance, of considerable importance where relatives beyond a certain degree tend to form separate, endogamous sub-sections, disruptive to village unity and ultimately conducive to fission. Essentially, however, the kinship terminology is liberated from its functions in defining political units in the lineage system, and is utilized simply to describe relationship, possibly with a primary interest in inheritance. Here the effect of the complex Islamic law of inheritance may have been considerable — if it has in fact been appeals to [illegible] rather subtle ramifications.

A second modification of the usual pattern, concerned with law and the blood feud, would seem to follow from the combination of a lineage organization and preferential FaBrDa marriage. Fortes (1953) summarizes: «where the lineage is found as a corporate group, all the members of a lineage are to outsiders jurally equal and represent the lineage when they exercise legal and political rights and duties in relation to society at large. This is what underlies so-called collective responsibility in blood vengeance and self-help as among the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940) and the Bedouin (Peters 1951).» On the background of this, the probable absence of weak development of collective responsibility and blood feud in Kurdish society might seem puzzling.

Where the lineage system is associated with a pattern of village endogamy, however, as in the Kurdish system, the maximal lineage becomes in effect «the society», not merely one organized group

within it. Thus the whole situation in which jural concepts are to be applied changes radically. No supra-lineage political authority is developed, and no interaction between a lineage and other groups is necessary, except for a certain minimum of trade. At the time of the present fieldwork, of course, and probably for most tribes in the area at most times in the last 300 years, the maximal lineages were in fact not totally independent. They were, however, subject to external administration, and that not consistently; and the indigenous social organization does not call for or lead to any supra-lineage integration. The concept of jural equivalence is thus meaningless as applied to a Kurdish maximal lineage; such a concept could only be relevant as applied within the lineage, between groups of recognized blood relation within the political unit. In this case, the disruptive effects of conflicts between what are in fact territorial groups within the unit prevent the extension of patterns of revenge to include larger collectivities than the immediate family, or a group of accomplices.

However, the lineage organization is only one type of social organization prevalent in the Kurdish area. With the breakdown of this regional organization there is primarily [illegible] more discreet groups, the integration of the separate, endogamous villages into larger political units poses a new problem. Non-tribal Kurdish social organization might be summarized as a system of hierarchical statuses, identified with particular individuals, and sanctioned by force more than anything else. This organization is then expanded into a larger, regional, semi-feudal system. This was at best a very labile structure, until frozen by the intervention of effective external administration which favored status quo. In the place of the regional displacement of lineage groups in large tribal districts, one finds an open web of relations between separate, endogamous, socially quite autonomous small villages. There form no natural larger units, except in purely physiographic or dialect terms. In this open web, feudal hierarchies might establish areas of influence, but until external administration imposed an arbitrary regional classification in terms of counties and districts, any areal units tended to be extremely fluid.

is reduced from one being given a fallow year. The same field can not be used as arable land for any longer period of time.

Essentially, then, the problem is one of choosing your fallow and choosing your grain crop. Since no other major crop is raised on this type of dry, non-irrigated land, any pattern of rotation is impossible. Cow dung, being a major source of fuel, is not available as fertilizer. The constant plowing, in addition to making the land able to absorb and retain the moisture of the winter rains, should also be useful in building up the humus by burying the weeds that develop.

APPENDIX B: A conflict involving revenge

• 6.26 The chain superimposition on an actual bloodfeud which I observed in progress was concerned with the rights to land, and involved a small lineage which finds itself split between the two villages Tsagah and Kani Lard, in Bimaworai territory. The wronged party being considerably more willing to discuss the situation, the following account may be slightly biased in their favor.

Two brothers, A and B, grandfathers of the present contenders, and both residents of the village of Tsagah, divided their father's land between them. A sold his field to a third person; B's son, Chetter, later bought it. A's son moved to the neighboring village of Kani Lard, where he worked as a landless laborer. Finally, A's grandson, Fatta, claimed the land back. Chetter, in possession of the land, expressed his willingness to sell; Fatta countered, saying that the crops of the past years were sufficient payment — a not uncommon argument. In the resulting quarrel, Fatta shot Chetter dead.

Kader, the son of Chetter, was then a very small boy, and Fatta was widely known as a competent citizen, so nothing was done. After killing one more person, unconnected with the present conflict, Fatta became an outlaw.

In the earlier unusual saving of an archaeological excavation, the orphaned Kader found himself working beside Lutif and Rashid from Kani Sard, the nephews and current relatives of Petro. This precipitated action on his part. Nothing was noticed for a brief period of work in the area belonging to the village of Kani Sard. When operations were transferred to Tangab's territory, Kader swore he would not stand for it, and promised to revenge his father. The two boys Lutif and Rashid were summarily chided, and were, upon their request, immediately removed from the site, and a settlement with the group of workmen from Tangab was later achieved, with some difficulty.

Later, Petro, who being an outlaw had little to lose, attempted to intimidate the villagers of Tangab by a further murder (a woman unrelated to Chanter and Kader), and by saving face to their grandchildren, in spite of the armed service the Tangabers had posted there. The people of Kani Sard, Petro's village, disavowed the fact, and disassociated themselves with the action by coming in paying it out. Since the law, they are accused of continually harming him in secret. Kader is still a young boy, and has sworn to revenge his father by killing Petro.

The essential points seem to be (1) Kader's revenge was transferred to the nephews of his father's murderer only because the murderer himself was out of reach, and because Kader, due to unprecedented circumstances, found himself working beside the nephews on the land of his own village — all a strong implied insult to his honour. (2) Kader did not receive active support in avenging his father, even though the father was, at the time of the murder, the Aghe of Tangab village. (3) The village of Kani Sard was able to disassociate itself from the acts of Petro — possibly because he did not belong to the senior lineage group of that village.

These points would indicate that an developed pattern of blood feud, as defined in the main body of the text, is operating and where patterns superficially similar to blood feud are found, these can better be explained as a slight extension of a strong pattern of individual revenge, or, in certain cases, a struggle between two lineages for political supremacy.

APPENDIX III: The education of a mullah.

The scholastic standards of the less village mullahs might be exemplified by a listing of the teachers and course of study of Mullah Said Mahmoud, now of the village of Dyukan. He was born in Sharkukan, and grew up in the village of Tapakwankare in the Barian valley between Sulaimani and Chamchamal. His religious traditions in the family, his interests were stimulated by the elder mullah brother of an ignorant. After having finished reading the Koran at the age of 9, and then forgotten it again, he decided to become a mullah at the age of 12. He finished the Koran again at 14, under the direction of his village mullah. He then travelled to Sulaimani, and studied

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Berki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area 3) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organization at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups' though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Berki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus possible that this group in the political and economic organization ... the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Surau and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

"The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Berki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Berki and Jamil Agha of Baktila (Jaedi tribe) as to whether the former must pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Berki land. Jamil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Berki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 5

Warfare

Under present conditions large scale warlike activities on the part of the tribes are a complete impossibility, but that does not justify us in dismissing the topic of warfare altogether as being of no relevance to the present social situation. Historically speaking the political forms of Kurdish social organization are associated with an ideology of raids and counter raids, war, pillage and feud. Earlier writers have undoubtedly greatly exaggerated the extent to which the average Kurd in former times did in fact devote himself to murder, violence and loot, but in describing this preoccupation they were, after all, only accepting the Kurd at his own valuation. The Kurdish ideal of manly behaviour does correspond very closely with the typical British concept of a "brigand". His folk tales are gory in the extreme; his conversation hardly less so. And this has relevance to our existing situation. The Agha likes to think of himself as a military leader rather than as a landlord; he habitually classes all his neighbours into 'friends' and 'enemies'. The consequences of this attitude are highly subtle and cannot be examined here, but at least the divergent trends can be noted. On the one hand the sharp opposition between neighbouring groups is even today a force of social cohesion; the members of the clan or the tribe are aware of their unity largely in terms of their common enmity to some other group. On the other hand increasing economic contacts and the constant harmonizing efforts of the Police and the Administration, in so far as they are successful in lessening intergroup suspicion, do at the same time serve to loosen the social cohesion of the groups concerned.

While organized raiding or warfare is now impossible the private feud continues and may be examined further.

The Feud

The motif of the blood feud may be summarized by the phrase that "a man's wrongs must be avenged by his kinsfolk and his descendants", and we may note at once that a system of small patrilocal, nearly endogamous groups is peculiarly suited to perpetuate antagonisms of this kind. The individual's near kinsfolk are also his near neighbours, and since his wife's kinsfolk are probably identical with his own he is bound by no ties of loyalty to any group outside his own village. Within the village all are bound together to resist the aggressor, beyond it everyone is a potential enemy, the identity of interest between the family and the village is complete.

Quarrels between villages may arise from a variety of causes, chiefly economic. Water and grazing rights are always ill-defined and may lead to serious friction in times of scarcity, and this may

578 lead to one side burning the other's crops or stealing their cattle.
628 Until bloodshed has occurred nothing is serious and a good clan Agha will
684 see to it that the parties submit to arbitration before the affair
681 reaches a crisis. More serious are affairs in which women are involved; an insult to honour can only be wiped out by death and the discovery of adultery can have only one possible sequel. Such cases however need not necessarily lead to feud; if the guilty lover belongs to the same village as the injured husband a single murder is considered to settle the matter. If the parties are from different groups however the affair is much more serious and several assassinations may take place before settlement can be reached. Eventually, provided it is the honour of commoners rather than of Aghas that is at stake, the Agha concerned will arrange feud through the mediation of the tribal chiefs. According to Say "A blood feud is usually settled by the payment of blood-money; every condition of man or woman has his or her price, and even the parts of the body are catalogued. A Hamawnd or middle class Kurdish farmer is valued at £50, one of his women at £25, and his leg or arm at say £20. Such payment is often made in kind, some cattle or a horse, or so much wheat being handed over to the aggrieved party. It is very common for a girl to be given away in marriage in payment of blood money. Thus if £50 were owing, the price of the blood of one a n the debt might be paid by the delivery of one girl, three cows and a donkey". I have no comparable information, though I think the general principle is accurately described. In Say's time the Government could seldom apprehend a murderer. He says "For the murdered man's relations to take their revenge is quite in order, but an execution at the hands of that avenger, the Government, is an entirely different matter. The culprit therefore is carefully concealed until he can make good his escape to the hills". The position today is somewhat different and I fancy the murderer is usually caught. This however does not end the feud; blood feud murders are punishable only by two years imprisonment and the war starts again when the culprit gets free."

628 As has been explained the feuds of commoners and the less important Aghas are settled in the end by tribal arbitration. However

* The Administration makes a distinction between feud murders justified by tribal custom and ordinary murders which are not. The
628 former come under a special code for which the maximum penalty is two
684 years imprisonment; the latter come under the ordinary Iraq criminal code
178 for which the penalty is much more severe (? death). This has had an interesting repercussion. In the old days by tribal custom an affair of honour was adequately settled if the man only was killed, the woman in the case being merely driven out of her own community to fend for herself. Today it is necessary for the avenging husband to prove to the Authorities that it is really an affair of honour and not just a cold blooded murder. The custom now therefore is to kill both the guilty parties.

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nowadays the Government takes an active interest in the proceedings and by threat of dire and awful penalties is usually able to settle the affair near the start. Much more serious is a feud in which important tribal leaders are involved; here settlement is extremely difficult and assassinations may apparently continue for generations. One such major feud splits the Rowanduz district at the present time and has become so widespread that the contestants here assumed the scale and significance of political parties. Practically everyone I met seemed to be involved on one side or the other, some as active assassins, others, the majority, merely as intriguers. The term "my enemies" was clearly highly elastic; - so far as I could judge there was no particular distinction between mere political opponents and those one was prepared to assassinate. The allegiance of the more remote contestants is doubtless largely determined by kinship considerations, but this is not always obvious. A nephew of Hamid Agha of Dargala who had been shot in the back a year before was quite closely related to both of the principal contestant families; and there seemed to be no obvious reason why he should be campaigning on one side rather than the other.

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When this particular feud started is not clear, but it was already well established in 1918 and Hay mentions it a number of times; the most recent murder of the sequence occurred the day after I left Rowanduz. The murderer had come out of prison three days before, having been gaoled two years previously on account of an earlier assassination. My records on the subject are certainly very incomplete but even so they show a considerable casualty record:-

Descendants and Relatives of Hamil Agha - 5 dead, 2 wounded, 2 in prison.

Descendants and Relatives of Abdulla Pasha - 4 dead.

Today the affair has become entangled with all sorts of wider issues - Kurdish Nationalism in particular. Accusations of being pro-British, or pro-Arab, or anti-Kurd were levelled at all and sundry, and in the limited time available I had no chance to unravel all the complex of personal antagonisms and rival interests involved. Iraqi-Kurdistan however is now a part of Iraq and it was highly interesting to see how in this new political situation the old antagonisms were being re-aligned to cope with wider issues on a more impersonal front.

Religious Organisation

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Religion is not a subject that the investigator can gain much information on in his first preliminary survey, and my own studies in this field were particularly slender.

*Cf. the feud between the Husseinis and the Nashashibis in Palestine today.

34a Iranv 8-5 (no date) 1926 MAI Iran MAI
Kurd 1941
Baluchi 442.

This division, probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal [Customs records and sedentary ways of life.—Author]

* The impressions concerning this may not be correct, because the nobles dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.

At the head of the executive branch of government, 631. 648
subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the
inisters, from whose various departments all public officers
re appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines,
he country is divided into fourteen livas, each under a
utesserif. The liva is subdivided into qadhas, each under
qaimmaqam. The qadha is in turn subdivided into a number
f nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a reis
elediya appointed by the government whose office is respon-
ible for the intricacies of metropolitan administration.
he people have a mukhtar, selected from the local in- [622]
abitants, who, while in no sense a public official, acts
s liason between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly
omparable to that of the 'umda in contemporary Egypt.[1]

The qadha or district of Rowanduz belongs to the 631
rbil liva, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The
edentary population of these, as well as the number of 162
illages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the 361
ensus officer of Rowanduz. In spite of this official's
bors in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to
egard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, [182]
ike many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and
ike the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their
umbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the
villages" here referred to may vary from a few isolated

[1] Ayrout, 1945, pp. 47-48.

Unlike many Kurdish and Nestorian villagers, as well as the people of Rowandux itself, the kuchik all belong to one or another "tribe" (Kurdish, 'eshireh, from Arabic, 'eshira), a matter which also demands clarification. The typical Kurdish tribe contains several elements of a different character. Membership usually depends upon descent, but individual families or much larger groups can deny their tribal allegiance, and either join another group, or form an individual tribe of their own. While some of the larger confederations appear to be of considerable antiquity, the smaller groups come and go with the vicissitudes of war, wealth, and leadership. Nor are the tribes made up exclusively of nomads, for, while the nomad may play a dominant role in furnishing pugnacious leadership and armed men, the wealth and numerical strength of such a group come largely from its villagers. Because many of the chieftains are landowners, persons living in villages owned by them, whether Muslim Kurds or Nestorian Christians, are said to "belong" to the chieftain's tribe. Nestorians often dress in the typical garb of their "tribe," taking part in many of its common affairs, although there is almost no possibility of intermarriage between them and their Muslim fellows. While there seems to be little historical evidence to support or refute such a view, the Kurdish tribe appears to represent an intermediate stage between groups whose membership was actually based on descent and those whose character is purely feudal, a situation which may have

existed for centuries. Today it cannot be denied that some tribesmen, particularly the Ketchir, belong to their group because of kinship relation (the Kurdish term tayfa, from Arabic, ta'ifa, "tribe," is used to describe a tribal subdivision still to be found which seems to represent a patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial.

It is important to notice that there are two main bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and that commonly called "tribal law," executed by local administrative officers. The institution of dual legal systems was evoked by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of whose time-honored customs were, to say the least, out of joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code. The differences between the two need not be considered in detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such as adultery or rape. There are in the Rowandus district a number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and its administration is not charged to the local judge, but is an added task of the qaimmaqam. Hence the office of that official in Rowandus has often the aspect of a courtroom, the qaimmaqam and his clerk patiently and laboriously inquiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through an interminable parade of witnesses--coarsely-dressed

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not assume that marriage relations and maternal ties have indeed no relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Moslem by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the *tira*, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the *tira* varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Warda Shuni (location: roaming in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several *tira* may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Louis J. Luzbetak, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1951).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" (in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. R. Leach, *Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 3, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11
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daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system.

If this view is generally correct, one would expect to find a high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage associated with a developed lineage organization in the Middle East, and the frequencies to be appreciably lower in villages with a different type of organization. In the southern Kurdish area, this is clearly so: for other areas, the literature gives no conclusive evidence.

In the southern Kurdish feudally organized territory, neighbouring on the above discussed Hawrawnd territory, the comparative picture might be summarized as follows: (1) The expressed norms are modified, though not basically changed. First rights of parental cousins are not as strongly emphasized, and the ideal of equality between spouses tends to be interpreted in terms of village endogamy rather than with reference to descent group. (2) Brideprice used to be lower for all categories of husbands, especially those of the local community (this holds true for the villagers, not for the larger towns, where great variations in class and wealth intervene); some villages have made formal agreements that no brideprice should be charged within the village unit. An alternative and moderately popular way of avoiding brideprice is the sister exchange between two indifferently related men. (3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage clearly drops, while village endogamy (in villages generally larger than those with a lineage organization) remains high. A complete census of marriages in one such non-tribal village may serve as an example:

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (ammou)	MoBrDa (khalouse)	SiDa (gurse)	Other relative	Unrelated, in village	Other village	Total
6	1	1	9	19	10	46

This picture would seem to be consistent with the views expressed above.

Hilma Granqvist[10] gives some comparable material from an Arab village in Palestine, where the local community is divided into patrilineal descent groups, called clans, apparently of a segmentary type; but where several of these descent groups reside together in a large village, and have no wider political or territorial importance. She offers the following frequencies of degree of relationship between spouses in one village:[11]

10 Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (Helsingfors, 1931).
11 Idem, pp. 81, 92, 194-195.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Ibn Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which the barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothill, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from north-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF TENANT VILLAGES

• 631 The political organization of the non-tribal area is generally much simpler, unifying a much smaller group. Immediately above the village level, external administration takes over control. In the village itself, a *kikhe or mukhtar* (mayor, headman) is elected to serve as an intermediary between the people of the village and the authorities. Frequently he is appointed from above rather than freely elected, in an attempt to achieve a balance of power within the village. In the official governmental system, the *kikhe* of the village is the official of the smallest unit. A hierarchy of officers, appointed from above in the bureaucratic system, administers progressively more inclusive orbs, terminating in the bureaucratic head, the *Mutesarrif* of the *Liwa* (governor of the province), directly responsible to the government ministries, and with considerable autonomy. In practice, however, the landowner of the village intervenes at the base of this hierarchy, and the *kikhe* serves as an intermediary between the villagers and the landowner, and has few dealings directly with official administration.

632 631 When left to their own devices, the villagers generally elect to office the older male leader of the largest kinship group. As a consequence of the marriage pattern, such kinship groups tend to separate off as endogamous blocks. But due to the lower frequency of Fah/Da marriage among the non-tribal villagers (see p. 44), these blocks show less organization and unity than the endogamous subsections in the tribal system, and could not properly be called lineages. Furthermore, they tend to be bilateral, in the sense that relationships traced through female links retain some importance. The relative sizes of these bilateral kinship blocks change fairly slowly, so village headmanship, as well as leadership in the kinship groups, tends to follow an apparently hereditary pattern from father to son.

632 "The powers of the kikhe derive, in part, from his powers as the head of such a group, in part from his closer relations with the landowner, and the implicit threat of reporting illegalities (or in fact making false accusations) to him. As the leader of the village,

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Say. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowanduz with subsidiary police posts at Bapet and Selala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winters; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various villages; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Bapet valley.

B. Pustkil Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Say's account (1931) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even at his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.H.Smallian - Road through Kurdistan.

[Rowanduz - - Bapet]

advise or scold their employers. 565 [327]

Commoners make up nine-tenths or more of the population of the town. They are, of course, Kurds, and Kurdish is their primary tongue. A number of the older men speak Turkish and Persian, although these are now disappearing, and almost everyone commands a few words of Arabic. Their clothing is in the native style. Their relations with the officials and officers are much more extensive than those of the aristocrats, because many are employed by the government personnel, and are, on the whole, amicable, depending on the personality of the official in question. It has been seen that the doctor and one of the police officers were heartily disliked. It is interesting that officials are referred to much as the local aristocracy. Colonel Khalil Naqshbandi, an aristocrat by birth, was not addressed as officer, but simply as "Khalil Beg," a commoner of the "government tribe." [162] [191] [29] 565 571

Among themselves, the townspeople are governed to some extent by their mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, and by public opinion. It must be remembered, however, that this is a population of diverse origins, made up of families of the [illegible] town, newcomers from other Kurdish cities, such as Sulaymaniya, and of migrants and transients from the villages. Thus there is little of the solidarity to be found in an agricultural village. It has been noted that there is no mandatory communal labor, such as helping a man build his house, but rather optional neighborhood cooperation. For the townsmen there is no participation in 632 571 571 621 [476]

Rowanduz, as a minor administrative and mercantile center, stands almost midway between the agricultural village and the great city. Its populace is divided into three groups, the Kurdish aristocrats, the townsmen, and the official class. It is here, rather than in the villages, that the displacement of the aristocracy is more clearly in evidence. In Ottoman times the divisions of society were stabilized. There was little motive or means for the son of a townsman to become a civil servant, although this occasionally took place, and it was impossible, as it still is, to become an aristocrat. The addition of the officials and officers of modern Iraq, a "new elite," and, in particular, the institution of schools which makes entrance possible, has radically altered this arrangement. It is now theoretically within the reach of any townsman to have a son enter the ranks of the official class, and it is for this reason that they insist so avidly on the education of their heirs, placing high hopes on their success in the schools. Strictly speaking, the society of the town is disjointed, for the townsmen continue to regard the official class as alien, and have adopted little of their dress and manners. On the other hand, they have been quick to realise that the new system offers an opportunity for social advancement and are eager for their children to take advantage of it. In short, the townspeople have been absorbed into the second system, although the first continues to operate elsewhere in the district,

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2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 . MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

as in the case of Mahmud Beg of the Baredost who rules as did his forebears, and must be counted as a factor in everyday life. It is thus that one finds a duality of thought and behavior as far as the two aristocracies are concerned. A landowner in Rowandus spoke of the chieftains as though they were the only important element in society and, at the same time, alternately praised and castigated two of his sons for their respective success and failure in school. The youth who had failed was regarded as a great disappointment, a condemnation which would not have occurred fifty years ago when the upper echelons of society were either inaccessible or unconnected with the prestige and power of the new servants of the state.

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S85
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[867]

Between these dates there were many other incidents, for example, the assassination of the dictator of Iraq, General Bikçi, by a Kurd in 1937. In neighboring countries, there was a general insurrection of the Kurds in Turkey in 1925 and one in Syria in 1937. The revolt in Iraq in 1930 was common to Turkey and Iran, and that of Mulla Mustafa to Iraq and Iran. All of these were put down with difficulty, and demanded the use of aircraft, armored vehicles, artillery, and, in some cases, European troops. The states were often aided by quarrels among the Kurdish chieftains. It is interesting that the Kurds regard these conflicts with the government in the same light as tribal warfare of the type which arises from the vendetta. It has been noted how brigands and other outlaws frequently have their own private blood feuds with the authorities. Mulla Mustafa was largely driven from Iraq, not by the army, but by Mahmud Beg of the Barzanci who had a personal grudge against the Barzani chief and his followers.

In order to appreciate the place of Rowanduz in this process, it is necessary to review its position. The town, as has been said, is non-tribal and, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns much of its property, is not ruled by any overlord. In this way it has been assimilated without difficulty into the economic system of the state, as opposed to that of the tribe or feudalism. All of its lands have been surveyed and classified, and the taxes are collected directly from the inhabitants. As an administrative center

It has had a new class added to its society, that of the officials and officers, and, more than any agricultural village, has been absorbed into an unfeudal system. The government elite of the town are on an equal footing, so far as prestige is concerned, with the local aristocracy and enjoy the advantage of having the real power. Already certain changes, which might have been anticipated, are beginning to take place. A few merchants in the town have adopted the European dress of the official class, and may are determined that their sons, if humanly possible, will be educated and take a higher place in the new hierarchy of society, something previously impossible. It is in Rowanduz, then, that a new social structure is being realised as it is elsewhere, for example, among the Shereh Arabs of the southern provinces. It is one of the state of Iraq, rather than the tribal and feudal system which is characterised by the absolute difference between aristocrat and commoner. At present, the contest between the government and the Kurdish nobility has only been partially decided, but, failing some major event, it seems probable that the Kurdish chieftains will be eliminated as a distinctive class and be able to save themselves only as landowners and participants in the new regime.

The relevance of the second object of this study to ethnology is not that it has formulated something new or unique, but that it supplements the large body of material already gathered on the transition of primitive into

grievances of the farmer and explaining and facilitating the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he is expected to maintain a divankhane (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rawandus itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rawandus was the seat (a nahi) of a qaimmaqam under the distant sealiq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

today, a number of troops were garrisoned there. With respect to Erbil, the administrative equality has been changed, although a fifth nahiya added to the Ottoman four. It cannot be said that the Ottoman administration with its officers, judges, tax-collectors, and its zaptieh was too different in outward form from that of today. The knowledge of bureaucratic government is nothing new to the district. In contrast to the present administration, however, the Turks were extremely venal, but it cannot be legitimately said, as it is with respect to other former Ottoman holdings, that they were violent. While there were often skirmishes between segments of the population and the Ottoman gendarmes and troops, there is no particular recollection of Turkish "atrocities" in the area, for in the nineteenth century the Kurds, at home in their mountains, were the military equals of their opponents. The opening of new roads and the adoption of modern arms has changed much of this, and the Kurd has learned to respect automatic weapons, artillery, and aircraft. In a number of regards, such as education and public health, it can be seen that the new government enters much more completely into the interests of the people, and, according to popular opinion, has subverted many functions formerly reserved to the chieftains alone. In summary, it appears that the administration today is at once more rigorous and more enlightened than that of Ottoman times.

In conclusion certain observations on the present administration may be reinforced. It can be observed how

little the people, aside from a personage like the mukhtar, 634 ●
are able to participate in their own government. Rowanduz, 649
as the physical center of this government, exerts a power-
ful influence as well as a formal control not only over the
town people but over the district as a whole. Such an
administration, while in no sense new or unique, has ex-
tended the range of its activities into a great part of the
people's life, and it is impossible to deny its relevance
as the most powerful determinant in the change of local
culture. Lastly, a new "elite" of civil officials and [647]
officers, alien to the area, make up its directing personnel [554]
and add a new element, reinforced by prestige and power,
to the older form of society.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Herki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organization at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups although in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Salt is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Herki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organization of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Surav and Baliz tribes (see Map 2).

"The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Herki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself contains into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Herki and Ismail Agha of Baliyan [Surav tribe] as to whether the former must pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Herki land. Ismail Agha complained to me bitterly that the Herki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however established the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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Apart from these two non-tribal villages, all the groups in the Balik and Dergala areas are at least 95% pure Kurdish. The intrusive element is provided by a few Jews and Assyrian Christians who as a rule carry on some special trade such as weaving or carpentry and are thus tolerated as useful members of the community. 583 463

Method of Analysis.

As is clear from what has already been said, the tribal organisation of the various groups throughout the area under review have all to a greater or less degree been affected by contact with, and interference by the external administrative authority. If we go so far as to assume that at one time there was a form of social organisation which could be reported as the typical norm for all the hill tribes of this region, it is certain that such a norm can nowhere now be found functioning in its complete state. Kurdish society as it exists today is a society undergoing extremely rapid and at times violent social change. As we shall see there are powerful and perhaps irresistable forces at work tending not so much to the modification as to the total destruction and disintegration of existing forms of tribal organisation. In such circumstances, in order to make the description intelligible at all, some degree of idealisation seems essential. In the main therefore I shall seek to describe Kurdish society as if it were a functioning whole and then show up existing circumstances as variations from this idealised norm. I am aware that such a method makes the resulting description to some extent subjective and that at many points I have not the empirical data to check the validity of my hypothetical norm. In the circumstances however it appears to be the most reasonable procedure to adopt. 177 21

The External Administration

The precise form of the external administration has so many direct bearing on the Kurdish social system as described in this monograph. But at various points in the argument especially in the section dealing with economic problems reference will have to be made to elements in the administrative organisation, and it seems desirable therefore to give first a brief description of the functions and relationships of the various members of this external organisation. 177 635.

The administrative system of Iraq has been developed out of that of the old Ottoman Empire. The terminology remains in many respects unaltered. The whole of the Kurdish area here under

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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635 Kirkuk Liwa within the Province (Liwa) of Erbil. The civil head of the Liwa is Mutasarrif who is directly responsible for the police administration and the supervisory and indirectly for such social services as Health, Education, Agricultural Relief etc. The tax organization is closely associated with the police and also comes under the administration of the Mutasarrif. Outside his control however are the military and the judiciary.

635 871 644 Within the field of any discussion the social services of the government are very limited, though the education system is worthy of note. There are primary and secondary schools at Erbil and a primary school at Rowanduz. There was for a while a secondary school also at Rowanduz but this was closed following a nationalist strike by the students who demanded to be taught in the English language instead of Arabic. The various economic reasons these schools affect only a very small stratum of society - the sons of important Aghas and town merchants. Some of the larger villages have in addition a post government teacher. Though the intention is good, the practice is less so. The wages offered and the facilities for advancement are so poor that only the very poorest type of indolent scholar offers himself for such posts. In the Erbil area anyway the experience of government education has on the whole unfortunate. The current opinion seems to be that all government education officers are moral parasites. The complaint seems to stem the basis for such an attitude. The only schoolmaster among the Erbil of the time of my visit was attached to the village of Dapan. Formerly he had been attached to the village of Bart where he had married one of the Agha's daughters; this lady he had now divorced or rather deserted and the Agha of Bart was suing him in the courts for maintenance. In Dapan he had seduced the daughter of the Erbil and to avoid scandal had not married her, but this in itself was a scandalous proceeding since the Erbil and the schoolmaster are regarded as enemies by nature - (aside from the traditional viewpoint education is the Erbil's chief function). In another case which I investigated more fully later the agricultural adviser of Kalak was murdered.

871 875 609 609 Of the time of my visit the post of Mutasarrif of Erbil was held by Ahmed Beg (Tawfiq Beg, a Kurd from the notoriously nepotistic district of Baiyamari, a man of great intelligence and personal integrity. I am directly indebted to him for the facilities and assistance which enabled me to carry out this piece of field work, the more especially since his own political position at the time was somewhat delicate. Being related by marriage to the chiefs of the Dzabuki tribes, at that time in revolt, he was regarded with a certain amount of suspicion by some of the anti elements in the Baghdad government. This fact, coupled with a mild reputation for being pro-British - by no means a desirable sentiment to advance then, - made my request for travel facilities a doubtful concession. In the circumstances his help was deeply appreciated.

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probably on the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth.

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil.

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco such more than repays any expense incurred.

The independent judiciary functions through the court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Nahiz [sub-district magistrate] and then before the Qa'im Magam [district magistrate] before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil.

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Kemaliya. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Sunnis and Turks and is thus to general inclination Sunni-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Iraqi-Arabs whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Kurd" can be taken for granted.

The Liwa is divided into several districts (Aksam) each presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Magam). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Aksam of Koysanjaq. The Qa'im Magam is responsible for his district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for his Liwa.

The Aksam is here is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Nahiz. The Nahiz holds all records in his nahiya Nahiz - the administrative district is thus more coinciding with the tribal one. Dergala on the other hand is administered from Koysanjaq.

The Nahiz has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the tribesmen, authority and the tribe. It is the reality of these police-officials which is the most feature of the system, and which is the real source of

S: Edmonds C-5 (1923, 1945) 1957. MA11 Kurd MA11

Insofar as these grievances had some foundation in fact enough has already been said to show that the prevailing state of affairs was due, in part at any rate, to political circumstances beyond the control of the government, and in part to the restiveness of the Kurds themselves which for long periods had brought the administration in a large part of Kurdistan to a standstill. Some of the neglect, too, was undoubtedly due not to malice but to a tendency, not unknown elsewhere, for the higher authorities to take more thought for the parts of the country near the center than for the distant outposts.

However that may be, the result was that just when the earlier agitators were developing into elder statesmen who, schooled by experience, no longer regarded separation as feasible or desirable there was growing up a new generation nurtured on a sense of grievance and frustration. Resentment was further embittered by insulting references to the minorities not infrequently made by pan-Arab orators in moments of fanatical exaltation. In all the countries of the Middle East the western Powers are regarded as the supporters of the old reactionary Beys and Pashas who have retained most of the political power in their own hands (the charge is unfair but it would perhaps take us too widely to examine it here). It is only to be expected, then, that disgruntled youth (and especially young Kurds with a racial added to a social grievance) should look to Russia for its inspiration. The Russians have long been the neighbours of the Kurds through the Caucasian provinces, and, as we have seen, a small part of Kurdistan lies within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Even before 1918 Kurdish malcontents in Turkey and Persia were accustomed to seek support from the Russians. For the Russian exploitation of Kurdish unrest would be nothing new, indeed something of the kind has been seen comparatively recently at the time of the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in Persian Kurdistan, and again in 1947 when Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a fugitive rebel from Iraq, was welcomed in Soviet Armenia, given high military rank, and encouraged to broadcast in Kurdish from Erivan.

But with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable. The nomadic chiefs, realizing as they do that economically the Kurdish north is bound hand and foot to Baghdad, have never shown any enthusiasm for anything but the mildest form of secession, and the programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before. The old loyalties to religious Shaykhs and tribal Aghas have been too deeply undermined for any self-appointed leader to command a serious measure of support in any violent adventure. The complexity of modern weapons has given the government an overwhelming advantage

Pr Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

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children into silence by threatening them with the word "Russian."

The Soviets tried hard to counteract this unreceptive attitude. They played up "Kurdish autonomy" in the Soviet Union, and the brave deeds of one Sarvard Siamandov, Red Army colonel of Kurdish origin, "Hero of Leningrad." How much success they had is hard to judge, but certainly large sections of the population, as well as landlords, merchants, and religious leaders, continued to distrust them and to extend this distrust to Qazi Mohammad, whose connection with the Soviets was undeniable. The walls of the building in which his government was housed were plastered solidly with Soviet propaganda posters; his newspapers and magazines contained a large proportion of Soviet material translated word for word into Kurdish; and his poets composed panegyrics to Stalin and the Red Army.

Yet in contrast to the rest of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan was to outside appearances free of Soviet agents. Aside from a few Iranian servants truck drivers, who acted as observers for the Soviet and pro-Soviet governments, Soviet citizens were almost unknown in the area and Soviet agents kept under cover. There was said to be a Soviet representative in residence in Mahabad, though his presence was denied by Kurdish authorities.* Hashemov, Soviet Consul in Rezaieh, and his assistant Aliakbarov made occasional trips to Mahabad.

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While terrorism reigned unchecked in eastern Azerbaijan, in Kurdistan there were few if any political prisoners and only one or two cases of what may have been political assassination, though a number of Kurds not in sympathy with the regime did flee to Tehran. In the streets of Mahabad one could hear radio broadcasts from Ankara or London, while in Tabriz to listen to these brought the death penalty. Whether the reason for this freedom was the moderation and liberalism of Qazi and his cabinet, or the presence of the tribes who would not tolerate violent action against persons connected with them, the net result was to make the regime popular at least among the citizens of Mahabad, who enjoyed their respite from the exactions and oppression they

* The last of these Soviet officials, one Tsarkov, is said to have been in Mahabad until the last days of the republic, when he fled to the Soviet Consulate in Tabriz.

In Roosevelt G-5 (1945-1947) 1947 MAII Kurd MAII
Mahabad

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641 considered to be characteristic of the central Iranian Government.

OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBES

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177 If the Soviets kept their overt interference to a minimum in order to reconcile the tribes to the regime, they were certainly unsuccessful. In addition to historical, social, and religious reasons for the tribes' opposition to the Soviet-supported government, there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish tribesmen depended largely on their tobacco crop for their livelihood, and now that their market in the rest of Iran was cut off they suffered considerable hardship. In certain areas food supplies already received had to be shared with the destitute Barzanis, who had long outworn their welcome.

This tribal discontent was at its strongest in the south, where the distrusted Qarawul Agha's son, Mam Amin, chief of the Mamash, along with his ally, Beyazid Agha of the Mangur, so openly opposed Qazi Mohammad that the Soviet vice-consul finally came down from Rowanduz and threatened to have the Barzanis sent against them. When Mam Amin continued to resist, the Barzanis did indeed attack him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his tribesmen. From Rowanduz north, the tribes looked to the leadership of Amir Khan Shikak, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and for the time being was keeping aloof in Zivilanlar, his ancestral capital southwest of Shulgara. The only tribes Qazi Mohammad could count on were the Gawarik of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Zarza, in the Ushnuiah region. Even Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis did not get on with Qazi Mohammad, who was no longer able to feed them.

668 Thus it was that Qazi Mohammad, in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitude of the Tehran Government, found himself almost without support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and material, in the fall of 1946 Qazi Mohammad was still without either heavy weapons or trained men, or indeed any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly obvious, Qazi sent frantic messages to the tribes, his only hope, any-

NORTHERN IRAQ AND ITS PEOPLES

reminding the listener of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive air. The Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of snare drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Moslems in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Jaj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

to let Ahmad Beg know of their presence and visit his 622
[illegible], or he will think they look down on his hospital- 579
ity, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a
chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen 423
from the section on administration that the government 649
takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The
state lays claim to all unregistered land, [illegible], which
includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory,
and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the pro-
ducers, thus cutting off the most important source of
aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, almost of
the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered
in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to 649
the government, either the civil code of the judge or the 642
tribal code of the [illegible]. Vengeance is also of the [612]
state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and
the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and
sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be
unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and [584]
such titles as [illegible], beg, or [illegible], while they are widely
used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the
constabulary are thought adequate to handle military
exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly
[illegible] of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not
dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of 525
its important functions and perquisites. They are no longer 174
[illegible] in war or administration, and much of their

3:Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

and in the same area possibly also among some Caucasian groups.[4] However, though marriage patterns do not function to define the relations between lineages, this does not mean that marriage relations and material ties have lacked any relevance of a structural or specifically political nature. The present paper presents an hypothesis regarding these implications in the Kurdish lineage organization, specifically the meaning of a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage, for the consideration of students working with similar problems in the Middle East.

Features of Kurdish culture and society have been described elsewhere,[5] but might be summarized briefly. The Kurds are a linguistic and ethnic group, nearly exclusively Muslim by religion, totalling some three million people.[6] They occupy a semi-continuous territory along the hills and mountains east and north of the Fertile Crescent, divided between the modern states of Persia, Iraq, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., and Syria. Some few groups of Kurds have remained nomadic till the present day, following their herds of sheep, goats, and large cattle into the mountains in the summer and down on the plains in the winter. The great majority are today subsistence farmers, many of whom practice a pattern of localized transhumance. The present discussion relates to the southern districts of Iraq Kurdistan, where material was collected in the field from February to August, 1951.

Two basic types of organization were found: a tribal system, based on descent, and a feudal system, based on class and land ownership. The latter is progressively becoming assimilated into the modern structure of the state of Iraq; the former, a patrilineal lineage system, survives only among the nomads and a minority of the farmers in the more isolated territories.

Kurdish tribal organization is a segmentary lineage organization of very simple type. The largest kinship unit, the tira, is a maximal lineage, divisible into segments according to the charter of patrilineal descent. The genealogical depth of the tira varies. For the sedentary Hamawands (location: Kirkuk Liwa, Iraq), the apical ancestor is nine generations removed from the present adult generation; for the nomadic Warda Shwe (location: summering in Sulaimani Liwa, Iraq), twelve generations.

Several tira may be united, though not necessarily, in a political confederacy of variable endurance, the most important in southern Kurdistan being at present

4 Lewis J. Lindwall, *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia* (Vienna, 1931).

5 V. F. Minorsky, "Kurds and Kurdistan" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1913); E. B. Soane, *Social and Economic Organization of the Hamawand Kurds* (Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 1, London, 1940); Frederik Barth, *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan* (Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin no. 7, Oslo, 1953).

6 *The Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950).

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

the Jaf confederacy of nomadic as well as sedentary tirza. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Hamawands, an independent tira of population ca. 1000-1500, which became sedentary some two or three generations ago.

The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defence and offence in war. Property rights to land and grazing area are held jointly by the tira as a whole; exclusive usufruct rights are vested in its localized segments, inhabiting compact villages with a population of 50 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have traditional rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as normal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degrees of kinship (in any one level of segmentation, "brothers" exclude "cousins" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1932, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in toto if a segment were attacked from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary charter when conflicts arose within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both within, where they led to fission, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

There is a clear contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the readiness with which the problems of fusion and fission are solved. A man's rights to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as hired farm help ("nqasi") of degraded status. The territorial exclusiveness of lineage segments thus tends to be maintained to high degree, and there are no kinship mechanisms for developing "attached" lineages with local territorial and political rights.[7] The segmentary nature of the maximal lineage expresses itself directly in geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited nearly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map or clearly seen where one has a view of the valley bottom. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the tira as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. No religious or ritual

[7] A permanent relationship may occasionally be established between a conquering lineage group and a conquered, non-tribal peasant population, who retain certain rights as serfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a caste barrier is set up, preventing intermarriage between the two groups. This relationship, observed on the northern margins of Hamawand territory, does not seem to be very stable.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

the idealistic spirit of the time, was at first to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Even before the armistice contact had been established with a certain Shaykh Mahmud, head of the leading Sayyid family of Southern Kurdistan, who was informed that any Kurdish groups or tribes in the three *liwas* of Sulaimani, Kirkuk and Arbil which might wish to accept his leadership would be allowed to do so. It soon became evident, however, that the Sayyid had overestimated his popularity, and his province was eventually restricted to little more than the *liwa* of Sulaimani. No similar initiative was taken in regard to the Kurdish districts in the *liwa* of Mosul, where there was no articulate Kurdish opinion.

This first experiment in Kurdish autonomy under modern conditions was not a success. Within six months the Shaykh, resenting the limitations placed on his freedom to do exactly as he liked, rebelled. After a short military operation he was captured and deported, and the *liwa* was brought under the direct administration of the Occupation Authority. But quite apart from Shaykh Mahmud's personal ambitions there was always present at Sulaimani, among all classes of the population, an abiding conviction, rooted in their history, that the place contained the germs of a revived and extensive Kurdish state of which it was the predestined capital. The belief had little justification either in its physical appearance and commercial importance or in the academic attainments and political experience of its citizens, but it was always in the air. The proposal that Sulaimani with the adjacent districts should once more become an autonomous territory, therefore, had not come to the people as anything strange.

For the other political leaders the fall of Mahmud was thus no reason for renouncing the glittering prize brought so near by the Treaty of Sèvres. Assurances had been given in the British Parliament that the Kurds would not be forced to come under an Arab government against their will, and when the Provisional National Government of Iraq was formed in November, 1920, Sulaimani remained under the direct control of the British High Commissioner. Kirkuk (which then included Arbil) did accept a *Mutasarrif* (Governor) nominated by the new government, but he, like all the other officials, was a local man, and Turkish, the language of the educated urban classes (but not of the majority of the inhabitants), continued to be used for official purposes. When in June, 1921, the Amir Faysal arrived in Iraq as the candidate sponsored by the British Government for the throne Sulaimani refused to participate in the referendum; Kirkuk did participate but accounted for most of the

7: Barth 8-8 (1951) 1953 Will Kurd Will

the last of the leaders to follow the nomads on their annual migrations. Today the 2—3000 who have remained nomads receive only slight attention. A description of the *Jaf Beg* at the time of Rich, (op. cit.) in 1820, pictures him with considerable sympathy as a powerful and despotic patriarchal ruler. A similar exhalted position is indicated for 1908 by Soane's description of the *Pasha* receiving the first cucumbers of the season, rushed to him on a foaming horse over some 10 dusty kilometres. (Soane, 1912, p. 207).

An important institution reinforcing the powers of the Begzade is the *Pyshtmala* (= around-the-house), a group of men recruited from all *tiras*, who protect and perform services in the home of the *Beg*, and used to serve as bodyguard. As well as constituting a type of levied tax, this group paralleled the Viking *hird* in form and function, being constantly at hand to maintain the *Beg's* position, effectively and immediately executing his orders. The composite origin of the group, and the fact that it included members of *all tiras*, made the *Pyshtmala* more readily subject to discipline than a group recruited on *any* other principles, and exercised the *Beg* from the need to create dangerous factionalism and initiate feud by using one traditional *tira* organization to control an other.

The functions of the Jaf confederacy, and the reasons for its permanence where similar organizations among settled people have been at best very ephemeral, pose interesting problems. Presumably, the direct advantages to all the nomads of a larger confederacy have always been evident enough to encourage submission to the central authority of the *Begs*. These advantages were considerably greater for the nomads than they would be for the settled tribes. Firstly, since all the property of the nomad is movable, he may lose everything if he is raided, where the farmer at worst loses one year's crop. Secondly, a high degree of concentration of population is possible in temporary tent-*camps*, whereas the agriculturalists necessarily live in smaller, more widely scattered communities. Given the social mechanism, there were thus no physical obstacles to large groups of nomads driving their flocks together and uniting for defence in times of strife while the villagers, to protect their property, were forced to remain scattered over the countryside. Thirdly, a larger

7: Barth 8-5 (1951) 1955 WAII Band WAII

organized unit gave a direct economic advantage to the nomads in their relations with the settled populations. The *Jal*, by commercializing men and animals, were able to descend on whole valleys, tyrannizing the local villagers by their larger numbers, and finally graze their flocks on pastures and fields belonging to the settled people.

This confederacy was admittedly not based on any lineage principle of common descent, since it covers among its members common ties; yet all *Jal* insist that the ruling position of the *Begnada* lineage has never been questioned. The fact that a central core of royal *Jal*s can trace common descent surely contributes to stability. Furthermore, the *Begnada* group may have been large enough so there would constantly be a number of pretenders to the position as leader of the *ashrut*. Thus, if the pressure of exploitation became too great, the commoners could give their support to a competing pretender within the royal lineage, who would then be in a position to gain ascendancy.

The formal position of the *Jal Begnada* is thus conceptually different from that of the *Ratten* of the separate tents. The leaders of these and their segments are acclaimed, and should ideally base their power on informal sanctions. This consensual type of authority seems to be inherent in the principles on which a segmentary lineage organization is based. E. g. Peters (1951) discusses the organization of the Cyrenaica Bedouin in terms of the opposition of lineage segments of a like order of segmentation, and emphasizes the absence of a real *hierarchy* of political offices. Any Bedouin sheikh of a primary section must necessarily also belong to a specific secondary and tertiary section within it, and he can function as informal leader of the other sub-sections in his primary section only when it is in opposition to *another* primary section; in other situations, the unity of the primary section breaks down. The only way leadership can be stabilized and a hierarchy of authority established is by divorcing the super-ordinated leader and his group from the segmentary structure of the tribe as a whole. This is achieved in the case of the *Jal Begnada* by elevating that whole lineage group to a semi-royal status. In relation to the Cyrenaica Bedouin, the Senussi may for a time have occupied a structurally somewhat similar position (cf. Evans-Pri-

§40 chard, 1949). The presence of the *Jat Begzade* as political heads
• §41. necessarily affects the internal organization of the various *Jat* tîre, and the segmentary nature of the lineage organization is therefore not expressed fully. Each *Kate* becomes de-facto vested with some authority as the representative of the permanently established *Jat Begzade*, and the political structure is thus actually a compromise between a truly segmentary lineage organization and a hierarchical organization.

§42. As far as its formal structure goes, the *Jat* confederacy seems extremely similar to the political system of the early Mongols, as described e. g. by Haslam. The prominence of Chengish Khan's lineage is phrased by him in terms of the ramification of other descent groups, to emphasize that all the subjects of the Khan were considered as the vassals not of the ruler but of his family and his close kinsmen as represented by him» (*op. cit.*, p. 92). Essentially the same might well be said of the relation between the tîre of the *Jat* confederacy and their *Begzade* lineage. It is interesting to speculate whether, since the political mechanism seems to be present, it was merely the difficulties of topography that prevented the *Jat* and similar Kurdish confederacies from forming the larger units that one finds in the Central Asian steppe area.

§42 §43 §48 The immediate modifications in *Jat* formal structure made necessary by the adoption of sedentary life and agriculture are slight, though the meanings and importance attaching to the various aspects of the organization change radically. Generally, each *Khel* settles in a part of the old tîre pasture, and the informal head of the *Khel* becomes the formally elected *kehkhe* (mayor or headman) of the resulting village. Any one tîre thus tends to split up completely, some *Khels* settling at the winter camp sites around Qizil Robat, others 80 km. N.E. on the autumn campsite of Shahr-i-nav. Whereas tribal unity thus loses its significance, each village is regarded as the property of one or another of the *Begzade*, and *Jat* identification, as well as the acceptance of *Begzade* leadership, is natural.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HAMAWAND.

According to their own traditions, the Hamawands entered Southern Kurdistan from Persia as nomadic herdsmen. Seizing the opportunities offered by the ineffectual nature of Ottoman governmental control, they entered on a career of brigandage, looting the caravans that passed between Persia and Iraq. The enemy relations between the Persian and Ottoman empires made this all the more feasible, since any activity detrimental to one power had the covert support of the other. Though the Hamawands later settled in villages, they did not immediately take up agriculture, except for small garden patches of melons etc. As they proudly assert: after more than a generation we reaped our daily bread with our gunbarrels. All accounts by early travellers describe how this small group terrorized the district by striking quickly and effectively in widely separated areas. Only after the First World War did their economy become truly based on farming. Through this turbulent history, tribal political organization retained its importance, and some features of the system may be seen very clearly.

The Hamawand group as a whole is regarded as one *tîre* of the same magnitude as the various components *Jaf tîras*. Even in its greatest period of glory, the Hamawand *tîre* could muster no more than 200-300 horsemen, implying a total population of 1,000-1,500 individuals. The process of branching has however been initiated; in fact, as compared to the Jaf, the Hamawand political structure seems to be based on a clearer political recognition of the segmentation into lineage sections which follows from the marriage pattern. The hierarchy of progressively more inclusive lineage segments, from the single village level (population 50—100) and up to the maximal lineage group, is given political significance.

There is no single leader of the whole Hamawand *tîre*[1]; questions concerning the group as a whole are discussed and decided in a council made up of the *Aghas* (=headmen) of the 4 primary branches. Each of these branches are again divided into sub-branches,

[1] Actually, Mohammed Amin Agha of the Bapirdo claims paramount position.

• [illegible] and so on ending at the village level. The leader of any category of group is called *Agha*, any branch or named section thereof will in certain contexts be called a *tira*.

The genealogy of these branches is traced, but varies somewhat from villages to village. Such variations derive partly from the lack of interest in collateral units, partly from an attempt to stress certain relationships or to construct a more flattering genealogy.

Descent is traced in male line from the common ancestor Hamma, the founder or the tira, nine generations removed from the present

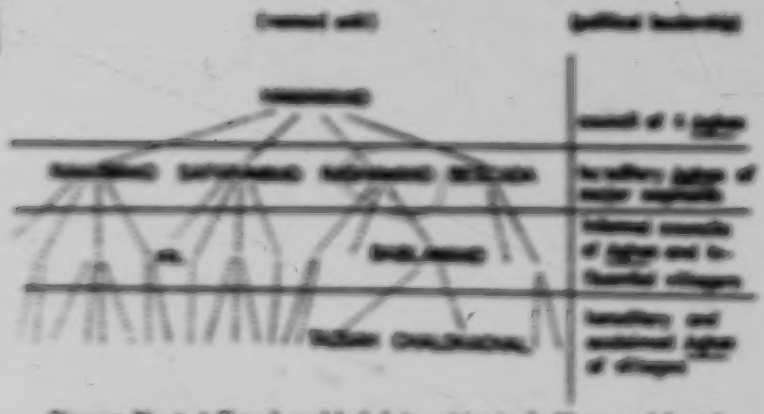

Diagram No. 4. A Tergah model of their position in the Hamawand kinship organization.

adult group. The origins of Hamma, having no political significance to the group, are of little interest to the villagers, though Arabic origin is occasionally claimed for its prestige value.

One version was collected in the village of Kani Sard: Hamma had 4 sons, Sofiar, Yadjar, Rashid, and Ramezan; from these are descended the 4 major branches of the group. The villagers themselves claim to be Yadjar. They could indicate the areas where the descendants of the three other sons live, but were unable or unconcerned in tracing relations in any greater detail.

In the village of Tergah, a somewhat different version was given. The major branches were named as Ramewand, Sofarwand, Rashe-

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 WA11 Kurd WA11

and, named political positions, however, is concerned with an opposition between positions as a sort of stereotype. The relative grading of formal political positions is vaguely defined, and the individuals of a village, through competing for the positions, will align in opposed subordination according to this grading. Those certain ill defined demands and powers are objectified (and therefore more readily subsumed to) from persons occupying such positions. This manner of organized and generally unquestioned power is the authority that belongs with the particular position. The authority is thus not derived from the per-sonne, as it would if it were an office; it is brought to it. Persons occupying the position may at times not be able to exert it; nevertheless, in the formal political organization, this authority and degree of ability to apply sanctions of some kind is assumed.

These considerations are applicable to both the tribal and the non-tribal political systems, and modify the impression that these systems take. The evident differences between Kurdish tribal and non-tribal structure are thus reduced, and the Kurdish segmentary lineage organization becomes in its actual application more similar to the Kurdish non-tribal organization than to the classical segmentary organizations, exemplified above by the Cyrenaica Bedouin. When combined with this principle of universal application of status differences, the segmentary structure of the lineage offers the framework for a hierarchical organization of leaders of segments. And these segments are residential and territorial units, as are the units in the non-tribal system. In the following, then, Kurdish lineage organization will be seen as a hierarchy of leaders of groups of narrowing genealogical spread, rather than in the classical manner as whole segments in opposition.

The general characteristics of Kurdish political systems correspond in many ways to those of the *traditional* system of Max Weber (*op. cit.*). The rules governing the various positions in the hierarchy are not enacted, they are traditionally defined. «The order underlying a system of traditional authority always defines a system of statuses of persons who can legitimately exercise authority». The concept of the *office* is undeveloped: «Such a status is different from an office». It does not involve specifically defined powers with

7: Earth · 8-5 (1951) 2953 Hill Hard HAll

• 642 the presumption that everything was legitimized in terms of the
659 order is outside its scope. As long as the members of such a
status does not act counter to the traditional order, ... loyalty is
due, not to 'the order', but to him personally.» (Forman, op. cit.,
p. 121).

The main contrast between the Kurdish system and this «ideal-typical» type lies in the implication in the definition of the latter that concrete traditional prescriptions are indeed accepted and agreed upon by all. The cultural heterogeneity of the South Kurdish area has been emphasized above; this heterogeneity makes for a situation where a truly traditional system can not operate. Any single concrete traditional prescription ought to be questioned by all but a minority, and conflicting interpretations of what is in fact the traditional order are constantly advanced. As a result, the theme of power attains an overriding importance, following the line of reasoning that if you can get away with something, it can't be very wrong. The effective check on excesses in the use of power is the threat of
681 revolt. Though there is obviously much more control with these actions, Kurds are rightly famous for being «trigger-happy», and a person who strongly feels that his rights have been infringed upon may go to great lengths to retaliate. Since no institutional means exist, violence has become institutionalized as the only mechanism at hand.

[78 It is tempting to see the present situation as the result of break-
642 downs of a formerly functioning traditional system. There is considerable evidence indicating that Southern Kurdistan some 100 years ago was better integrated than today, in the form of a strongly
[79 feudal Pashalik centering around Sulaimani. The Baban Pashas of
643 Sulaimani had frequent opportunities during conflicts with both the Persian and the Ottoman rulers to show that they had the unquestioning support of an overriding majority of the population, and through several centuries of rule they built up a traditional hierarchy of hereditary status positions, assisting persons to political offices (Rich op. cit., p. 111). The traditional nature of the rule is strikingly brought out in the following citation, where the Pasha of Sulaimani explains the solidarity that his subjects feel towards him by contrast-

?: Barth 8-5 (1951) 1953 Mill Hurd Mill

ng his form of rule to that of the feudal europe in Siena, Persia. "You are not the lord of a tribe, nor are your men your tribesmen. You may divide them, feed them, and make them rich, but they are not your cousins, they are but your servants" (ibid, p. 84).

When Bahtu rule was broken in 1871, Ottoman legal practice as well as personal ambition found a footing in the area. This contributed further to the breakdown of traditional principles, since it offered individuals the opportunity to manipulate the two different systems, traditional usage and Ottoman legal code, to their own advantage. The most profoundly affected land tenure. All land, unless otherwise registered, was deemed to belong to the Ottoman Sultan. Though the rule existed that no whole village should be registered as the property of any single person, this and other rules were generally overlooked. Thus leaders of clans, Begs, or in fact any other person who could bribe a few witnesses, registered large tracts of land as their personal property. Although actual power was of course necessary to make these formal transactions effective so far as the collecting of tax was concerned, the result was that a category of landowner emerged for which there were no clear traditional precedents, and their claims, when supported by power and supported Ottoman land code, could not truly be disputed. As a result, the field was left open to individual exploitation on a much larger scale than in Bahtu times, and the only effective checks were the above mentioned threats to the personal safety of the exploiter.

COMPOSITE COMMUNITIES

In the Hamawand area, some local groups are found today where tribally organized Hamawand exploit a non-tribal tenant population (*Mzeijin*) as a serf group. Such situations have come about by recent military conquest, and show incipient developments of a caste system. Certain aspects of organization have been developed by the Hamawand as an adjustment to this situation.

The Hamawand formal political structure already outlined was also a military hierarchy of command. Each village was expected to muster a group of horsemen, usually 10—11, led by the village *Agha*, as a fighting unit in the Hamawand army. Each of these soldiers,

tribal system would be by demonstrating (or inventing) genealogical connection. This can hardly be done on any grand scale where common residence is virtually impossible, except as based on a relationship of conqueror and conquered.

As a result, the Kurdish tribal village retains a high degree of lineage unity, reckoned strictly patrilineally, as compared to Nuer villages. The Kurd who leaves his tribal territory, or even village, can obtain no political power in his new environment, therefore has minimal prestige, and thus tends to remain with his lineage group. But because of this, the Kurdish lineage system has not the adaptability of the Nuer system, and breaks down in a situation of conquest or external administration.

4.42 ORGANIZATION OF THE BABAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE

In the light of these miniature examples from Hamawand territory today, some of the characteristics of the old Baban rule become much clearer. The Baban themselves were not a *tira*, but a cooptative lineage of the same type as the *Jaf Begzade*, ultimately derived from the *Sokkir tira* of the Pushdir area. Their power, however was based on the tribally organized groups, and a majority of the villages seem to have been controlled in the fashion of the above Hamawand villages, with a basic split between a ruling, tribally organized soldiery caste and a non-tribal peasant population. This supervision was clearly recognized by Rich in 1820, and in his lists of the populations of the Pushdir, only the Pushdir area is described as wholly tribal, the other districts are mixed. Some inhabitants are of the peasant, some of the clansmish race (= tribally organized), i. e., no village has inhabitants of one exclusive kind.» (Rich op. cit., p. 290). The tribally organized minority was employed by the Pasha to control the larger population: «. . . it would never do for him (Omar Agha, one of the feudal lords under the Pasha) to keep the citizen or peasant caste in his service. They never grow much attached, nor will they stand by you in any difficulties. The clansman (= tribal Kurd), on the contrary, though not of your own clan (= *tira*), grows warmly attached to you; and then neither hunger, thirst,

7: Sharrh 8-5 (1951) 2915 98.12 Sard 98.11

• 642
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7: North 8-5 (1951) 1953 9511 Sard 9511

and can not be understood or divorced from the total person of the leader.

The interplay of structural and personal factors in defining the position and power of the leader, and thus the specific form of the political organization, may best be illustrated by the history of Shaikh Mahmud[1]), a leader of considerable importance. His emergence as Malik or King of Kurdistan after the First World War, frequently misrepresented or given a biased account in English sources, is the most outstanding feature of political development in Southern Kurdistan in the present century. He constitutes the charismatic leader scheduled by Max Weber (op. cit.) and others to appear upon the breakdown of an established order. The variety of the sources of political power, as well as the importance of the person and the vagueness in the definition of the office in the Kurdish system, are here clearly exemplified.

The family of Shaikh Mahmud traces its origin from two learned brothers, theologians, who arrived in Kurdistan from Persia some 170 years ago. Due to descent from Mohammed and a tradition of sanctity, the family retained a spiritually leading position. The immediate founder of the present lineage is Koka Hamma, revered as a saint in Sulaimani. During the centuries of Baban rule, the Shaikhs remained divorced from politics; their wealth grew slowly from accumulated gifts of land and villages, especially from the Baban themselves.

With the political instability and disorganization following the end of Baban rule, Shaikh Said, the father of Shaikh Mahmud, entered actively into the conflicts, and asserted his secular powers in the area through a successful combination of violence and diplomacy. Competing factions attempted to have him deposed by arranging for him to be called to Istanbul by Sultan Abdul Hamid. The Sultan, being extremely wary of overt intrigue, frequently preferred to seek his support among outsiders, and the meeting was a great success from Shaikh Said's point of view, effectually reinforcing his position. Shaikh Said was murdered in Mosul in 1919, and succeeded by his son Shaikh Mahmud.

[1]) It should be noted that the term Shaikh in Kurdish is not a political title, but merely indicates descent from the Prophet.

Upon his accession to leadership in the Sheikh family, Sheikh Ali Mahmud continued his father's policy with great force. Southern Kurdistan was at the time in a state of anarchy, large areas had been depopulated, the old trade and pilgrim routes were largely closed by brigands, especially by the Hamawands, who successfully challenged Ottoman supremacy in the face of large punitive expeditions.

Obviously in such a situation, conflicting stories are told about the part played by each faction in the struggle, and the various versions of Sheikh Mahmud's career form no exception. Any evaluation of the practical and moral virtues of his activities is outside the present scope, and must be based on much fuller evidence than is available at present. What is of interest in this context is mainly the foundations of his power and the form of his control in the area.

Economic basis. From the modest beginnings in Bekas times, the family's economic power was progressively enhanced. The possibilities inherent in the Ottoman practice of land registration seem to have been utilized. After closer relations had been established with the Sultan, the Sheikhs were able to gain control over numerous villages by buying the land at very low rates from the government. A major source of revenue that made this type of transaction possible was the ownership of the Bazaar (market district) of Sulaimani (main valley, 1/4 of the Bazaar belongs to the Sheikh family vs. 1/4 municipally owned). In addition to its economic importance, this also enabled the family in effect to control the city of Sulaimani. The Sheikh family thus became one of the three major landowning groups in the area. It should however be pointed out that in spite of nearly continuous expansion of property, the whole Sheikh family today owns less land than *one* member of the *Jaf Brigade* alone (Hamza Beg of Halabja). Thus Sheikh Mahmud's political supremacy did not derive directly from ownership; landed property merely offered the necessary economic foundation for his political activity.

Semi-sacred position. As descendants of the Prophet, the Sheikh family is considered to be vested with certain supernatural powers, derived secondarily from the sainted ancestor Koka Hamma. This gives Sheikh Mahmud the specific power to make amulets that

• [illegible] possess the bearer from bullets and knives. The amulet consists of a number of Koranic sayings; it is sewed up in a triangle of cloth of specified color, and fitted pinned to the shoulder, in the hair, or suspended by a string around the neck or under one arm. If occasionally the bearer of such an amulet is killed by knife or bullet, this can easily be explained, since the protective power is not operative while the person is thinking bad thoughts or if he loses his temper in battle. Stories proving the efficacy of the amulets are valid: a bullet has been found around the neck of a master, and no matter how hard they tried, competent marksmen were unable to shoot the bird.

Charisma. The personal charisma attached to Shaikh Mahmud is rather difficult to separate from his semi-sacred powers, and in part springs directly from them. He is endowed with the ability to read a person's thoughts and character; he knows before a word is spoken for what purpose a person has come to him. A certain delight in other people's uneasiness and a taste for tricks and practical jokes further contributes to his ordinary, semi-sacred reputation. Last but not least, he also strikes a Western visitor by his extraordinary personality and force of character.

The failure of his charismatic mission to succeed must be ascribed primarily to external rather than local factors. Towards the end of the First World War, contact was established between Shaikh Mahmud and the Indian Army in Mesopotamia, and, after being given informal promises of Kurdish independence, Shaikh Mahmud chose to shift his loyalties from the Turks to the British. He proclaimed himself King, thus in a sense re-establishing the form of the Baban Feudality, and perhaps hoping to emerge as the leader of all of Kurdistan. By the treaty of Lausanne, Allied plans were reversed, and numerous conflicts over the question of Kurdish independence continued in the area till 1932. Some of these conflicts derived from institutional developments, others were rather unnecessary. It is indeed surprising that the British administration should chose E. B. Soane as their agent in the area, and the person to cooperate with Shaikh Mahmud — Soane who, due to personal experiences with before the war makes the most highly emotional attacks on Shaikh

Mahmud in his book (Barth, op. cit.), published well before his appointment. Such personal antipathy between the two leading figures could only make the struggle more bitter and a compromise more difficult to reach.

The formal organization accomplished by Shaikh Mahmud for his larger domains never had time to take shape, and by now it is claimed to have been in accordance with recent Western principles. The *apolitimeyo* pattern of the early 1950s was along traditional feudal lines — he is said to have travelled around with a large army, living off the lands as he passed through the various districts he administered. A suggestion of some of the patterns and institutions may be observed today.

At present, Shaikh Mahmud lives in the small village Durkeili south and west of Sakkinani[1]). He is surrounded by a group of retainers paralleling the *Jul Bagi' Pychimada* in form and function, but recruited along more irregular lines. A typical escape for a young man who has become inextricably involved in feud or has other strong reason to leave his village is to join a feudal lord of Shaikh Mahmud's type, buying security by being the follower of an important leader, and in return serving in the leader's private police force. The Shaikh thus has a group of men who depend on him for protection and livelihood, and may use them to enforce his control over the villages he owns. His opponents like to make veiled accusations that this group that is used to tyrannize minor leaders of others wears flowered uniforms, such stories do not serve to reduce the value of his friendship or the weight of his words.

Friendly relations with leaders and groups outside the Shaikh's immediate control are reinforced through contacts on the major festival days of the Islamic year, when Durkeili is a bustling bee-hive full of embroidered robes and flying rockets, and the Shaikh himself is constantly active in these separate reception rooms. Furthermore,

[1]) It should be noted that Shaikh Mahmud denies taking any part in power politics, and the following in no way contradicts his statement. The activities described were simply to perpetuate his prestige, and are of interest in the present connection only by virtue of the parallelism in the mechanisms used in securing prestige and in reinforcing a power position.

• (49, 199) obligations are commonly created by liberal gifts («He made from the poor and gives to the rich» in the words of one critic).

Such institutionalized or regularized means of creating and establishing relations of dependence are very parallel to those used by the leaders in the traditional tribal political organization, and illustrate how the charismatic leader attempts to utilize traditional symbols and institutions. It is also striking how the importance of the charismatic leader extends to the limit of the previous, disorganized unit — here the Beles Pashalik — and no further. It is very doubtful that Shaikh Mahmoud ever had any appreciable following outside the districts of Southern Kurdistan.

Personal charisma being important even in the traditional system, it plays a tremendous role in a situation of disorganization, and may survive a series of defeats. Characteristic is the comment by numerous Hamawands, whose country in fact was annihilated in the Shaikh's defeat: «We will support the Shaikh, and if he wants to fight, we will serve him again.»

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labour-owner [illegible] absentee landowner, differs radically from that generally associated with tribal organization, which includes relatively few labour and/or lineage, and a majority of freeholding farmers.

The incompatibility of categories from these two [illegible] evidence, as is the tendency for the hierarchy embodying most power — i. e. the more highly capitalized organization headed by the landowner — to replace the other. The absentee landowner who owns only part of the land of a village, will find his powers greatly impaired by the co-existence of freeholding farmers with his tenants in the land community. The sanctions by which he disciplines his tenants are reduced in effect — eviction from land is less serious, eviction from the village dependent on the vote of villagers outside his control. Similarly, he would be limited in his freedom to evict new farmers on the land by a vote on the part of the freeholding farmers, who could refuse the newcomer village membership. The village headman would almost certainly be elected from among the freeholding farmers, and serve as a counterforce of opposition to the landowner, etc. etc. The landowner, occupying the part-status that embodies most power in the situation of conflicting interests will tend to apply his powers to eliminate the incompatible status category — in this case by buying or forcibly taking over the proprietary rights on the remaining land, and giving the formerly freeholding farmers tenant status.

Where the right to eviction, and in fact the final powers of decision in all village matters, are taken away from the formerly freeholding farmer group, it becomes impossible for it to control a class of Modjos serfs, and this status group is similarly eliminated, and presumably assimilated as tenant farmers of lower status, following from their lower wealth.

A second major agent of change, or at times a concomitant of [illegible] economic changes, is the factor of modification of the administrative system by external administration. The tribal administrative mechanisms, based on consanguineal kinship-personal loyalties, has been discussed above (pp. 49 ff). Where external administration — large absentee landowner or central government alike — enters and

enforce its decisions by coercive means, the powers of tribal administration break down, and a transfer of loyalties will tend to result — e. g. as in the case of the Mossi (see, cf. p. 126.

At the time of the Boko Fulbeli, the capitalist landowner was of less importance, and general administration was along traditional lines. The Boko Fulbe utilized the principles of indirect rule, essential to the application of a feudal system to an area of ethnic mixture. Though general administration thus was a less active agent in producing destabilization, it was still operative. The Boko Fulbe lent power to the traditional leaders in their hierarchy, and supported many of their decisions by coercive means. To the nomadic groups, this was less necessary, since the necessity and functions of an organizing leader are obvious to all members of the community. In the settled communities, the need for a coordinator is less obvious to the individual member of the group, and the leader's authority will be more readily questioned. Either a constant process of suppression must be operative, as among the Hamarwuda, or the family leader type of leader can not retain control. External administration, however, has vested interests in retaining status quo and avoiding conflicts, and therefore applies its powers to resist fission of groups. Thus the close kinship unity of the local group is lost, and tribal organization is weakened. At the same time, external administration wishes to have a clear and moderately constant leader to deal with, and will thus attempt to strengthen the power of the leader and stabilize his position, to counteract these disorganizing tendencies. Thus it becomes necessary to vest the leader with coercive means, and this leads to the complete breakdown of the traditional tribal lineage organization.

The predominance of non-tribal communities in the area under direct Boko control must be seen as the cumulative effect of centuries of centralized rule, where such factors would be operative. It should also be remembered that any movement of people — except where it occurs in larger blocks — alienates the migrant from his hereditary kin group, and places him in a non-tribal system of administration wherever he chooses to settle, since there is no mechanism by which he may be adopted into a new lineage.

Thus a fairly clear dichotomy can be made in Kurdish territory between tribal areas, in which lineages form the basis for the political structures, and lineage groups correspond directly to territorial groups; and on the other hand non-tribal areas, where the territorial group forms the sole basis of organization in a semi-feudal system, and, though descent and kinship are important, any type of lineage organization is absent.

Though this change from tribal to non-tribal organization seems, as far as any specific community is concerned, to be a road of no return, and there has been a constant destabilization process going on through time, the actual border between the areas where tribal vs. feudal organizations predominate has remained moderately constant for many generations, with apparently only minor oscillations. This must be seen as a steady state, where the rate of population movement — in tribal blocks or segments of such — from the mountains towards and into the plains roughly compensated for the formerly slow rate of breakdown in tribal organization along the zone of contact with external administration.

This rough balance has been completely upset by the changes following the First World War. The rate of destabilization has been tremendously speeded up by modern communications, reaching into the mountain fastness and most distant valleys; external administration has pacified all the old tribal strongholds; and movements of groups across the border from Persia are prevented or at least seriously hampered. It is thus only a question of time, probably less than a generation, till the segmentary lineage type of tribal organization is completely replaced by the non-tribal type in Southern Kurdistan.

St Roosevelt G-6 (1945-1947) 1947 MAIL Kurd MAIL
Mahabad

668 The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare
his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On
• 692 December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs,
the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa,
and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns,
he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and
raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen mem-
bers was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was
elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was
his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose
military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the
Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amer Khan
Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Bassi (just returned from Iraq
with his tribesmen), and Zaro Beg Harki • received the rank of
"marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete
with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison
caps.'

578 The new government, which controlled only a minute territory
668 including the towns of Mahabad, Bukan, Naqadeh, and Ush-
nuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National
Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own.
It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garri-
sons in Saqqiz, Banah, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and
their base in Sarandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azer-
baijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish govern-
ment. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains were

777 [illegible]
633
689
695 [illegible]

[illegible]

Pr Roosevelt G-6 (1946-1947) 1947 MAII Kurd MAII
Mahabad

668 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mah-
724 mudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Sanandaj Road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the mountain, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby Iranian officers were exchanged,* each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to Bonab and Sardasht and to stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

NIC 609 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British oppression, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going concern. Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wazir* (minister) to *rais* (chief). Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishewa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

* 642 621 629

*The Kurdish liaison officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Hosseinieh, one of the original [illegible] who, from 1942 when the Russians were about to withdraw from Iran, had been [illegible]

valuation of the Kurdish factor. From the cultural point of view the Kurds were still an unwritten sheet of paper. Soviet Russia, so the communist strategists may have argued, thus stood the chance of exercising paramount influence on the development and the character of a future Kurdish culture, if she only tried.

The raw material for such a Soviet experiment was the small Kurdish minority in Transcaucasia. The exact number of the Kurds in Soviet Russia is as difficult to ascertain as their number in any other country. Officially Russia had only 54,700 Kurds in 1926 and 45,800 in 1939, but unofficial pre-war data recorded as many as 80,000, of whom 40,000 were in Azerbaidzhan, 23,000 in Armenia and the rest in Georgia and Turkmenistan. Only in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan were the Kurds a political problem.

For a long time neither Azerbaidzhani nor Armenian communists seemed to have grasped the importance of the Kurds within the framework of a far-sighted Soviet policy in the Middle East. They either neglected the Kurdish minorities living in their respective republics or even tried to deprive them of their national character.

The Armenian communists disliked the Kurds in view of the role which the latter had played in the Armenian massacres, and thus showed not the slightest interest in their well-being and their mobilization for the Soviet State. Kurds in Armenia were not entrusted with political and social work, no skilled workers were recruited from among them and Kurdish peasants were not even organized into collective farms.[36] In 1936, the Soviet central Government strongly reprimanded the Armenian communists for letting national animosities interfere with their Kurdish policy.

All the mistakes which local Transcaucasian authorities committed in handling the Kurdish question in the inter-war period proved to be unimportant at a moment when Russia was able to use the Kurdish issue on a big scale. Her success in handling the problem was then indisputable. Colonel W. G. Elphinston, who was in charge of Kurdish affairs as a British Middle East Intelligence Officer, said that the effects of propaganda in the Kurdish language originating in the Kurdish community in the U.S.S.R. made themselves felt as far away as Syria, and communist pamphlets in Kurdish penetrated as far as Cairo.[37]

The Kurdish group outside the U.S.S.R. most directly affected by Russian policy and propaganda were the Persian Kurds whose country was occupied by the Red Army between 1941 and 1946. The Soviet occupation authorities did not spread communist ideas among the Kurds; they did not propagate collectivization and nationalization. All they aimed at was to make the Kurds respectful to Soviet Russia, the Russian Army and Stalin. The Kurdish Republic set up with Russian help in 1946 under Qazi Muhammad as Prime Minister was a national

[36] Ibid. vol. 116, pp. 250–251, FO 371/Soviet Union — Analyst]

Kurdish State and not communist. It existed for only nine months, despite its Treaty of Alliance for twenty years which it had concluded with another Soviet-sponsored government, the autonomous administration of Persian Azerbaidzhan.

Even such short-lived experiments as the Kurdish Republic of 1946 can become an important factor in the national tradition of a people, who, like the Kurds, are living under foreign rule. Experiments of that kind are apt to create a myth which ultimately may have a greater impact on the national development of the people than the original event itself. From year to year the Kurdish Republic of Qazi Mohammed may appear to the Kurds more splendid and more powerful, particularly if Soviet propaganda does its share by reminding the Kurds of the downfall of 'their' republic and recalling the part which Russia played in its foundation. Soviet propaganda is indeed taking every opportunity of referring back to the glorious times when two pictures decorated the walls of the houses of many a Kurdish sheikh – that of Qazi Mohammed, the Kurdish leader, hanged by the Persians in March 1947, and that of Generalissimo Stalin.[66]

Despite the collapse of 'Free Kurdistan' Soviet Russia has nevertheless made great progress in mastering the Kurdish problem. Kurdish chieftains became acquainted with Soviet institutions and Soviet ideology while the Russian occupation of Persia's Kurdish territories lasted. Many Persian Kurds joined their countrymen already living in Soviet Transcaucasia and Kurdish culture 'national in form and socialist in content' developed: 200 Kurdish pamphlets and books had been published in the Soviet Union by 1949.[67] Nor was there any shortage of qualified Kurdish personnel in the Soviet Union after the war. On the contrary, Soviet propaganda was able to boast of Kurdish 'state dignitaries and outstanding workers in culture and science', who had sprung up among the Russian Kurds. A Kurdish Soviet poet, Amin Avdal, is the 'author of wonderful verses on the Soviet homeland'. Another Kurdish poet, Jasmeh Jalil, translated Russian classics into his native tongue. A Kurdish philologist, Nure Pulatova, a graduate of Leningrad University, became the only Kurdish woman scholar in the world.[68] And lastly, between 1946 and 1950 the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. included a Kurdish deputy, Semand Alievich Siabandov.

However important the recent Soviet experiments with the Russian Kurds may be, the latter represent not even 5 per cent of the entire Kurdish people. Soviet Russia must bring either the Turkish or the Persian Kurds within her orbit if she wants to make a success of her 'Kurdish policy'. It remains to be seen whether the political dynamic of the U.S.S.R. and the ideological power of Bolshevism will be sufficient to accomplish this aim.

Fig. 4. [illegible]

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[8], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited as a burial ground near the village of Alaibaik, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and noble (king) of Kurdistan.

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Kal Sanjaq, Rawandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

7: Earth E-S (1951)- 1953 WAll Rand WAll

unem of the *Ratz* lineage follows from common marriage usage, and is no different in nature from the separateness of the wealthier as compared to the poorer lineage sections of the group.

The hereditary position as *Ratz* is simply vested in the leading lineage segment of the *tira*. An interesting problem arises as to what adjustments are made in the event of decline in wealth or the appearance of other impediments to leadership in this lineage. It is customary for persons in a position of leadership to appoint their successor, usually a son, while they are still in a position of control. In the case of disagreement between the existing *Ratz* and the general population as to who should succeed him, the pattern of succession is probably decided by the bias in the balance between the positive power (primarily economic) of the *Ratz*, and the degree of general resentment to his decision. Where the power and prestige of the *Ratz* has declined, leadership might thus fairly easily be shifted to a stronger and wealthier collateral line. (Compare p. 126 for a more nearly «democratic» mechanism of appointing successor to the *Ratz*.)

I had no opportunity to ascertain the actual extent of the power vested in the *Ratz*. It would seem to be rather dependent on his means and personality, but, these permitting, to afford him considerable possibilities to enforce his decisions. He is on the other hand regarded as being subject to the *Beys* in all matters, and directly responsible to them.

The *Beg* leaders of the Jaf are sometimes represented as belonging to a *tira* of their own, the *Begzade*; more correctly the *Begzade* is regarded as a family or *boz*, divided into the three branches Welled Begi, Kikhasraw Begi, and Bahram Begi. The political head may be drawn from any of these. The Kikhasraw Begi and Bahram Begi of today are descended by 7 generations from the common ancestor Zahir Beg. The Welled Begi are somewhat further removed. All the *Begzade* are now settled and live as absentee landowners of numerous Jaf and other villages. It is thus extremely difficult to form any picture of the true position of the leaders in the political organization of the nomadic Jaf. Some 40 years ago, authority was divided between the two Begzade brothers Osman and Mahmud Pasha, the latter being the leader of the nomadic section, Mahmud Pasha was

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• 695 the last of the leaders to allow the nomads on their annual migrations. Today the 2—300 who have remained nomads receive only slight attention. A description of the *Jol Beg* at the time of Rich, (op. cit.) in 1820, paints him with considerable sympathy as a powerful and despotic patriarchal ruler. A similar exhalted position is indicated for 1908 by Soane's description of the *Pasha* receiving the first cucumbers of the season, rushed to him on a foaming horse over some 10 dusty kilometres. (Soane, 1912, p. 207).

696 An important institute reinforcing the powers of the Begzade is the *Pyshtmale* (= round-the-house), a group of men recruited from all *tirac*, who protect and perform services in the home of the *Beg*, and used to serve aboutyguard. As well as constituting a type of levied tax, this grew paralleled the Viking *lord* in form and function, being constantly at hand to maintain the *Beg*'s position, effectively and immediately executing his orders. The composite origin of the group, as the fact that it included members of *all tirac*, made the *Pyshtmac* more readily subject to discipline than a group recruited on anyother principles, and extricated the *Beg* from the need to create dangerous factionalism and initiate feud by using one traditional *tirorganization* to control an other.

697 The functions of the *Jol* confederacy, and the reasons for its permanence where simil organizations among settled people have been at best very ephemeral, pose interesting problems. Presumably, the direct advantages to all the nomads of a larger confederacy have always been evident enough to encourage submission to the central authority of the *Beg*s. Some advantages were considerably greater for the nomads than thy would be for the settled tribes. Firstly, since all the property of the nomad is movable, he may lose everything if he is raided, where the farmer at worst loses one year's crop. Secondly, a high degree of concentration of population is possible in temporary tent-camps, wherein the agriculturalists necessarily live in smaller, more widy scattered communities. Given the social mechanism, there were thus no physical obstacles to large groups of nomads driving their flocks together and uniting for defence in times of strife while the villagers, to protect their property, were forced to remain scattered over the countryside. Thirdly, a larger

organized unit gave a direct economic advantage to the nomads in their relations with the settled population. The Jaf, by commingling men and animals, were able to descend on whole valleys, tyrannizing the local villagers by their larger numbers, and freely graze their flocks on pastures and fields belonging to the settled people. 692

This confederacy was admittedly not based on any lineage principle of common descent, since it counts among its members numerous tribes; yet all Jaf insist that the ruling position of the *Begzade* lineage has never been questioned. The fact that a central core of real Jaf can trace common descent surely contributes to stability. Furthermore, the *Begzade* group may have been large enough so there would constantly be a number of pretenders to the position as leader of the subtribe. Thus, if the pressure of exploitation became too great, the commoners could give their support to a competing pretender within the royal lineage, who would then be in a position to gain ascendancy.

The formal position of the *Jaf Begzade* is thus conceptually different from that of the *Rateze* of the separate tribes. The leaders of tribes and their segments are acclaimed, and should ideally base their power on informal sanctions. This «consensual» type of authority seems to be inherent in the principles on which a segmentary lineage organization is based. E. g. Peters (1951) discusses the organization of the Cyrenaica Bedouin in terms of the opposition of lineage segments of a like order of segmentation, and emphasizes the absence of a real *hierarchy* of political offices. Any Bedouin shaikh of a primary section must necessarily also belong to a specific secondary and tertiary section within it, and he can function as informal leader of the other sub-sections in his primary section only when it is in opposition to *another* primary section; in other situations, the unity of the primary section breaks down. The only way leadership can be stabilized and a hierarchy of authority established is by divorcing the super-ordinated leader and his group from the segmentary structure of the tribe as a whole. This is achieved in the case of the *Jaf Begzade* by elevating that whole lineage group to a semi-royal status. In relation to the Cyrenaica Bedouin, the Saxons may for a time have occupied a structurally somewhat similar position (cf. Evans-Prit- 693 • 694

§42 chard, 1949). The presence of the *Jaf Begzade* as political heads §43 necessarily affects the internal organization of the various *Jaf tira*, and the segmentary nature of the lineage organization is therefore not expressed fully. Each *Rais* becomes de-facto vested with some authority as the representative of the permanently established *Jaf Begzade*, and the political structure is thus actually a compromise between a truly segmentary lineage organization and a hierarchical organization.

§42. As far as its formal structure goes, the *Jaf* confederacy seems extremely similar to the political system of the early Mongols, as described e. g. by Hudson: The prominence of Chenghis Khan's lineage is phrased by him in terms of the vassalization of other descent groups, to emphasize that «all the subjects of the Khan were considered as the vassals not of the ruler but of his family and his close kinsmen as represented by him» (op. cit., p. 92). Essentially the same might well be said of the relation between the *tira* of the *Jaf* confederacy and their *Begzade* lineage. It is interesting to speculate whether, since the political mechanism seems to be present, it was merely the difficulties of topography that prevented the *Jaf* and similar Kurdish confederacies from forming the larger units that one finds in the Central Asian steppe area.

§42 §43 §48 The immediate modifications in *Jaf* formal structure made necessary by the adoption of sedentary life and agriculture are slight, though the meanings and importance attaching to the various aspects of the organization change radically. Generally, each *Khel* settles in a part of the old *tira* pastures, and the informal head of the *Khel* becomes the formally elected *Kekhe* (mayor or headman) of the resulting village. Any one *tira* thus tends to split up completely, some *Khels* settling at the winter camp sites around Qizil Robat, others 80 km. N.E. on the autumn campsites of Shahr-i-zur. Whereas tribal unity thus loses its significance, each village is registered as the property of one or another of the *Begzade*, and *Jaf* identification, as well as the acceptance of *Begzade* leadership, is natural.

and so on ending at the village level. The leader of any category of group is called *Agha*, any branch or named section thereof will in certain contexts be called a *tira*.

The genealogy of these branches is traced, but varies somewhat from villages to village. Such variations derive partly from the lack of interest in collateral units, partly from an attempt to stress certain relationships or to construct a more flattering genealogy.

Descent is traced in male line from the common ancestor Hamma, the founder or the tira, nine generations removed from the present

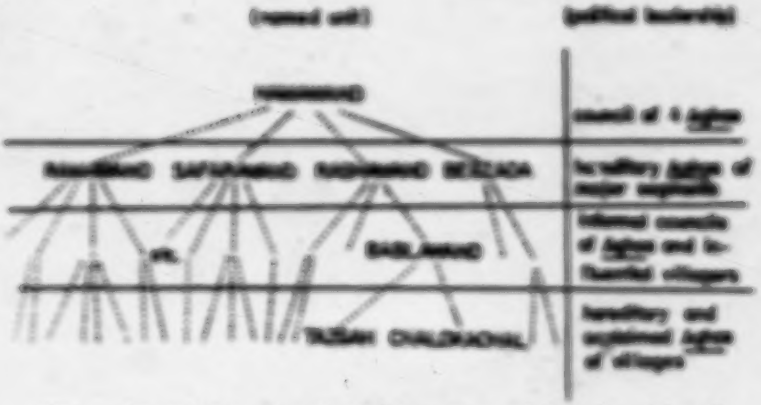

Diagram No. 4. A Turgah model of their position in the Hamawand formal organization.

adult group. The origins of Hamma, having no political significance in the group, are of little interest to the villagers, though Arabic origin is occasionally claimed for its prestige value.

One version was collected in the village of Koni Sard: Hamma had 4 sons, Saffar, Yadjar, Rashid, and Ramazan; from these are descended the 4 major branches of the group. The villagers themselves claim to be Yadjar. They could indicate the areas where the descendants of the three other sons live, but were unable or uninterested in tracing relations in any greater detail.

In the village of Turgah, a somewhat different version was given. The major branches were named as Ramawand, Safarwand, Rasho-

7: Barth 8-5 (1951) 1953 WAll Kurd WAll

wood, and Begzade. As will be noticed, the branch of Yadjar, to 4.1 which the Koni Surdie belong, is not in this list. The Koni Surdie 4.14 in fact belong to the Begzade branch, so either Yadjar is the ancestor 4.13 ● of all the Begzade, or a smaller segment category has been elevated to the level of a major branch, for the greater glory of the Koni Surd group. The villagers in Tazgah assert to belong to the Babiswand division, again made up of the villagers from Tazgah and Chalokachal, the latter now having been abandoned and the villagers scattered. The Babiswand were derived from the Rashawand, in unspecified fashion. A Tazgah model of their position in the *tire* would then read as shown in Diagram No. 4.

The *Aghe* of a village is appointed or granted power by the male 4.12 inhabitants of that village. In practice, the position is hereditary, but not according to any rule of seniority, and village preference undoubtedly influences the pattern of succession. The village *Aghe* has only the authority which follows from his own power and prestige, and the goodwill of his followers.

The position as *Aghe* of one of the four major branches is either similarly hereditary, or, if there is no suitable son of the old *Aghe*, a new *Aghe* is elected by the villagers. These *Aghes* will generally have the position and means to support a group of retainers, paralleling the *Pyadetmale* of the *Jaf Begs*. They thus have a vaguely institutionalized mechanism to enforce their authority. Thus, though the formal position of the *Aghes* of the four major Hamawand segments is unlike that of the *Jaf Begzade*, the actual differences more reflect the difference in scale than in formal position.

Neither the Jaf nor the Hatkawand lineage organizations function 4.14 in the «ideal» pattern closely exemplified by the Cyrenaica Bedouin, discussed above. A position of authority and super-ordination does in fact become vested in the individual *Aghe* and *Raiz*, who tends to apply coercive means to support such a hierarchy of authority. Though the ideal «charter» of the political structure is that of a segmentary lineage organization, the system does in fact function in a somewhat different pattern, as will be shown more fully later.

NORTHERN 'IRAQ AND ITS PEOPLES

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a broken lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy himself as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in otherwise on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had no power and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who has the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendency did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Juj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

movement as it evolved in the Medieval Islamic world, a development which corresponds to the rise of monasticism in the Christian culture of Europe. Men were attracted to it for a variety of motives, some great in wealth or learning who dabbled in its esoteric lore, others sincerely devoted to the service of their faith and mankind, clever charlatans who lived off the bounty of the gullible, egotists, revolutionaries, and a host of others. In short, it offered many things to many persons. There are two Darvish disciplines in Kurdish Iraq, the Qadiriya order (founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Filani who died in 1166 and whose tomb in Baghdad is the foremost Sunnite shrine in Iraq) and the Naqshbandiya order (originally begun in Central Asia in the fourteenth century). To illustrate the contrasting types of Darvish, it might first be noted that the chief mulla of Rawanduz, 'Abd al-Karim Affendi, is a member of the Naqshbandiya order. While 'Abd al-Karim Affendi, in the judgment of the townspeople and the government elite, is an intelligent, realistic person whose interest seems to be purely intellectual. On the other hand, the most extravagant egotist in the lower ranks of the townspeople, Hajji Mustafa the barber, is a member of the Qadiriya order, and the reader will be able to appreciate something of his motives below.

In a district like that of Rawanduz, one can succeed in society only by dint of considerable personal ability along certain lines. It has been noticed how youths,

impatient with normal routine and zealous of prestige, attach themselves to the chieftains as shaiks or body-guards. It follows, in addition, that among the commoners there are a number of men whose attainments have brought them little as far as wealth and social standing are concerned. With such dissatisfied persons are others, the usual aberrant members of any community whose eccentricities have been adjudged harmless to others. Such as these are absorbed into the darvish movement, because, on the one hand, it offers social status of an extraordinary sort and, on the other, a channelled expression for personal peculiarities which might otherwise prove dangerous. It would be unwise to typify a darvish of the lower classes without first having dealt with the individual in question, for he might prove to be a hard-working craftsman in one case and a person mentally deficient in another. To become a darvish is almost identical to joining an American fraternity or lodge. One is initiated into the "secrets" by the older members, and becomes a party to its exclusiveness. Like the lodge member, the darvish believes himself to be set apart from the mass of men by virtue of the superior knowledge with which he has been invested. The secret of almost all darvish orders is the same, although differently phrased, a personal relationship to God which bypasses the usual conventions of the faith. This relationship, when translated into the combination of song and dance, can produce that form

7: Barth 8-5 (1951) 195.5 W811 Bar4 W811

[illegible] the last of the leaders to follow the nomads on their annual migrations. Today the 2—1000 who have remained nomads receive only slight attention. A description of the *Jul Beg* at the time of Rich, (op. cit.) in 1820, pictures him with considerable sympathy as a powerful and despotic patriarchal ruler. A similar exhalted position is indicated for 1908 by Soane's description of the *Fulbe* receiving the first cucumbers of the season, rushed to him on a fleeting horse over some 30 dusty kilometres. (Soane, 1912, p. 207).

• [illegible] An important institution reinforcing the powers of the Begwalo is the *Pyddewalo* (= around-the-house), a group of men recruited from all *tiwe*, who possess and perform services in the home of the *Beg*, and used to serve as bodyguard. As well as constituting a type of levied tax, this group paralleled the Viking *lord* in form and function, being constantly at hand to maintain the *Beg*'s position, effectively and immediately executing his orders. The composite origin of the group, and the fact that it included members of all *tiwe*, made the *Pyddewalo* more readily subject to discipline than a group recruited on any other principle, and convinced the *Beg* from the need to create dangerous factionalism and intrigue feud by using one traditional *tiw* organization to control an other.

[illegible] The functions of the *Jul Gandaberay*, and the reasons for its persistence where similar organizations among settled people have been at best very ephemeral, pose interesting problems. Presumably, the direct advantages to all the nomads of a larger confederacy have always been evident enough to encourage submission to the central authority of the *Beg*. These advantages were considerably greater for the nomads than they would be for the settled tribes. Firstly, since all the property of the nomad is movable, he may lose everything if he is raided, where the farmer at worst loses one year's crop. Secondly, a high degree of concentration of population is possible in temporary rest-camps, whereas the agriculturalists normally live in smaller, more widely scattered communities. Given the social mechanisms, there were thus no physical obstacles to large groups of nomads driving their flocks together and uniting for defence in times of strife while the villagers, to protect their property, were forced to remain scattered over the countryside. Thirdly, a large

a severe slump in the camel market? Slowly and very reluctantly the Bedouin are turning to cultivation and feel themselves immeasurably lowered in the process. Strangely enough, they are also to be found in greasy overalls, working on the rigs of the Mosul Oil Companies. In this work they do not lose caste as they do if they become cultivators.

Shaikh Ajil al Yawar is the paramount Shaikh of the Iraqi Shammar. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular astuteness he has managed to control his tribesmen, keep on the right side of successive governments and at the same time amass a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab steed or liver-shaking "dhilloul" (hunting camel).

Turkomans

Leaving the Arabs, we come to the Turkomans. They are the remnants of ancient immigrations and are to be found in Tel Afar town, between Mosul and Sinjar and in a string of villages across to Abbasi Kerapri and Kirkuk. Arbil is also largely a Turkoman town. The village of Nimrawa, the ancient Nineveh, just across the Tigris from Mosul, is Turkoman. In a mosque built on unexcavated Assyrian remains it contains the reputed tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the vertebra of the whale!

Kurds

Next we come to the Kurds, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages well south of the mountains. The Kurds are Aryan in origin and Sunni Moslims by religion. The mountain Kurds and in fact all the mountaineers of Kurdistan bear a close resemblance to the Scottish clans of two hundred years ago. They are still organized on a tribal or clan basis, though the increase in government control and influence is naturally tending to destroy this organization and undermine the power of the chiefs, or Aghas as they are called. Aghas may, however, still be seen proceeding to town or market with a "suit" of armed henchmen and even a pipebearer. The Kurdish pipebearer is, however, concerned with the Agha's tobacco pipe and not with music. Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe

In Research G-6 (1946-1947) 1947 MAIL Kurd MAIL Mahabad

The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare
668 his own area independent — which in fact long been in fact. On
692 December, 15 or a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Ministry of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hussein Khan Seif Qazi, a subchief whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amir Khan Shikak, Hamza Rashid Khan Bozai (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zare Beg Harki* received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.*

578 The new government, which controlled only a minute territory
668 including the towns of Mahabad, Bukan, Naqadeh, and Ushnavieh, met elsewhere to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Banah, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Sanandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Ramiah by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains were

777 *Zare Beg was a Jaafari chief originally associated with the Barzan Shaikh Ahmad clan. Banished from the latter's domain and exiled by Reza Shah, Zare Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Harsinian valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have had personal contact with Stalin. Although of little importance in the area today, the Harki, some of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, were Soviet connections considered him as likely an important role in developments in Kurdistan.*

623 *Other officials of the new government were Faqi Taha Shafiq, local religious leader, Prime
624 Minister; Sadiq Shaikhani, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Fereidun Qazi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Wafiq, Minister of Communications; Ahmad Qazi, Minister of the Treasury; Sayyid Mohammad Tabatabai, Minister of Health and Khaqani Shaikhani, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.*

because of a feud. Lastly it remains to mention the Barzani, formerly one of the most powerful groups in the district. In the series of events which followed the withdrawal of the Russian army from Azerbaijan in 1946, one of the Barzani chieftains, Mulla Mustafa, was forced to flee to the Armenian S.S.R. and the tribe was theoretically broken up. Officially the Barzani no longer exist, but in the popular mind they are much alive. If a policeman or another is shot in a remote district, the deed is usually attributed to "the Barzani," a convenient testimony for the prisoners's court.

The administrative control of an extensive mountainous area inhabited by a scattered population of some 35,000 poverty-stricken farmers and shepherds, most of whom belong to an ethnic group noted for its unruliness, is not without its difficulties, and requires of the qaimmaqam and his officials the extensive daily exhibition of qualities, among them unlimited patience and a fine sense for popular opinion, rarely demanded of similar magistrates in Europe or North America. Locally, in the nahiya, the greater part of the burden rests almost completely with the mudir and his several assistants, for within his own sphere he is given much of a free rein. It has been often and widely noticed that bureaucratic personnel in the Middle East far tend to outnumber and submerge the requirements of efficiency, but this is valid only for capitals and larger towns, for the distasteful tasks of rural order find but the barest of cadre. The

mudir, "exiled," in his own words, to the country, must account for a nahiya or sub-district, in this case with an average population of some 10,000 souls, with a staff of a few tax-assessors, clerks, a police detachment and servants which together usually numbers less than 30 or 40 men, less than 1/250th of such a population. 647 ● 648 [625]

The lot of the typical mudir is not an enviable one. His chief tasks are those of the great trinity of Middle Eastern administration, the maintenance of order, the collection of taxes, and the selection of army recruits. Because these three demand most of his time and energy, other problems, such as public health, must suffer in comparison. The government headquarters in the central village of a nahiya is usually a decrepit one-storey outpost of mud-brick or rubble, built about an unpaved courtyard. It contains some offices, a guardroom and quarters for the police, and a primitive jail, and boasts neither plumbing, heating, or electricity. The mudir himself is assigned a house, but he can rarely have more than the minimum in furnishings, just as he usually cannot yet afford marriage. He is most often a younger man from 25 to 35 years of age, a lawyer by training, and in high hopes of some better favoured assignment. Moreover, he finds himself an alien in the community, not only because his origins are elsewhere, but also because his social rank does not seem to admit of free intercourse with those he governs. There are, to be sure, mudirs who take a great part in the social life of their nahiyas, but [344] [497]

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still 647 648
often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voice of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished." [265] [546] [571]

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of 344
the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few ragged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during [625] the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a [711]

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

temporarily into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the qaimmaqam, and, after greetings and handclasps have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sharbet. The servant is recummoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant re-enters with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a mudir feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with dossiers requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the qaimmaqam's staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a problem trys, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

Some of the qaimmaqam's more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the qaimmaqam must supervise and coordinate the activities of the mudirs and qadhs officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a mudir is given considerable local power, but because the qaimmaqam is responsible not only for the

conduct of lesser officials but also of the populace as a whole, he tends to keep in close informal touch with both of these. Similarly, he is the step in authority between a mudir of his qadha and the mutasarif of Erbil and reports, taxes, recruits, and prisoners must pass through his hands. The same relationship described between mudir and qaimmaqam obtains between the latter and the mutasarif, because the qaimmaqam must refer his own reports and problems to higher authority. Lastly, it has been intimated above that the qaimmaqam is referred to as an appeal for all sorts of requests. In the Arab Middle East the private citizen has two customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is usual in most European governments, or at the "top." If, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the submission of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through chief clerk, mudir, and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, accumulating documents on its way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, often a perogative of higher social rank, the direct application to the highest available authority, is, of course, the more effective because it bears the signature of authorization at the outset. It follows that the qaimmaqam is constantly beset by those, either in their own interest or in that of some "client," wishing to bypass the normal paths of transmittal.

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Throughout their history the Kurds have suffered a

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distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qadha is charged to the qaimmaqam.

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not quartered in the serai, but occupies a similar, smaller building of its own a short distance up the road which serves as a barracks and garage for the vehicles. However, the actual direction of the police has its place in the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director, and his assistant, the mamur (Arabic, "official"), an officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there. These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the police. During the summer of 1951, the mamur's adjutant, also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the townspeople for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy, helping himself to refreshments and other small items at the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of the police in Rowandus itself includes watching the market by day, providing guards for government buildings, transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the streets by night.

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of investment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how small the amount involved, than precious metal or land. To all classes of society these two are tangible objects of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers are highly variable, but soil or gold are always of value.

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends. 651

There is in the serai an excise and customs director who must supervise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jindian, Rayat, and Hajji Umran on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offense) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an [647] [439] [687] [273] 314 656 372

roadside <u>shaykhana</u> between Kawlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowanduz keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kawlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowanduz. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>shaykhana</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowanduz itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowanduz and Jiadian, and some fifty men from Rowanduz and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

little the people, aside from a personage like the mukhtar, are able to participate in their own government. Rowandus, as the physical center of this government, exerts a powerful influence as well as a formal control not only over the townspeople but over the district as a whole. Such an administration, while in no sense new or unique, has extended the range of its activities into a great part of the people's life, and it is impossible to deny its relevance as the most powerful determinant in the change of local culture. Lastly, a new "elite" of civil officials and officers, alien to the area, make up its directing personnel and add a new element, reinforced by prestige and power, to the older form of society.

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behavior. The ethnic barrier between the Arab officials and the local inhabitants is by far the most striking. Divisions along lines of locale or tribe have little or no significance for members of the official class, although many of them, especially the Arabs, may belong to the latter type of group, in addition to their local origin. There is a certain amount of banter between natives of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, or other cities, just as in America much is heard of the rivalry of various cities and states, but it does not operate in any serious way to divide the group. The force connected with tribal affiliations in Iraq appears to be only appropriate in its proper setting, and a pair of officials, members of two tribes engaged in a deadly feud in some rural area, seem to make nothing of it divorced from the actual scene.

Something of the relations of the official class to the aristocracy and the townspeople has already been indicated. While a number of the Kurds may regard the government in a poor light, it would be a mistake to assume that they do not have admiration or fondness for certain of the officials. Conversely, it would be equally erroneous to think that many of the officials do not have a paternal affection for their charges. Nevertheless, the whole theory of personal relations between officials and townspeople is based on the thesis that "familiarity breeds contempt," which has a certain amount of validity. An over-friendly mudir might be looked upon with more suspicion and distrust than one who was comfortably distant. Thus the more

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take refreshment in the chaykhanas or worship in the town mosques. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of substance, they may send gifts to their Kurdish neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the bazar. One must digress to report that one of the teachers in Rowanduz fell in love with and married a girl of the town, undistinguished either in the wealth or the occupation of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and scorn of his colleagues and superiors. This created an anamolous, almost unheard-of situation, breaking down, as it did, the barrier between "educated arbtocrat" and commoner, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that it considers itself, with some justice, to be the most "progressive," not only in Kurdistan but in Iraq at large, judged, to a large extent, in terms

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many usages of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males nakes[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwanhana, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Rowanduz, it is unnecessary to describe in detail those of the official class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Rowanduz a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to drew comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1889) 1891
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elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kürdistan, the Kürds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kürdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and sugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or mendacity. This may be seen from one of the more recent examples:

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered worthy to live. My father once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very bashful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1]

The sanguine reputation is not wholly without reserve. In older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiye, the irregular bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and diplomats in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not connected with outlawry, but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the

[1]Soane, 1913, p. 183.

and it is important not to confuse the level of the intellectual sophisticate, a free Kurdish consciousness, with that which the chieftains and their people are now striving to preserve, a society quite within the state.

The Kurds, occupying a mountainous terrain, were but superficially governed by the Iranian and Ottoman governments. Inasmuch as the roads were poor or the country impossible for artillery, the Kurds, a well-armed people, were usually the military equals of their governors. The control of the Iranians and Turks was thus largely confined to the maintenance of police posts and army installations and the attempt, often in vain, to maintain public order and collect a few taxes. Helmut von Moltke, writing in 1838, notes:

> It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman empire comprises that region in which the Turks exercise an real authority. It is certain that the Pashalik (the Turkish fiefdom) has to reconquer widespread regions within the territory of its own state. To this category belong the highlands (of Kurdistan) between the Tigris and the Persian frontier.[1]

In recent decades, however, the Kurds, actively in Iraq and Turkey, have been subjected to the full impact of the modern state and some remarkable changes, comparable to similar developments elsewhere in the Middle East, are beginning to take place, challenging the whole structure of their society. This last, as will be seen, is one which is at once tribal and feudal, formerly directed by a hundred aristocracy. A

[1] Quoted in Gottwaldt, 1958, p. 38.

independence from the Porte in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A ruined fortress of this leader is to be seen a short distance north of the town, and his descendants, the House of Imam'Ali Beg, still own much of its property. The Porte, who appreciated the strategic significance of Rewandus with relation to the trade route and the possibility of a military advance along this line from Erevan, made it the seat of a mütesarrif, an Ottoman governor, subject to the Eyalet vanlyi (district) of the Vilayet (province) of Mosul. Administratively it was equal in rank to Erbil, and immediately prior to the first World War had one or two battalions of infantry stationed nearby, as well as a police detachment. As a part of the sanjaqlyq of Iraq, it is now much more of an administrative than a commercial center and is still under a mütesarrif, but directed beneath the control of Erbil.

In Ottoman times Rewandus was a flourishing town of about a thousand houses and had a population estimated at 5000. It occupied a sloping tongue of land, running east and west along the Rewandus river. The river was joined just above the town, to the west, by another stream flowing through a gorge then called the Balund, and above this juncture rose a great bluff, several hundred feet above the floor of the valley, termed Qala Tilek (Kurdish, qelaÇ, "fortress"). The flat top of this bluff was occupied by the house of Ja'fir Beg, a descendant of Sar Dashu, the Milan of the Turkish officers, some summer residences of

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER

To give a description of Rowandiz, its administrative and economic importance, as well as its social and religious life, demands a certain excursus above and beyond the actual physical limits of the town. To understand the role of the town, not only as a rural center, but in broader cultural horizons, one must have some understanding of the areas within which it lies. It is not intended to enter into an exhaustive discussion of either regional cultures or of a civilization, for that presupposes a much more extended survey than either the basis or the framework of this study can support, but rather to indicate the proper perspective in which the town must be viewed. The most convenient beginning to this task is not to be found in an economic or social background, but in the government, for in proceeding from its delineation, in many cases generalized with respect to district and to nation, an effective appreciation of later discussion can be formed.

Then a clearer definition of the position of Rowandiz as an administrative center requires in some wise an appreciation of the constitution of Iraq itself, on whose northeastern border lies the district dominated by the town. A segment of the old Ottoman Empire, the territory of modern Iraq was

rated from the Turks during the First World War and thereafter recognized as an independent state, temporarily assigned as a mandate to Great Britain. The early organization of the country took place under British guidance, and was defined by an "Organic Law" of 1924 as a limited monarchy with a responsible government. The legislative bodies consist of a Chamber of Deputies (Majlis al-Nuwwab) of elected representatives and a Senate (Majlis al-A'yan) of nominated elder statesmen. One of the salient features of this government is that, aside from the deputies, no other public official is elected by popular suffrage, from the Prime Minister to the village postmaster. It is very much as if the citizens of the United States voted only on members to the House of Representatives, and all other officers concerned with public life were appointed by a central government in Washington, D. C. In Iraq there are, to be sure, local "advisory councils" to the governors, but their membership is in practice selective. On the contrast of elections themselves there is much variation of opinion, and, without failing to one side or the other, it is possible to say quite fairly that neither the electorate or the Chamber itself have fully realized the possibilities of the democratic power within their hands. There is thus, not only among the Kurdish minority, but in many quarters in Iraq, a strong popular sentiment, correct or incorrect, that even their elected officials improperly or impotently represent the people.

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One of the advantages of appointment in this fashion 648
is that it permits the central government to provide properly qualified officials, responsible to higher authority, rather than relegate their selection to the whim of the voter. On the other hand, the official appointed in Baghdad almost always comes from a different town, and usually from a different province, than that to which he is assigned. Moreover, although there is no bar to any person rising in the government, the old middle and upper-class Turkish and Arab families of Iraq, who furnished officers andofficials to the Ottoman cadre, tend to dominate the ranks of the new monarchy as the wealthy, educated class. Thus, because there is little immediate community of 648
interest between governor and governed, there is the poten- 662
tiality of the use of office for the furtherance of personal and on a local level, and, on the higher levels in Baghdad itself, the acquisition of government positions by the influence of family or wealth. None of these things, however, should in any way be construed as an accusation of dereliction, particularly in the administration of the Rowandus district, but even the possibility of malfeasance has an easily imaginable effect on a people as nationally sensitive as the Kurds. Of more cogent importance, however, is the fact that the administration of Rowandus lies in the hands of persons on the whole alien to the community itself, and the social implications of the presence of this new class shall be examined in some detail. [186]

At the head of the executive branch of government, subject, of course, to legislative or royal check, are the ministers, from whose various departments all public officers are appointed. Following in general the old Ottoman lines, the country is divided into fourteen livas, each under a mutasarrif. The liva is subdivided into qadhas, each under a qaimmaqam. The qadha is in turn subdivided into a number of nahiyas, each under a mudir. Large towns have a rais beladiya appointed by the government whose office is responsible for the intricacies of metropolitan administration. The people have a mukhtar, selected from the local inhabitants, who, while in no sense a public official, acts as liaison between his fellows and the mudir, a role exactly comparable to that of the 'umda in contemporary Egypt.[1]

631. 648 [622]

The qadha or district of Rowandus belongs to the Erbil liva, and is subdivided into five nahiyas. The sedentary population of these, as well as the number of villages, is listed here for 1950, as furnished by the census officer of Rowandus. In spite of this official's labors in reducing a difficult problem, it is necessary to regard these figures with some reservation, for the Kurds, like many of their contemporaries in the Middle East and like the Israelites of old, regard inquiries into their numbers with the strongest suspicion. Similarly, the "village" here referred to may vary from a few isolated

631 162 361. [186]

[1] Ayrout, 1945, pp. 47-48.

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "nomads" cited above. 233 [162]

In spring the kotchir are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands, seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the kotchir must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if none peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the kotchir constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a qaimaqam, such as that of Rowandus. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the qaimaqam of Rowandus must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country.

221 233 [625] [491] [693] [648]

because of a feud. Lastly it remains to mention the Barzani, formerly one of the most powerful groups in the district. In the series of events which followed the withdrawal of the Russian army from Azerbaijan in 1946, one of the Barzani chieftains, Mulla Mustafa, was forced to flee to the Armenian S.S.R. and the tribe was theoretically broken up. Officially the Barzani no longer exist, but in the popular mind they are much alive. If a policeman or another is shot in a remote district, the deed is usually attributed to "the Barzani," a convenient testimony for the qaimmaqam's court. 622 619

The administrative control of an extensive mountainous area inhabited by a scattered population of some 55,000 poverty-stricken farmers and shepherds, most of whom belong to an ethnic group noted for its unruliness, is not without its difficulties, and requires of the qaimmaqam and his officials the extensive daily exhibition of qualities, among them unlimited patience and a fine sense for popular opinion, rarely demanded of similar magistrates in Europe or North America. Locally, in the nahiya, the greater part of the burden rests almost completely with the mudir and his several assistants, for within his own sphere he is given much of a free rein. It has been often and widely noticed that bureaucratic personnel in the Middle East far tend to outnumber and submerge the requirements of efficiency, but this is valid only for capitals and larger towns, for the distasteful tasks of rural order find but the barest of cadre. The 647 648

mudir, "exiled," in his own words, to the country, must account for a nahiya or sub-district, in this case with an average population of some 10,000 souls, with a staff of a few tax-assessors, clerks, a police detachment and servants which together usually numbers less than 30 or 40 men, less than 1/250th of such a population. 647 648 [625]

The lot of the typical mudir is not an enviable one. His chief tasks are those of the great trinity of Middle Eastern administration, the maintenance of order, the collection of taxes, and the selection of army recruits. Because these three demand most of his time and energy, other problems, such as public health, must suffer in comparison. The government headquarters in the central village of a nahiya is usually a decrepit one-storey outpost of mud-brick or rubble, built about an unpaved courtyard. It contains some offices, a guardroom and quarters for the police, and a primitive jail, and boasts neither plumbing, heating, or electricity. The mudir himself is assigned a house, but he can rarely have more than the minimum in furnishings, just as he usually cannot yet afford marriage. He is most often a younger man from 25 to 35 years of age, a lawyer by training, and in high hopes of some better favoured assignment. Moreover, he finds himself an alien in the community, not only because his origins are elsewhere, but also because his social rank does not seem to admit of free intercourse with those he governs. There are, to be sure, mudirs who take a great part in the social life of their nahiyas, but [344] [697]

they are most often older, more experienced men with wife and family. While given a free hand, the mudir is still often on the telephone to Rowanduz, if only to hear the voices of his fellow civil servants, and failing leave to visit Baghdad, Mosul, or some other center of "civilization," seeks every opportunity to find their company in the center itself. "Here I am," said one mudir, "in this village where there is no club, no restaurant, no cinema, and no friends. And after sundown it's all finished."

The mudir and his problems will be found again later, for it is necessary here to return to Rowanduz itself and the more important question of the area as a whole. Of the several government buildings in Rowanduz, that which commands primary attention, as it does of the inhabitants of the district, is the serai, so termed after Ottoman custom, for it contains the offices of the qaimmaqam and most of his staff, and is the physical center of the district government. The serai is one of the first buildings to be encountered in the town, standing a hundred yards from the edge of the bluff and commanding a magnificent view of the valley. It is a large, dun-colored, rectangular structure of plastered brick surrounding a partially paved interior court wherein a few rugged trees are to be found. The front of the building is of two storeys, unlike the other three sides which are of one, and is pierced by a large, arched gateway where one or two policemen mount guard during the day. Within the arch is a long brick bench on which a

grievances of the former and explaining and facilitating 622
the operations of the latter. He is called upon to certify certain government documents, such as an order for a young man's conscription, together with two chosen old men who act as witnesses. Ra'uf Effendi claimed to be assisted by two informal "agents" who brought him secretly the news circulating in the town, probably his own device for keeping in regular touch with popular opinion. Socially the office of mukhtar presupposes a qualification of wealth, for he [556] [574]
is expected to maintain a diwankhana (a room in his house in which guests of social distinction could be appropriately received and entertained). Although Rowanduz itself is non-tribal and the people as a whole pay no allegiance to a chieftain, it will be seen in comparison with later exposition that the mukhtar, with several other wealthy men, [554]
occupies a position in society analogous to that of an aristocrat. In fact, a girl, castigated by her relatives [627]
in a love affair, may seek sanctuary in the house of the mukhtar, a custom which is solely reserved for chieftains in the countryside. Such a case occurred in 1949 and Ra'uf Effendi was able to smooth over the affair, arranging the girl's marriage with the youth in question.

In closing this section it remains to contrast the 175 634 648
present administration of the district with that of the Ottoman Empire immediately prior to the first World War. In that time Rowanduz was the seat (a kaza) of a qaimmaqam under the Kirkuk sanjaq of the vilayet of Mosul. Administratively it was thought as important as Erbil and, as

today, a number of troops were garrisoned there. With respect to Erbil, the administrative equality has been changed, although a fifth nahiya added to the Ottoman four. It cannot be said that the Ottoman administration with its officers, judges, tax-collectors, and its serai was too different in outward form from that of today. The knowledge of bureaucratic government is nothing new to the district. In contrast to the present administration, however, the Turks were extremely venal, but it cannot be legitimately said, as it is with respect to other former Ottoman holdings, that they were vicious. While there were often skirmishes between segments of the population and the Ottoman gendarmes and troops, there is no particular recollection of Turkish "atrocities" in the area, for in the nineteenth century the Kurds, at home in their mountains, were the military equals of their opponents. The opening of new roads and the adoption of modern arms has changed much of this, and the Kurd has learned to respect automatic weapons, artillery, and aircraft. In a number of regards, such as education and public health, it can be seen that the new government enters much more completely into the interests of the people, and, according to popular opinion, has subverted many functions formerly reserved to the chieftains alone. In summary, it appears that the administration today is at once more rigorous and more enlightened than that of Ottoman times.

In conclusion certain observations on the present administration may be reinforced. It can be observed how

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little the people, aside from a personage like the mukhtar, are able to participate in their own government. Rowanduz, as the physical center of this government, exerts a powerful influence as well as a formal control not only over the townspeople but over the district as a whole. Such an administration, while in no sense new or unique, has extended the range of its activities into a great part of the people's life, and it is impossible to deny its relevance as the most powerful determinant in the change of local culture. Lastly, a new "elite" of civil officials and officers, alien to the area, make up its directing personnel and add a new element, reinforced by prestige and power, to the older form of society.

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or religious. In Ottoman times, while it[1] was an administrative center under Turkish rule, Rowanduz had considerable importance because it lay astride the trade route between Iran and Erbil, and from Erbil the Jazira plain and Syria, and a great volume of caravan trade passed through its gates. Today the automobile road constructed by British engineers bypasses the town and commerce following the old direction need have no reference to the town itself. With an obvious political background, the British mandate in Iraq and the withdrawal of Bolshevik Russia from Middle Eastern affairs, much of this same trade has dwindled. Prior to the first World War, a great part of the manufactured goods, like those of the general merchant listed above and merchandised in Iranian Azerbaijan and northern Iraq, came from Russia, porcelain, glassware, metalware, cloth, samovars, kerosene, and the like, some of the more precious items still preserved in Rowandux households as family heirlooms. With the British domination of the markets of Iraq, the focus of trade for this area has shifted almost completely from the north to the south. One never sees an item manufactured in the Soviet Union in the <u>bazar</u> of Rowandux. It may be supposed that the Turks selected Rowandux as a seat of government because of this importance in trade, and the administrative demotion of the town under Erbil, where formerly the two were equals, can be taken as a reflection of commercial decline.

It has been seen that the only important produce of

[1] [i.e., the town of Rowanduz.--Analyst]

Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, and Turks. There are Persian 563
minorities in the cities of central and southern Iraq, but they fall under the religious classification of Shi'ah and there seems to be no conflict between them and Arabs of their own persuasion. The Turks are few in number and are concentrated in the middle and upper classes. In the days before the liberation of Iraq, there was bitter enmity toward the Turks as the representatives of Ottoman rule, but this has disappeared in recent years and there is no restriction, as, indeed, there never was, on marriage between members of this class and Sunnite Muslims, Arabs and Kurds, of comparable status. [582] A survey of the lists of officials and army officers reveals the remarkable extent to which the survivors of Ottoman rule have retained their position in the government service. The Turkomans are gathered in central and northeastern Iraq, mainly about Altun Keupri and Koi Sanjaq, and have been unspectacular in national affairs, largely farmers and shepherds, a remnant of the famous Horde of the White Sheep. [582] Again, there appears to be no restriction on marriage with Sunnite Muslims, but there is little reason for an Arab, Kurd, or Turk of the upper classes to take an illiterate, impoverished bride from among them.

The matter of Arab and Kurd is quite otherwise, for 186
in the case of the latter there is a well-armed minority 648
population, Muslims, and hence free of the susceptibilities 101
of religious attack, with a strong base in agriculture and animal husbandry. They are estimated at 400,000 persons,

and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are hard by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, the royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strikes terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of the Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Xenephon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all bandits." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is a priori under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Rowandux was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

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aggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the chaykhanas, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community.

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Turning to the Rowandux district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the

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the casualties are sustained by the chieftains and their 628
bodyguards, a sort of exchange of assassinations, and there is nothing which might be termed "total warfare." If a chieftain is engaged in a feud with another, he does not ordinarily try to kill off the other's peasantry or destroy their crops, but rather attempts the ambush of his adversary or that person's immediate relatives and followers. There are several examples to indicate that feuding parties do not like the idea of decisive contests. The causes of such conflicts are extremely varied, although women are said to be one of the most frequent, and are often trivial. The government, insisting on its own justice, has a great deal of trouble with these affairs, and, at the same time, has used them to its own advantage. One of the chief reasons for the failure of Kurdish revolts over the years has been the fact that the leaders are just as interested in the overthrow of each other as in that of the government. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe performed welcome service in aiding the defeat of Mulla Mustafa's abortive rebellion, not because of his loyalty, which need not be questioned, but because of an old feud. It is interesting that certain persons treat their relations with the government in the same way, that is, as a matter between families, carrying on what might be classified as private vendettas with the authorities. If one's brother has been hung or imprisoned, the next step is the assassination of a policeman, not necessarily the 628 648

constables who apprehended the culprit or the judge who pronounced sentence, but "any member of the government tribe." Quite a number of this last type of feud come to light from time to time, and in 1951 one "brigand" Hasan Bania is credited with having disposed of numerous policemen, not primarily occupied with his capture, but engaged in their customary duties. 628 642

Europeans or Americans are apt to lose sight of the deadly nature, sport or not, of the Kurdish vendetta, particularly, as is often the case nowadays, when it is coupled with politics. The investigator was seated one evening in the "club" in Rowanduz with Sayyid Ahmad of Betas, a son of Shaykh Taha, and one of his bodyguards. Sayyid Ahmad was not directly concerned in the Rowanduz feud, but he was a regular guest of Lali Khan and his sympathies lay with the House of Isma'il Beg. It was interesting to notice that when Karim Agha, the son of Kuri Bawil Agha, and hence a possible enemy, entered the garden, Sayyid Ahmad quickly loosened the holster of his pistol and his follower automatically took up a strategic position behind the new visitor, leaning against a wall. On another evening, Sayyid Ahmad forbade, with some violence of expression, a well-meaning person who wished to accompany him across an exposed meadow with a lantern, again, a simple precaution. This atmosphere of violence is an everyday feature of life in Rowanduz, but it must be stressed that actual danger does not in any way extend to the common people nor, under normal circumstances, the 628

to let Mahmud Beg know of their presence and visit his 622
dîwakhana, or he will think they look down on his hospitality, or, worse, do not know him or recognise him as a chieftain." 574

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen 423
from the section on administration that the government 649
takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The state lays claim to all unregistered land, amîrîya, which includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory, and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the producers, thus cutting off the most important source of aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, abreast of the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to 649
the government, either the civil code of the judge or the 692
tribal code of the qaimmaqam. Vengeance is also of the [692]
state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and [554]
such titles as a'ha, beg, or shaykh, while they are widely used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the constabulary are thought adequate to handle military exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly parties of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of 525
its important functions and perogatives. They are no longer 178
leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

Beg, Hurî Bewîl Agha, and Dalîq Agha. Because that of Hurî Bewîl Agha has suffered adverse fortune, the House of Ismâ'îl Beg, headed by Lalî Khan, has the greatest interest in the town, owning considerable property therein. Dalîq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Mohammed 'Alî Agha might be mentioned, for it is nearby at Jindian, and its sons, such as Khalid Agha, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, not only of these families but of the district at large, enter into daily life to a large extent. They provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, revenue, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. One might inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Agha, the son of Hurî Bewîl Agha, or Khalid Agha of Jindian, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the government personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmed of Barzan and the army officer, Colonel Khalîl Sarçikewalî, who had captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor, Sayyid Ahmed,

to excitement in the government, lowering even airplane more to spirit rather than exciting view. Despite shared enthusiastically reconnoitred with more pleasure his appointment to wife, for he did not speak Arabic at the time. He learnt the attitude in charge of him, for example, called "straight" called his book by abbreviation, and concluded that this was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer as "Straight Peg" until he was finally corrected. In order to emphasize the type of post he involved for his whole, he was forced to adhere to instructions of the colonels in question, and thought his own picture, that of a Scottish aristocrat, a son of the great Empire Sahn, flapping his arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, were necessary.

Towards the consequence, the distractions are much more friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours talking with those of higher station, such as wealthy merchants. They are not fond of either the shopkeepers or the troops, although are occasionally flicks them there. Despite so they do not marry within their own families, they prefer the neighbours of the wealthy merchants and landowners of the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and have to have greatest prestige, than any village soldier. The daughter of Ba'al Shtwell, for example, is married to an artisanate from elsewhere in the district, who herself bore them three sons have used as a proper name. Among themselves, there is extensive community of interest and

the wives of other officials, according [illegible] [371]
[illegible] position. The wife of an official can be extremely [illegible]
lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. These-
wives of the lower classes suffer no such inconvenience,
and associate with each other with great freedom. There is [346]
a morgue for women also in the town, frequented by those [521]
of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be
used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for plain
carnivore.

If the society of adults in Kawasaka has its disadvant- [358]
ages is a very real, but short-lived, inconvenience for the [545]
children. The youngsters of all officials, aristocrats, [547]
and townspeople, play with each other without any reference
to the ranks of their parents, and choose their lovers in
the same way. The son of a servant can be "chief'ain" over
the children, and the daughter of a labourer the arbiter of
her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent
difficulty as the enlargement of life until then to different
ranks, seems to submit and adjust to work in their fathers'
stage. Sex relationships, better fitted to the demands of [570]
adjective station, replace those of childhood. It must not
be thought, however, that these early alliances do not
extend into later life, although such acquaintances do
not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to re- [419]
gard the society of Kawasaka not only as that of the town [419]
in Okinawa Ribbon, but to Ryuq and the Middle East as large,
and to present several observations of some importance.

The heart of the matter is to be found in the distinction between a society governed by the state and one ruled by tribal or feudal chieftains. The state is no stranger to the area of the Middle East, for it was in this province that it probably made its first appearance and some of its more complex harmonization of history were evolved. Nevertheless, there are certain places, Darfurian among them, where it is a newcomer, and others, such as Saudi Arabia, where it has yet to appear. Ottoman control in Darfurian was rarely strong, and was characterized by a sort of daily contest between the sentenced authorities, supported by their troops and gendarmes, and the local inhabitants in matters of tax-collection and recruitment for the army. Beyond the borders of Turkey and other well-organized districts, the Ottoman Empire was largely oriented for tribute, the entitlement of its officers and the Sublime Porte, and the Turks, aside from their bureaucrats and the prestige attached to conquerors, did little to tamper with the economy and the social structure of their subjects. Somewhere, before the First World War, was lost by the aristocrats and its merchants, and the empire representative of Ottoman rule was regarded as an everyday annoyance which could be circumvented, bribed, or educated as the occasion demanded. Insofar as the Turks were satisfied with what little money and recruits they were able to collect, they were not considered greatly detrimental to life.

The rise of the modern state in Iraq provides in places such as Kawandaa, good examples of the impingement

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r a new system of society on one that is older. At the
ginning of this section, these two systems were outlined,
he "primitive" one headed by a hereditary aristocracy
nd the "civilized" one by an educated group which in-
ludes property-owners, professional men, and a government
dre. The first is represented in the Rowanduz district
y the Kurdish chieftains and the second by the officials
nd officers of the central government. The second system
s not wholly strange to the area, for the Turks, and
erhaps others before them, conditioned the Kurdish
esponse to the concept of alien rule, if such control was
nly desultory. The new ownership, however, first in
ritish and later in Arab hands, introduced a strong
dministration, something quite new, which, despite a
eries of revolts, penetrated almost all phases of popular
ife. This, as has been seen, has resulted in the dis-
ovement of the local aristocracy, a process which has
een completed in some places and in others is only begin-
ing. The same conflict, with varying results, can be
bserved elsewhere in Iraq and in the Middle East. Among
he "Marsh Arabs" of the southern provinces, for example,
here is a bitter conflict between the local shaykhs and
he government in matters of land ownership and the collec-
ion of taxes. The "Marsh Arabs" also have a record of
evolt, and, like the Kurds, have had many of their
hieftains imprisoned or exiled, such as Shaykh Salim
f the Bani Lam'ad tribe, still in exile at Baghdad.

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day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "how can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 531

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the mejlis or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowanduz district. 538 577 [529] [484] [507] [541]

In everyday conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [445] [466]

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Rowandus

like similar movements among the Arabs, the Greeks, and others, first became a potent factor in everyday life during the nineteenth century, and its principal target at the time was the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Its early protagonists were educated Kurdish officials and officers, organized in the familiar "literary" or "artistic" societies, and from them it spread in more or less extravagant forms to all classes of society. This preoccupation with ethnic independence, however, is not purely political, but IK linked with the impingement of the modern state on a society at once tribal and feudal. To this end the warriors for Kurdish nationalism have been the chieftains, who have something more to gain than the vote, and its orators the men of the educated upper class, a point which must be discussed again in concluding this study. Agents of the Allied Powers left the Kurds under the impression they were to be given an independent state in the settlements which followed the First World War, and, insofar as this has been universally denied them (Kurdish literature, for example, is prohibited in Turkey), it is the starting point of most of their arguments. It is unnecessary to treat these nationalistic sentiments in great detail, because, with the ordinary passage of events in the Middle East, they can be exceedingly ephemeral, the friend of one day becoming the enemy of the next. Needless to say, the Kurds themselves are the heroes of these discussions, and, like many popular political expressions, such utterances

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could scarcely support itself by robbery alone. It is interesting that the Arab Bedouins, among whom the vendetta and brigandage are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Bedouin, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticised rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of Medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been moulded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is mute testimony to the character of Islam and to the forces of its protagonists in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

was in reality that of a tribute empire, concerned with 648
the collection of taxes and recruits. Even in those two
last tasks there was a contest, often in good humor, be-
tween the governors and the governed, and the victories
were divided. As long as money and men were in reasonably
good evidence, the Turks left the Kurds to their own
devices. They handed down justice of a sort, but most [691]
quarrels never reached their courts. They were not partic-
ularly concerned with homicide, insofar as the murdered
party was not a Turk, and, above all, they did not tamper
with the economic structure of society. The bulk of the [651]
taxes were collected, in the best way possible, from the
chieftains and landowners, never from the farmers and
shepherds. The Kurds regarded these taxes, when they
were forced to pay them, as a sort of levy to some superior
chieftain. Matters of education or public health received [658] [744]
little attention. This does not mean that in certain
other areas of the Ottoman Empire there was not a complex
bureaucratic government, but in Kurdistan it may be
summed up as little more than desultory control. The
gentle character of this administration, compared with that
of today, is indicated by the fact that many Kurds look
back with nostalgia to the "freedom" of Ottoman times.

In ethnological theory the significant difference 121
between primitive and civilized society is held to have its 649
basis in economics. Membership in a primitive society is
defined in terms of kinship relation, usually by "blood,"

4: Hannan E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the *shafi'i* rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to-day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Senna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakhs and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 5 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[5], which, however, was never ratified. At the fail conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shattered, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Sharref of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Bruch or Brussels line by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. To justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had seen their dream of an independent Kurdistan born at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had aired their feelings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[7], Iran[8] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[9], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1861, d. 1956)[10] *hakmdar* in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed subsidies. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government proclaiming himself *malik*, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[11], who as early as 1906 had accepted Islam and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[12] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1921 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the peace negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922–24, 1927 and in 193-31, and under Achmad of Barzan in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrig and Stoakes[13], and Edmonds[14].

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My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I lived with in 1957 can be summarized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan look to the north, to Soviet Russia[15]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (over one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Hoybun Committee[16] still existed, the Kurds, whilst I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realized from that quarter.

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What so previously been written about Kurdish women comes from the pens of men. Having given the following description of the Arab women in Baghdad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which sit about in little yellow boxes, and which you are told are women," adding: "... in fact no better device than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to snare every prying eye and dump the spirit of libertinism ...."[17] Fraser, 1840, says concerning the Kurdish women (at "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, the utmost practised in this way being raising the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Baban principality was, in the words of another poet, 'neither subject to the Persians, nor slave-driven by the House of Osman.'

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Badr Khan and General Sharif Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1909, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the south of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression not only in Iraq but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which went on to the academy and staff-college at Constantinople, and so reached a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these same officers naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's 'programme of the world's peace' enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be 'assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' Sharif Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the north-eastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

IV.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Köprü. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] It was at Sulaimani in 1918 that Kurdish was first made the official language of the administration; a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts later on were Sulaimani men.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

the idealistic spirit of the time, was at first to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces, to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Even before the armistice contact had been established with a certain Shaykh Mahmud, head of the leading Sayyid family of Southern Kurdistan, who was informed that any Kurdish groups or tribes in the three *liwas* of Sulaimani, Kirkuk and Arbil which might wish to accept his leadership would be allowed to do so. It soon became evident, however, that the Saykh had overestimated his popularity, and his province was eventually restricted to little more than the *liwa* of Sulaimani. No similar initiative was taken in regard to the Kurdish districts in the *liwa* of Mosul, where there was no articulate Kurdish opinion.

This first experiment in Kurdish autonomy under modern conditions was not a success. Within six months the Shaykh, resenting the limitations placed on his freedom to do exactly as he liked, rebelled. After a short military operation he was captured and deported, and the *liwa* was brought under the direct administration of the Occupation Authority. But quite apart from Shaykh Mahmud's personal ambitions there was always present at Sulaimani, among all classes of the population, an abiding conviction, rooted in their history, that the place contained the germs of a revived and extensive Kurdish state of which it was the preordained capital. The belief had little justification either in its physical appearance and commercial importance or in the academic attainments and political experience of its citizens, but it was always in the air. The proposal that Sulaimani with the adjacent districts should once more become an autonomous territory, therefore, had not come to the people as anything strange.

For the other political leaders the fall of Mahmud was thus no reason for renouncing the glittering prize brought so near by the Treaty of Sèvres. Assurances had been given in the British Parliament that the Kurds would not be forced to come under an Arab government against their will, and when the Provisional National Government of Iraq was formed in November, 1920, Sulaimani remained under the direct control of the British High Commissioner. Kirkuk (which then included Arbil) did accept a *Mutasarrif* (Governor) nominated by the new government, but he, like all the other officials, was a local man, and Turkish, the language of the educated urban classes (but not of the majority of the inhabitants), continued to be used for official purposes. When in June, 1921, the Amir Faysal arrived in Iraq as the candidate sponsored by the British Government for the throne Sulaimani refused to participate in the referendum; Kirkuk did participate but accounted for most of the

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

175 negative votes cast. No representative from either *liwa* attended the 668 accession ceremonies.

648 A difficult situation had been further complicated by the promulgation in January, 1920, by the Turkish Cabinet of a manifesto known as the 'National Pact' which, while conceding the right to self-determination of the Arabs south of the armistice line of 1918, refused to contemplate the surrender of the Mosul vilayet. The Treaty of Sèvres, signed by the representatives of the Sultan nine months later, was never ratified. For the next five years the Kurds were subjected to a campaign of intensive propaganda from Turkey: threats of invasion, clandestine correspondence with urban and tribal leaders, open incitements to rebellion, warnings to 'traitors,' and pervading all, the religious appeal for loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph (until the Caliphate was abolished in March 1924). Small bodies of uniformed Turkish troops actually crossed the border at various points in support of the restless tribes. The administrative boundary in Arbil and parts of Mosul was withdrawn to the edge of the plains, and in September, 1922, the whole of Sulaimani was evacuated. Shaykh Mahmud was brought back in return for an undertaking that he would secure the expulsion of the Turks from the *liwa* and that he would refrain from interfering in the neighbouring *liwas* of Kirkuk and Arbil. But in the intoxicating mountain air these promises were soon forgotten: [669] in November the Shaykh proclaimed himself 'King of Kurdistan,' claimed the whole country down to the Jabal Hamrin as part of his 'Kingdom,' and so far from expelling the Turks sought to use their presence as a lever to press his ambitions. In December the British and Iraqi governments, hoping to rally the more moderate Kurds to resist the aggressor, made a joint communication to certain friendly leaders recognizing 'the right of the Kurds of Iraq to set up a Kurdish government' which should send responsible delegates as soon as possible to discuss boundaries and political and economic relations; but there was nobody capable of taking advantage of the offer, which lapsed.[8]

The prevailing uncertainty and unrest were actually aggravated by the signature at Lausanne in July, 1923, of a Treaty of Peace between the Allies and Turkey, for it specifically excluded the Mosul question from the settlement. In August, 1924, the dispute was referred to the League of Nations. A Commission was sent to examine the problem on the spot, and, in December, 1925, the Council awarded the vilayet to Iraq subject to guarantees that regard would be paid to the 'desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed

[8] The activities of Shaykh Mahmud necessitated a series of air and military operations in the years that followed. Sulaimani town itself was occupied by the Iraqi Army in July, 1924; but the Shaykh continued to harry the administration until June, 1927, when he submitted. He took up arms again in 1930 in sympathy with the Imprisoned Intellectuals (see below) but gave himself up in 1931.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the language of all these services.' The Turkish government at first refused to accept the decision but, by a tripartite treaty between the United Kingdom, Iraq and Turkey signed at Ankara in June, 1926, finally renounced its sovereignty over the Mosul vilayet. The administration of the three *liwas* was then assimilated to that of the rest of Iraq except in the matter of the official language and the race of the officials.

The Turkish menace was hardly out of the way when the approach of the end of the Mandate for Iraq roused misgivings among the leaders of Kurdish opinion as to the value of the guarantees. Petitions to the League were treated as treason, and in 1930 and 1931 many highly respected Kurdish intellectuals were imprisoned. When the application of Iraq for admission to the League came up for consideration in 1932 the Council required and received from the Iraqi government a written Declaration, which was to rank as part of the Constitution, reaffirming its undertakings in regard to the minorities. A specific law was enacted defining the areas within which Kurdish and Turkish should be the languages of the local administration, of the law courts, and of primary education.

For the next few years there was little manifestation of political nationalism in Iraq. The hard logic of facts seemed to have persuaded the leaders, some sooner, some later, that their hopes were impossible of realization; most of them settled down quietly, salving their patriotic consciences, perhaps, with the vague idea that one day another world cataclysm might give their sons or grandsons their opportunity and that in the meantime any agitation would do more harm than good.

During the year preceding the outbreak of the Second World War there were indications that the German Legation in Baghdad was spreading propaganda, especially among young men of the official classes, that the Kurds had been grossly betrayed by Britain at the end of the last war but that a victorious Germany was ready to create an independent Kurdistan after the next. But after the actual outbreak of hostilities the elder realists remained convinced that neither side was likely to alienate the Arabs for a small and internationally unimportant people like the Kurds, and preferred to take no initiative. In the spring of 1941, when Rashid 'Ali staged his *coup d'état* against the Regent and the lawful government of Iraq, Shaykh Mahmud escaped from Baghdad, where he had been living in honourable exile, and did indeed obtain some support from the younger generation and among the tribes for the idea of a revolt based on the belief that, 'the unreliability of the Arabs' having now become manifest, the Allies would no longer hesitate to give the Kurds

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) B57 MA11 Kurd MA11

175 their 'rights'; but with the restoration of the Regent, a staunch friend
663 of the Allies, the movement, such as it was, lost all momentum.
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'Do as you would be done by' is not a maxim that seems to have appealed very much to the various formerly subject peoples, in Europe or in Asia, who have been liberated since 1918, and it was hardly to be expected that the Arabs of Iraq would prove an exception. Even in Ottoman times the three vilayets had been considered as constituting a single unit, Turkish Arabia in British official parlance, and any scheme of partition on *racial lines* to meet the aspirations of a minority was as unpalatable as similar ideas have been to majorities elsewhere. Against any suggestion that the central government should make a special effort to conciliate the Kurds by recognizing their existence *qua* Kurds and not merely as individuals enjoying the ordinary civil liberties like anybody else, it was at first argued that since the greater part of Kurdistan lay outside Iraq any concession in this direction could only encourage the separatist tendencies of the Kurds of Iraq and that it would lead to demands for similar privileges from other racial or religious groups.

On the Kurdish side, quite apart from the initial unwillingness to accept subordination to the Arab who had been a subject race like themselves, it was felt that the guarantees given to the League in 1925 and again in 1932 were being either ignored or at any rate grudgingly implemented. Statistics could be adduced to show that the Kurdish districts were not getting their fair share of the social services or development projects. Particularly bitter were complaints that the schools were inadequate in both quality and number, that failure to prepare and distribute school-books in Kurdish was making a mockery of the promises regarding the language instruction, and that Kurdish students were not being accepted for institutions of higher education or educational missions abroad. The big-spending Department of Irrigation was not represented in the north at all. In the sphere of Public Works there were complaints that all the emphasis was on police posts, and it was indeed the fact that even the construction of roads was for some years held back by the defeatist strategy of a Ministry of Defence which regarded them as facilities for an invader rather than a means of consolidating the administration and benefiting the population. The claim, made at the League of Nations and elsewhere, that the Kurds were always adequately represented in the Cabinet was denounced as disingenuous, since the Ministers in question, even if they could claim remote Kurdish origin, generally belonged to families long expatriated and were Arab rather than Kurdish in sentiment.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

Insofar as these grievances had some foundation in fact enough has already been said to show that the prevailing state of affairs was due, in part at any rate, to political circumstances beyond the control of the government, and in part to the restlessness of the Kurds themselves which for long periods had brought the administration in a large part of Kurdistan to a standstill. Some of the neglect, too, was undoubtedly due not to malice but to a tendency, not unknown elsewhere, for the higher authorities to take more thought for the parts of the country near the center than for the distant outposts.

However that may be, the result was that just when the earlier agitators were developing into elder statesmen who, sobered by experience, no longer regarded separation as feasible or desirable there was growing up a new generation nurtured on a sense of grievance and frustration. Resentment was further embittered by insulting references to the minorities not infrequently made by pan-Arab orators in moments of fanatical exaltation. In all the countries of the Middle East the western Powers are regarded as the supporters of the old reactionary Beys and Pashas who have retained most of the political power in their own hands (the charge is unfair but it would prolong this paper unduly to examine it here). It is only to be expected, then, that disgruntled youth (and especially young Kurds with a racial added to a social grievance) should look to Russia for its inspiration. The Russians have long been the neighbours of the Kurds through the Caucasian provinces, and, as we have seen, a small part of Kurdistan lies within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Even before 1918 Kurdish malcontents in Turkey and Persia were accustomed to seek support from the Russians. For the Russians exploitation of Kurdish unrest would be nothing new, indeed something of the kind has been seen comparatively recently at the time of the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in Persian Kurdistan, and again in 1947 when Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a fugitive rebel from Iraq, was welcomed in Soviet Armenia, given high military rank, and encouraged to broadcast in Kurdish from Erivan.

But with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable. The mercantile classes, realizing as they do that economically the Kurdish north is bound hand and foot to Baghdad, have never shown any enthusiasm for anything but the mildest form of nationalism, and the programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before. The old loyalties to religious Shaykhs and tribal Aghas have been too deeply undermined for any self-appointed leader to command a serious measure of support in any violent adventure. The complexity of modern weapons has given the government an overwhelming advantage

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old stormy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

464 late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The
241 much smaller rice harvest comes about the end of September. With less wheat and no rice, threshing could be finished by mid-september leaving labour free for the main work of the tobacco harvest. On the other hand the tobacco plant requires a good deal of finicky attention during the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest. It is possible therefore that any radical increase in the tobacco cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as between different households. Whereas at present each household has approximately the same programme of work, the situation would be greatly complicated if one man's land was devoted to tobacco and his neighbour's only to wheat. The difficulty could be avoided if all the tobacco cultivation were 'owned' by the Agha; - the commoner being under obligation to work for his Agha but not for a fellow commoner. Such a development would never be countenanced by the Government however since the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesmen by his chief."

249 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed
• 648 to cereal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is prepared to supply [illegible] as far as I know the process of drying does not require any special technical apparatus. The re-organisation of the irrigation system would of course be an initial 'capital' expenditure for the community concerned.

Technique. On the other hand the mere statement that Government is prepared to offer expert advice rather oversimplifies the social aspects of the technical problem. I have already mentioned that the native Kurdish tobacco cured in the traditional manner results in a powdery substance that is quite useless for the purposes of a modern factory. In order to produce a marketable product, the farmer has to be taught entirely new methods. The reformer is here up against several types of difficulty. Firstly there is a simple conservative resistance, the dislike of new methods, not simply because they are new but because the practitioner in the old methods thinks he knows best. But there are other difficulties of a much more intricate kind. Here is an example.

249 The Government are prepared to supply approved villages with a
609 trained expert to supervise the growing and harvesting of tobacco.
648 Such a man was supplied to the village of Balash. He was a Kurd, but a townsman from the plains and by mountain standards a man of low moral

• In Batas, where in functional terms the Assyrian Bishop takes the place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is owned by the Church, and difficulties over individual labour requirements thus avoided. But then a Christian Bishop is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

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character; it was alleged that he corrupted the villagers with alcohol and gambling and attempted to seduce their daughters, in particular the Malik's daughter, in fact he was altogether a scoundrel. In due course he was found in the high road with two bullets through his body. The police took action. Two harmless looking nomads from another tribe were brought before the courts and on the basis of somewhat elaborate circumstantial evidence convicted of murder. Sentence however was never carried out since the 'criminals' curiously disappeared a few days after the trial. Whatever was the truth of this matter, local rumour had no doubts on the subject. The bullet wounds, the arrest and conviction of the nomads were all a frame up by the police, who had the sense not to fish in troubled waters. The murderer was had really died of strangulation - hanged in the Guest House of Sheikh Mohammed, Agha of Balash and chief of the Balik.

This story was told me by Kamil Amin of Rowanduz who was always eager to start a slur on his cousin Sheikh Mohammed. It appeared however to have some general currency since, when I was discussing the disappearance of the local schoolmaster with the Agha of Bapir, he referred to the Balash story. "These small Government surveyor! What do you expect? They're all scoundrels".

Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant, the effect among the Balik is that Sheikh Mohammed's prestige is not as great as formerly, the fact, or even the rumour, that he had to hang his first and only agricultural adviser is a sufficient deterrent for any lesser Aghas who may be contemplating agricultural reform within their own communities. This example brings out well how a problem which on the surface is purely economic may in practice be affected by a mass of seemingly irrelevant considerations in the field of ethics, tribal law, politics and religion.

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To sum up then. We have seen how the necessity for developing an export trade implies the necessity for increasing the tobacco acreage at the expense of cereal acreage, and I have tried to analyse out the forces of resistance which serve to prevent any immediate response to this incentive. Nevertheless the incentive is already very great. I was told for instance in Beles that whereas in the old days the crops of the entire village had been worth barely £50 in cash, the tobacco sales in 1937 alone totalled £2,500. I believe therefore that in the hills also some radical alteration in the economic of agriculture must take place in the near future.

But it must be recognised that any such development must bring about fundamental changes both in the ideology of the people and of their social organisation. As things are, the hill country farmer sets out first of all to grow sufficient food for himself and his family. Only when he is assured of that does he turn his attention to the cultivation of luxury products such as tobacco. He starts to aim at

[illegible] Roosevelt [illegible]

● 643

[For Soviet influence and activities in relation to the Finnish rebellion of [illegible], see category IVT.]

[illegible]

In September 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, crushing over the resistance patriotically mounted by Riza Shah Pahlavi. As his soldiers surrendered, they sold or surrendered their arms to the tribes which still retained the shadowy semblance of Iran, holding to their organization, norms, and way of life in spite of the old Shah's efforts to subdue them. Among those that benefited from the ensuing collapse were the Kurdish tribes occupying the mountains along the Iraqi and Turkish borders from Sharbin, in the shadow of Mount Ararat in the north, to Qasr-i-Shirin, on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road in the south.

In the north, the Kurdish tribes in the mountain wall of Lake Urmiah found themselves surrounded by the strong Soviet garrisons in Rezaieh, Shahpur, Khoi, and Miyan. In the absence of effective Iranian authority, the Soviets maintained direct relations with the tribes — the Jalali in the north, the Shikak in the mountain wall of Shahpur, and the Dizaki west of Rezaieh. The chiefs of these tribes were allowed to manage their own affairs by the Soviets, who only required that they maintain security and provide grain for the Red Army. In the southern extension of the Kurdish area, near the Kermanshah-Baghdad road — one of the main supply links between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union — British troops kept the tribes quiet.

It was in the large area between the British and Soviet forces, in the vacuum left by the fleeing Iranians, that the Kurds were able to regain their autonomy. In fact the two main centers of disturbance were Sharbin and the Persian Mountains, where Mahmud Khan of Kani-Sawa established a powerful hegemony; and Rezaieh, where Ghafur Khalid Khan, long in exile in Iraq, built up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. Both of these chief chiefs were recognized for a time by the Iranian Government as semi-official governors of their areas, but soon their forces were beaten by the reorganized Iranian Army. By the fall of 1943, all of Kurdistan south of the Saqqiz-Rezaieh-Sardasht line was again firmly in government hands. The vacuum was then restored to the south area between this line and the Soviet forces based on Rezaieh, in which there was only one town of any size — Mahabad, formerly known as Sauj Bulagh, a few miles south of Lake Urmiah.

Lib. Palace D-9 (ex-Gen) 1959 WC Middle East Kurd WA 16

PROBLEMS OF MINORITY NATIONS

It has largely been inevitable that the present national frontiers, drawn in lands where tension and racial divisions are strong, and where political consciousness is mostly in the first stage of development, should in some measure give incomplete realization to the political needs and aspirations of Middle Eastern peoples. Although it is probably impossible to devise frontiers which would be even moderately satisfactory in this respect, present boundaries offer a number of outstanding difficulties. Palestine is a problem on its own, but in addition there are three communities—the Kurds, the Armenians, and the Assyrian Christians—that find themselves without a political future, and present special problems to the national governments of the various states in which they live.

The Kurds are a semi-nomadic pastoral people, living in the highlands of eastern Anatolia and the north-western Zagros. Tensions between summer pastures on the higher mountain slopes, and winter quarters in the valleys and lowlands (sometimes involving movements between widely separated districts), has brought the Kurds into conflict with the four national governments, because their homeland is now divided among Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. It has been said of this people that they have claims to racial purity and to continuity of culture that are stronger than those of any European nation, since the Kurds have been settled in their present home since about 1400 B.C.; but the term "culture" must be taken in a limited sense, for the Kurds are conservative as a farm and pasturage people, and their social organization has not progressed beyond the level of tribal grouping. Their occupation of eastern Anatolia and the northern Zagros has given them command of a number of important trade-routes, from which they have derived considerable revenue by means of heavy exactions on trading caravans. The Kurds have the reputation of being so eminently a people that it is unsafe to trifle with, and their tendency to shoot on sight at moving objects has kept outside interference to a minimum.[1] Even the Ottoman Turks could do little to subjugate them, and they remained free from Turkish taxation and military conscription.

The Kurds were, however, employed by the Turks as agents in persecuting Christian minorities—chiefly the Armenians. The Kurds

[1] This is the result of a succession of travellers in the region, from Xenophon's Ten Thousand to Major Soane and the Near East Boundary Commission of 1919.

claim the right of wintering in the Christian villages of Armenia and, as fanatical Moslems, they indulged on occasion in massacres of their unwilling Christian hosts—this often with the connivance or tacit approval of the Turks, who were not reluctant to see the Christian communities of Asia Minor decrease in numbers.

For obvious reasons, detailed figures as to the number of the Kurds are not available,* but estimates, some of them much out of date, give a total of some 7 millions, distributed as follows:

Turkey	3,250,000
Iraq (1950)	650,000
Iran	700,000
Baluchistan	250,000
Transcaucasian Russia (1921)	150,000
Syria	100,000
Afghanistan	80,000

The Kurds cannot be said to have any advanced political feeling, and, even less than the Bedouin Arabs, have rarely been able to combine for long in a stable, large-scale political organization. Individualism and local tribal feeling are the chief characteristics. Kurdish political activity has been negative: that is, strongly against any other group that has tried to rule them, and their proclivities tends to be anti-governmental, whatever the composition of the latter may be, rather than for pro-Kurdish aims. Since 1925 there have been ten serious revolts by the Kurds against various national governments—two against Turkey, four in Iran, and four in Iraq. One of these, in 1947, made use of supplies looted from Iranian military depots. Such revolts lend themselves to intervention by outside powers; and an American view* is that a Kurdish revolt against Iran in 1946 had such support from Russia, with the aim of embarrassing the Iranian government. Little was finally achieved, however: one factor may have been the importance at the time of American lease-lend supplies to Russia, as the result of which the U.S. was able to exert some moderating influence on Russian policy.

Since 1927, a Kurdish independence movement, the "Khoibun", has been in existence, but its activities have hitherto had little success, the main obstacle being jealousy, division, and lack of co-operation among the Kurds themselves. An attempt was made to enlist

* In modern Turkish practice the Kurds are described as "Mountain Turks".
* One of Professor W. L. Westermann.

reminding the dancer of a bagpipe and the other a plaintive Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means so strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of water drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians onto the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gadabout the town, visiting friends or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Sheikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Sheikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Moslems in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Taj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Sheikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Barzan had been crowned, but now the Sheikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed reinforcements were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Sheikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

A.: Dere. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Sheikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by purposefully harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Sheikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Sheikh, his brothers and the remnants of the wandering army could not be fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulaimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really soured the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rowanduz and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their flocks and herds, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Iraqi Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the open grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to populate summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

evaluation of the Kurdish factor. From the cultural point of view the Kurds were still an unwritten sheet of paper. Soviet Russia, as the communist strategists may have argued, thus stood the chance of exercising a paramount influence on the development and the character of a future Kurdish culture, if she only tried.

The raw material for such a Soviet experiment was the small Kurdish minority in Transcaucasia. The exact number of the Kurds in Soviet Russia is as difficult to ascertain as their number in any other country. Officially Russia had only 54,700 Kurds in 1926 and 45,800 in 1939, but unofficial pre-war data recorded as many as 80,000, of whom 40,000 were in Azerbaidzhan, 23,000 in Armenia and the rest in Georgia and Turkmenistan. Only in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan were the Kurds a political problem.

For a long time neither Azerbaidzhani nor Armenian communists seemed to have grasped the importance of the Kurds within the framework of a far-sighted Soviet policy in the Middle East. They either neglected the Kurdish minorities living in their respective republics or even tried to deprive them of their national character.

The Armenian communists disliked the Kurds in view of the role which the latter had played in the Armenian massacres, and thus showed not the slightest interest in their well-being and their mobilization for the Soviet State. Kurds in Armenia were not entrusted with political and social work, no skilled workers were recruited from among them and Kurdish peasants were not even organized into collective farms.[36] In 1936, the Soviet central Government strongly reprimanded the Armenian communists for letting national minorities interfere with their Kurdish policy.

All the mistakes which local Transcaucasian authorities committed in handling the Kurdish question in the inter-war period proved to be unimportant at a moment when Russia was able to use the Kurdish issue on a big scale. Her success in handling the problem was then indisputable. Colonel W. G. Elphinston, who was in charge of Kurdish affairs as a British Middle East Intelligence Officer, said that the effects of propaganda in the Kurdish language originating in the Kurdish community in the U.S.S.R. made themselves felt as far away as Syria, and communist pamphlets in Kurdish penetrated as far as Cairo.[37]

The Kurdish group outside the U.S.S.R. most directly affected by Russian policy and propaganda were the Persian Kurds whose country was occupied by the Red Army between 1941 and 1946. The Soviet occupation authorities did not spread communist ideas among the Kurds; they did not propagate collectivization and nationalization. All they aimed at was to make the Kurds respectful to Soviet Russia, the Russian Army and Stalin. The Kurdish Republic set up with Russian help in 1946 under Qazi Muhammad as Prime Minister was a national

Kurdish State and not communist. It existed for only nine months, despite the Treaty of Alliance for twenty years which it had concluded with another Soviet-sponsored government, the autonomous administration of Persian Azerbaidzhan.

Even such short-lived experiments as the Kurdish Republic of 1946 can become an important factor in the national tradition of a people, who, like the Kurds, are living under foreign rule. Experiments of that kind are apt to create a myth which ultimately may have a greater impact on the national development of the people than the original event itself. From year to year the Kurdish Republic of Qazzi Mohammed may appear to the Kurds more splendid and more powerful, particularly if Soviet propaganda does its share by reminding the Kurds of the downfall of 'their' republic and recalling the part which Russia played in its foundation. Soviet propaganda is indeed taking every opportunity of referring back to the glorious times when two pictures decorated the walls of the houses of many a Kurdish sheikh – that of Qazzi Mohammed, the Kurdish leader, hanged by the Persians in March 1947, and that of Generalissimo Stalin.[88]

Despite the collapse of 'Free Kurdistan' Soviet Russia has nevertheless made great progress in mastering the Kurdish problem. Kurdish chieftains became acquainted with Soviet institutions and Soviet ideology while the Russian conception of Persia's Kurdish territories lasted. Many Persian Kurds joined their countrymen already living in Soviet Transcaucasia and Kurdish culture 'national in form and socialist in content' developed: 200 Kurdish pamphlets and books had been published in the Soviet Union by 1948.[89] Nor was there any shortage of qualified Kurdish personnel in the Soviet Union after the war. On the contrary, Soviet propaganda was able to boast of Kurdish 'state dignitaries and outstanding workers in culture and science', who had sprung up among the Russian Kurds. A Kurdish Soviet poet, Amin Arshal, is the 'author of wonderful verses on the Soviet homeland'. Another Kurdish poet, Jusuph Jalil, translated Russian classics into his native tongue. A Kurdish philologist, Nure Pulatova, a graduate of Leningrad University, became the only Kurdish woman scholar in the world.[90] And lastly, between 1946 and 1950 the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. included a Kurdish deputy, Semend Alkevich Sinbandilov.

However important the recent Soviet experiments with the Russian Kurds may be, the latter represent not even 3 per cent of the entire Kurdish people. Soviet Russia must bring either the Turkish or the Persian Kurds within her orbit if she wants to make a success of her 'Kurdish policy'. It remains to be seen whether the political dynamic of the U.S.S.R. and the ideological power of Bolshevism will be sufficient to accomplish this aim.

with respect to culture. Feudalism, while it may not be "primitive," is here mixed with a primitive, tribal system and uses its terminology.

In utilized society, in contrast to primitive, membership is not held to be based on descent but on residence at property relations, and this form of society is represented by the state. This does not mean that the state does not use the primitive terminology, for, out of numerous examples, one might remember the insistence of the National Socialist government of Germany prior to the second World War on "blood" and "race." Of greater importance, the state is a different system of economy, because, depending on its constitution, it defines its resources as its own, as the personal property of its citizens, or both. The state in this sense is not a newcomer to Iraq, inasmuch as some of its earliest examples known in history were developed here, but, at least for some centuries, it has been a stranger to Kurdistan. It has been even here, in the Rowanduz area, it has taken a large part in the administration of life. Youths are recruited to the army, not to the following are chieftain, and the military forces and the police handle most of regulating public order. Matters of civil and criminal law are decided in the courts, and the important matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce require transformation. Economic men, if they are rich, study in Sulaimania and the rich men enroll themselves of the nationalities. Perhaps more importantly, it has initiated some classification of land, buildings belonging

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and the regular collection of taxes. If the land is unregistered, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the users, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of efficiency, but it has quantitatively superimposed an administration far different from that of the Turks or the chieftains.

If the changes of the last fifty years which have taken place in Kurdish life are reviewed, it cannot be said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from the society, the areas of discord are few in number. Items of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods, for this dependency on foreign products has apparently been known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the district has, of course, conditioned materially, but it has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life within the family, and religion almost nothing of a structural nature has been altered or replaced. The locus of modification, then, has been in the economy and the society, for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy,

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The Kürds, too, generally leave to the women the business of settling accounts with that regular, but unwelcome, visitor, the tax-gatherer.

On the arrival on one occasion of this functionary at the camp of the Haidertalis, a large and wealthy tribe established in the plains to the north-west of Van, he was politely received and treated with black coffee and tobacco in the tent of the chief, Ali Agha, who courteously informed him that he was at liberty to enter the different tents for the collection of the sheep tax. Once in the tents, however, the tax-gatherer soon perceived that while he was striving to get hold of everything he could detect, the object of the women was to conceal from him all they could. Out of interests so opposed a collision naturally soon arose, and a shower of vituperation, followed by an attack with sticks and stones, assailed the unlucky official, who was finally rescued from the hands of these fair furies by the men of the tribe, and carried for safety to the tent of the chief. Ali Agha now gave him the friendly advice to get from the women all they were willing to give and return at once to Van, thanking Allah that no worse had befallen him. "My good fellow," he concluded, "what can you do with women? They will have their way. Take the money and be off."

In 1834 there passed through Constantinople on their way to the seat of war a band of Kürdish cavalry led by a woman named Kara ("Black") Fatmé Hanüm. Save for the dauntless fire which blazed in her eyes there was, however, nothing Amazonian in the

the faithful. There are in Rowanduz some 18 houses and lands which belong in this category. The administration of such property is placed under a Ministry of Awqaf, and there is a Mamur in Erbil from this ministry to supervise the use of such bequests. Locally, the supervision is not charged to the serai, but to the chief mulla (the religious leader of the community) who otherwise has no connection in government affairs.

Just as the legal ownership of land is important to the private citizen, its taxation is a primary concern of the government. Locally the collection is in the hands of the mudir, and the money transmitted through the qaimaqam to Erbil. In taxation a distinction is made between agricultural lands and houses. Of the agricultural land, lemy-land is taxed a straight 15% of its value in terms of yearly yield. Ambirq-land which has been built upon and cultivated is subject to 10%, while that which has not been built upon, but cultivated, pays 10%. Houses, without reference to the land on which they stand, are taxed 15% of the assessed value of their yearly rent. Shopkeepers and merchants pay a series of taxes, usually in the form of licenses. Neither personal property, including gold, jewelry, or currency, nor income are taxed in the Rowanduz district. As has been mentioned, waqf or "church" property is not taxed. These revenues must be paid in money, never in kind, although property may be seized for taxes in arrears. However, the chieftains in the countryside may

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and th tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the secret circulars and customs directors who must supervise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jinjian, Rayat, and Iiji there on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably in a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offence) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Iranian Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only serious problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an

installations in Rowanduz, the air of the commissionaire's office is heavy with tobacco smoke and its floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the qaimmaqam.

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the serai, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the qaimmaqam's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time secures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the plain, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings.

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jejnni Rumzan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ellah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowandúz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shaikh Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ellah who moved to Rowandúz part from Solaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

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Attention might be directed to the land of Rewandus itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Re'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the eastern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (emiriye), private (temy), and religious endowment (vaqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economics of the Rewandus district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religious.

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I was more fortunate by far than my brothers. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my progress.

Sayyid Hamad, of whom Hajji Sharief's cousin Sharo, was one of the most distinguished residents of Ramadan, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hamad was not directly concerned in the feud between Hurt Pasha Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Turkish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Turkish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hamad for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hamad was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Sharief's, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his own. Hajji Sharief's also failed to relate how, during the second world war, he and several other adventurous persons with motives not lofted carried dollars from Persia going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles to eastward of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their bills a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Sharief's escaped intolerable. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a tailor, government employee, highwayman, informant, trader, merchant, politico, minister, owner of a two-ship,

[illegible] was in reality that of a tribute empire, concerned with the collection of taxes and revenue. Even in those two last tasks there was a variety, often in good reason, between the governors and the governed, and the distinction were blurred. As long as money and men were in reasonably good evidence, the Ryukyu left the Satsuma to their own devices. They tended some portion of a sort, but were [illegible] seldom seemed their course. They were not particularly concerned with taxation, whether as the sustained party was not a fact, and, above all, they did not happen with the economic structure of society. The bulk of the taxes were collected, in the best way possible, from the silviculture and landowners, rather than the farmers and shopkeepers. The Satsuma regarded these taxes, when they were turned to gay time, as a sort of levy to ease expensive obligations. Revenue of education or public health received little attention. This does not mean that in certain other areas of the Ryukyuan empire there was not a complex bureaucratic government, but in Satsuma it may be summed up as little more than [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable country crop is tobacco, of which enough (3,000 tons in 1914) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and cumin. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kelek* still convey maize and other goods downstream much more cheaply than other forms of transport. Kurdish handicrafts in Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeans. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some central point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1932 (£210 millions in 1951) and from which the ryotwars *from*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remodelled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidised; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 Kw. (and an ul-

(6) ... the owners of the land, and either as on the traditionally organized
(7) ... function of the peasant crop: 1/3 for the land crop, 1/3
... of the irrigated crop, where such a system. Usually the Khammad
section of the village is too large as the entirety as these cases, and
such trading services are no longer possible (at least not on any
scale, though they are still accused especially of cattle-theft by their
neighbors), they find it necessary to contribute to subsistence by
farming. The Khammad farmers hold land in private, inheritable
property. They recognize the rights of men of non-tribal descent
to inherit the cultivation rights to specific fields from their fathers,
and where the situation permits, such rights may easily be exchanged
again.

(7) A third group in the locality present in the village, consisting of
laborers, generally of stranger origin. This group is in a similar
economic position to that of laborers in the ordinary sense villages,
with the exception that upward mobility is virtually impossible.
Neither of the two conflicting groups, the Khammad or the sec-
tional Khalifa, are willing to improve their position by transferring
land which would provide the necessary land to the to secure former status,
even when given the economic means.

The economic conflict between the Khammad and the Khalifa
is more latent now than before external administration purified the
area. Formerly, the relation was more nearly one of symbiosis. The
peasants, by being attached to a militarily powerful tribe, were in
fact protected from the raids of other war-parties in return for the
rent they paid. Furthermore, they benefited from the raids of their
Khammad lords by serving as intermediaries in realizing the value
of the loot. The Khammads themselves could not move the flocks
of the tribe, for fear of being recognized. The peasants, on the
other hand, were free to move the produce and sell the goods —
for a consideration. If their war-lords were at all successful, the
income from such transactions might well more than balance the
rental now paid to the Khalifah.

As a result of the persistent tension between the two groups,
and the clear difference in social position, very little, if any, inter-

[illegible] between Socialism and the Socialists. While the organizations of these daughters [illegible] of Socialism [illegible] the political movement of the world as never [illegible], still, however the party has greater freedom for [illegible], therefore the organization, perhaps a backbone for all, as being chiefly made up of "practicians and pressmen." There seems to be no limit to the connections. In addition, they do not tolerate criminal-thinking by whatever name he [illegible]. The party in office could have arrested [illegible] a soldier enough to become intoxicated while in town and write [illegible] insulting to a [illegible]. He was thrown into the guard, and, in the hearing before the [illegible], the lieutenant asserted that, while drunk, he insulted "the man who is King," and that they have nothing of the written [illegible].

There are, of course, [illegible] important on hand in the district, for example, those of the Schutzverein-Kaiserin of Agriculturers, but their connections are with Berlin or Bayreuth, rather than with Hanover [illegible]. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the [illegible] although quite young, they exercise [illegible] power in their undertakings. In the summer of 1903 one such engineer was engaged in constructing the canal between Hanover and Stettin, and when Jolly was from Hanover and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as engineers for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the [illegible].

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy products are always in demand. Draught oxen and stock for the national economy are raised both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley, wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which a heavily reversible [illegible]. Minor irrigated summer crops are melon, millet and lentils. The most valuable summer crop is tobacco, of which enough (5,000 tons in 1951) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and cumin. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated hides called kelek still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Known manufactures of Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and woollen textiles, Arbil is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Rubber and animal exudations from the highlands are generally taken to some central point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

[illegible] Apart from the cases of industries which [illegible] owners are mostly Kurds, since the Kirkuk oil-field was struck nearly 30 years ago, there has as yet been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may also be expected to supplement to the course of ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil revenues which have accrued to the government since 1951 (£27·5 millions in 1951) and from which the northern area, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefits. Foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco, a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimaniya, pumps and wells are being brought to the south watering and the irrigation scheme extended, old roads are being reconditioned and new roads opened up, rivers and streams are being bridged, municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being established, particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimaniya, a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 kw. [illegible] and an ele-

[illegible]

[illegible] capacity of [illegible] is to be completed in 1959 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertised major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Derbendi Khan on the Diyala, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefits to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. By reason considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of solving the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century, and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the overwhelming patience of the Ottomans and Persians governing in both countries until after the middle of the 19th century, [illegible] the primarily Kurdish are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Bedr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jezireh ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Babans of Soleimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority to which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, rest on much [illegible] importance to language. It would be tempting therefore to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1898 when members of the Bedr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called Kurdistan, [illegible] of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in Cairo, in the years to 1914 [illegible] Kurdistan, England. But to [illegible] Kurds of the [illegible].

[illegible] "Devil and his Grandam" [illegible]

over a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. There is, or Zekko has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the foundations would not remain in place. He consulted a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and asking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first horrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Also, the thought it unlikely for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the legendary hold and her grave on building for hundreds of years.

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the [illegible] of the Amadia road, we actually fought round for a while early morning the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When eleven of the explosive had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned successfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many a the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for ransom money."

The town of Amadia, which, like Dihlohogh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,000 feet, stands 600 higher than Cave Cross, a town easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Prince who obtained a nominal sovereignty as the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the entrance of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. There are memories of 1915, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Greek episcopate and a handful of police in the Government house. The men-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body [illegible]

[illegible] stars are many millionaires. The legal remedy for creditors, [illegible] however delivered, to simply the extraction of the hole of [illegible] duty. There are, to be sure, many forms of civilis and [illegible] [illegible] oppressions [illegible] who, on the completion of their [illegible] secondary schooling, submit the sex replacement and [illegible] [illegible] corner of an [illegible] citizen.

But the people of the districts the worst, with the [illegible] important employment of officials, the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] kinds of business, the parents, and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] flattering claims from a Congress, to the physical speech of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave penalties on health from malaria which a directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are melon, millet and lentils. The most valuable summer crop is tobacco, of which enough (4,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, sub-galls, gum tragacanth, and manna. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called kelek still carry grain and other north country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Known beneficiations in Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugar-beet. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Kurdish and Arab craftsmen from the highlands are generally taken to some coastal point in the plain to be harvested for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise [illegible] is engaged in [illegible] the private or publishing government programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil revenues which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£21·6 millions in 1951) and from which the northern areas, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit. Foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco, a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani, erosion which are being brought in the south watering and the irrigation where suitable, dirt roads are being consolidated and new roads opened up, rivers and streams are being bridged, municipal banking, electricity and water schemes are being established, particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 45,000 Kw. [and an ad-

storage capacity of 110,000 Km.) is to be completed by 1959 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertised major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Derbendi Khan on the Diyala, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefits to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of solving the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the overriding policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the principal families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Bedr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jezireh Ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Baban of Sulaimaniyah. It is not easy to fix on any particular date as synonymous with the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar sort, was to attach overriding importance to language. It would be tempting [illegible] to suggest that such particular significance attached to the year 1898, when members of the Bedr Khan family began the publication of a [illegible] paper called Kurdistan, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 to come to the notice of Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Rotterdam, England, but is more than [illegible] of the [illegible].

which became the office of the government recreation, behind which a fenced yard usually contains one or two animals, horses or mules, under lean-tents. Directly behind this, across the street from a corner of the park, is the "Governor" dwelling (barracks), a distinctive red-tiled building with a yard of hedged earth over which is erected a rustic framework covered with a thick canopy of oak leaves and branches. Against this other (in the style of a Hindu, Turkish (or such a mountainous) are arranged a number of high rustic benches and tables, arranged for refreshment as seen during the day by those who have had business in the park, patronage off duty, a chieftain's headquarters, or the usual lunches.

To the other side of the park stands a square, [illegible] stone building, the "commandant's" office wherein the post-office, telegraph, and telephone establishment can be found. The guardroom, in fact a lock-up facilities building, a number of the factories most centering around Kandi, has several comfortable sized rooms among the temple and one or more of them is in daily and night. Below the park and the telegraph may be located with [illegible] the telephone equipment (seems much to be desired, and to place a call to such a place as Kandi or Kandiah often requires a good deal of shouting and shouting). It follows that the operators many times [illegible] mis-likewise [illegible], and, unless other [illegible]

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[illegible] 306
[illegible] 306
[illegible] 690
[illegible] [746]

[illegible] 306
[illegible] 306
[illegible] 690
[illegible] 309

[illegible] [401]

[illegible] [746]

or Kiakkenin, and both of these deposits are exploited by the villagers. There has been no extensive and serious attempt by the government to mark boundaries of hunting tabus and to provide for conservation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the forest exercises no effective.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many differentiations which these activities and products assume are to be encountered here, and the great "fuss" or "fuss," the element of fusion seems to be very slight. Best observation is only considered from the type of the Kiard Field for there a fusion crop and the way through the village, burning crops and villagers, and comparison shows that time here has not. For the moment, the field of district marketing here even restricted. It has been seen that the Peterson Example, centered on Kawasaka, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of minor agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the village themselves. The surplus portions may be variously disposed, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Sakai, others taken up to the area of Kawasaka, and still others controlled by certain merchants known to the district. It must not be thought that Kawasaka exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with trade connections, a few of them most important, such as Iyuna, and others a periodic response to the requirements

[illegible] of lower officials has also of the problem as a whole, he tends to keep to close [illegible] with both of them. Similarly, he in the way in enforcing between a [illegible] of the [illegible] and the [illegible] of both and reports, taxes, monetary, and grievances each pass through his hands. The same relationship described between [illegible] and [illegible] applies between the latter and the [illegible]. Thereby, the [illegible] exert under the new reports and policies to higher authority. Lastly, in two less important ways that the [illegible] is enforced to as an agent for all sorts of requests. In the work Middle East the private citizens has the customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is used to such European governments, or at the "top." Or, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the completion of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through other clerks, [illegible], and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, commencing downward in the way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, after a perception of higher social ends, the direct application to the highest executive authority. It, of course, the most effective because it bears the signature of [illegible] on the [illegible]. It follows that the [illegible] is customarily known by them, either to their own [illegible] or to that of some "friend," wishing to bypass the normal paths of [illegible].

Throughout these [illegible] the Turks have enforced a

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the sarai an excise and customs director who must supervise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jiadian, Rayat, and Bajil Chewa on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms and ammunition, a capital offence) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an

citizen against a conscription law, however observant he may have.

The reason officer and my assistant have an office in the court, as has been mentioned above. The difficulties encountered in preparing a census for a district such as this are formidable, but understandably the task does not have the priority of others. The chief problem is simply the determination of the number of men and women in the district, itself a formidable labor, and statistics in matters of births, deaths, marriages, and the like, are simply unknown. Because this is a new department, however, new might expect expansion in the future.

Finally, the court houses the office of a civilian recruiting officer and his assistants whose task is the selection of recruits for the army. In Iraq every male must perform two years' military service after reaching the age of 18 years unless deferred for unfitness, pursuit of a higher education, or some other reasons. There are four divisional commands to which recruits are sent for training and service, the headquarters from Mawsil being by large to Erbil. The Iraqi army, while equipped and organized on a British model, has little appeal for the poorer area or Kurdish youth, for the pay is almost nothing, the food reduced to bread and soup, and the regular uniformed personnel tyrannical. Thus, while the Kurds are noted for their love of arms and fighting, conscription is a hardship to the poverty-stricken households, and

as viaducts, and both of these sounds are controlled by the village. There has been no coherent and serious enough by the government to work depositions of crushing rubber and to provide for conservation of the districts, but between the need for food in the states and the desire for soldiers' shelter to answer the forest services to suffer.

The principal of the districts, then, consists chiefly in agriculture and school teaching. Although the many difficulties which face agriculturists and students alike are to be encountered here, and the poor "soil" or "trees," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Soil observations to only considered from the type of the first field for when a tractor crop and the way through the village, burning crops and villages, and emigration share that time here too. For the agriculturists, the food of districts marketing here even variations. It has been seen that the Tobacco Campaign, centered at Gonaives, exploits the farmers and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of other agriculturists and fairly gardens are centered in the village themselves. The surplus produce may be naturally allocated, even sold directly from the area to agents coming from Cayes, others bought up by the town of Gonaives, and still others consigned to smaller permanents towns in the districts. It must not be thought that Gonaives exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them small emporiums, such as Ennery, and others a natural response to the requirements

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

people and experiencing the entertainment. A party of men is assembled on the lawn of the bridegroom, and the bridegroom himself is seated as a baron. This group, including the infant, enters the hall through the gate, accompanied by shouting, music, and the noise of rattles fixed to the clothing on the breast of the actors, the bridegroom discovers and for ever bridles with the politeness to be offered from and bride. A second group, made up of the bride and her female relatives and friends, in dresses, and the bride also assume an extravagantly superlunary baron. A more striking procession was begun, headed by the bridegroom and his men. Following these are the bride, her relatives and friends, and the maid by maidens and persons carrying the wax beneficial gents, clothing, and other necessaries to helpfully pictured dwarfs. The bride take great delight in disobeying Cinderella on wild mistakes, and gentlemen the bride each to attendant from the gentlemen. When the bride of a shepherds was taken to somewhere to Baron from Senseless, several thousand people were found to the air along the route. The bridegroom entered on his garments been before the bride, and taken up a exercise on the roof on balcony, furnished with a long ribbon with gents, voices, and swords. When the bride to bid up on her baron, he observe the exercise of this long ones her and her noses. As the dismounts, a stamp to straightened before the door of the house and her door to digged by the blade before she was which.

The ceremonies of the marriage is usually terminated

[illegible]

[illegible] the Press. The events was exceedingly successful and widely [illegible] and there were many cases in which no distinction could be made between the [illegible] or mediterranean from the air. The Kurdish followers, too, were very lively and mobile. Without any effective air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Kurdish and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the Iraq Government. It was found that the Kurdish, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small holdings in southern Kurdistan near Sulaimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now returned to the Mosul Vilayet.

Iraq

When the really sound the Kurds in the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, now as Colonel Wilson did in Kurdistan with similar results. Good roads now exist from Kirkuk, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Penjwin and from Dohuk to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a casualty Kurdish tribe, the Khalifs, with their mules animals, used on their annual migrations from Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the Iraq Government, and the former were unable to bring for the summer. It has now been easy to find grazing for these flocks, as other nomads, who had already been established by the Turkish Government in Anatolia and had occupied practically all the good grazing. The Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to persuade nomad chiefs in Kurdistan and in general the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good nomad associates exist. I am afraid, however, that in for this policy has not been very successful. Good nomad chiefs require the expenditure of much money, and the attempt in providing suitable nomad accommodation here, I regret, ended in spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The daily news of Dohuk in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and a

a severe decay to the moral system. Slowly and very inherently the Indians are moving to cultivation and that characteristic commonality formed in the groups. Strength enough, they are also to be found in groups centrally working on the site of the Mixed Oil Companies. In this work they do not live even as they do if they become craftsmen.

Sheikh Ali el Tomar is the paramount Sheikh of the Tung Shamsan. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular assurance he has managed to control his followers, living on the right side of successive governments and at the same time retain a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab mare or time-defying "dromedary" (running camel).

Tadhoma

Leaving the Kafia we come to the Tadhoma. They are the remnants of ancient immigrations and are to be found in the hills from Kongor and Kolkab. Adrif is the largest Tadhoma town. The village of Hasseeny, the eastern Hilemeh, just across the Tigre from Mirah, is Tadhoma. In a mosque built on ancestral graves remains a remnant of the original tomb. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the carcass of the whale.

Kunda

Then we come to the Kunda, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages north and south of the mountains. The Kunda are known to origin and have kindred by religion. The mountain Kunda said to be of the descendants of Kunfadas from a slave expedition to the Kunda area of two hundred years ago. They are still organized as a tribe in the hills, though the tendency to government control and influence is naturally working to destroy the organization and consequently the power of the chiefs, or fighters as they are called. Fighter Hasy Hasseeny, still to see proceeding to town or market with a "tail" of armed henchmen and many a platteaux. The Kunda platteaux is famous, associated with the fighters whose pipe and ear rods exists. Kunda music is sometimes played on a pipe

[illegible] one to another part of a habitat region, concerned with the relationships of human and livestock. Even to those two [illegible] there are a variety, either to good seeds, between the grassland and the grassland, and the distinction more blurred. As long as money and was more to community good wellbeing, the Rules both the lands to their use [illegible] fertilizers. They looked upon pasture of a work, two work [illegible] economic sector regulated their income. They were not particularly concerned with industries, however as the sectional group can set a fund, sell, share etc., they did not happen with the economic interactions of society. The lack of the future were unfavorable, as the term may [illegible] classification and customers, varied from the farmers and employers. The farms regarded these trades, when they were forced to get them, as a work of long to keep organize [illegible] activities. Because of education or public trends involved [illegible] trade situation. This does not mean that to evaluate other areas of the African region there are not a complex [illegible] phenomena, but to facilitate it may be viewed as an [illegible] area that remained stable. The [illegible] decision of this administration, compared with that of today, is followed by the fact that many farms took [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] times.

In [illegible] there are significant differences between [illegible] and [illegible] society to look to form the basis to consider. Relatively to a primitive society is defined in terms of existing relations, society as "closed,"

of

officers against a conservative bias, however dominant he can handle.

The current officers and no evidence here on officer to the extent, on two less examined claims. The difficulties commitment to preparing a course for a librarian such as this one candidates, not simultaneously the task does not have the grounding of others. The short position to employ the interpretations of the systems of law not cases to the librarian, itself a Revolutionary talent, and conclusions to versions of circles, theories, sovereigns, and the like, are simply subjects. Because this is a new department, however, one might expect expansion to the future.

Finally, the panel locates the office of a circuitous recruiting officer and the electronic issues back to the attraction of recruits for the corps. In Iraq every male born performs two years' military service after reaching the age of 18 years unless deferred for software, parents of a higher education, or some other reasons. There are four divisional regions to which recruits are sent for training and service, two conscientious from Bavarian tribes to camp in Sahil. The Iraqi army, while equipped and organized as a Western model, has visible appeal for the ancient ones of Saddam people, for the war to inspire nothing, the Iran refused to invade sub army, and the regular air force personnel spreadout. Now, while the Gulf are about the basic core of area and fighting, commitments to a possible attack by the Saddam-inclusive boundaries, and

[illegible]

dispose of the prisoners. This latter requirement is not governed by the court, but requires a station, central building of the use a short distance up the road which serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. Between, the actual discipline of the police may be given to the guard, however the prisoners to the civilian direction, not the contrary, the gaol (cantou, "cellulaire"), an officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there. These officers rather examine to greetings because their rank was lower than that of many of the cop officers of the neighborhood, but the cop tends to look down on the police. Being the master of [illegible], the gaol's sciences, also an officer, has extremely opposite with the transgression for the fashion shown of policemen to comply, helping themself to refreshments and other small items on the request of the servicers. The daily requirement of the police to formulate [illegible] including the person to day, providing guards for government buildings, transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol to the streets by night.

Perhaps there are as many formal objects of the [illegible] to the Middle East, as exist the great of the [illegible] the market functions, that practices exist as such. As all classes of society there are tangible objects of wealth, and of [illegible] general desirability that each brings to [illegible] as such, the governments and [illegible] are highly variable, but right as gold are always of value.

[illegible]

[illegible] 45

[illegible] mentioned as to characteristic of the normal Iranian Government.

APPRAISAL OF THE ISSUE

[illegible] If the Iranian Iraqi Kurd might nevertheless in a minimum to [illegible] make an immediate risk either in the regime, they were certainly not [illegible] successful. In addition to theoretical, social and religious reasons for the united opposition to the Iranian-supported government, there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish militiamen no [illegible] longer on their ultimate duty for their livelihood, and [illegible] even they could receive in the way of [illegible] they received considerable bandaging. To remove areas that supplies already [illegible] existed had to be shared with the Government Territories, who had [illegible] withdrawn their militants.

The united Government was on its strongest in its south, where the increased Japanese fighter's use, there was, most of the Mission, along with the city, Peaceful fights of the Villages, as [illegible] explained Qazi Mohammadi that the Soviet Government [illegible] could share them. Peaceful and Government to have the Chinese and against them. When there had continued to exist, the Peaceful had helped control him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his followers. From Peaceful could, the other [illegible] to the leadership of Ivan Ghias Pishevi, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and he [illegible] his time, being was hanging dead in Peaceful, his movements [illegible] enrollment of Peaceful. The only other Qazi Mohammadi could count on were the Peaceful of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Mamu in the Mahabad region. Ghias Pishevi Peaceful and his Peaceful did not get on with Qazi Mohammadi, who was no longer able to [illegible] them.

[illegible] It may then Qazi Mohammadi, in the face of his numerically [illegible] aggressive enemies of the Tehran Government, Peaceful Iran, and Peaceful military support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and [illegible] in the fall of Qazi Qazi Mohammadi was still without [illegible] heavy weapons or artillery and, in spite any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly [illegible] Qazi and Peaceful meetings in the valley, the only hope any

177 of the modern East, he displays a lack of enthusiasm which his more 'progressive' neighbours cannot understand, and he is classed as bovine and wooden-headed. On the other hand, if allowed to develop quietly in his own way, he readily adapts himself to the new world springing up around him.

439 177 With the coming of the townsmen, motor roads, and organized forces to keep the peace in the country, trade has begun to improve in Kurdistan. When it no longer pays to raid, the Kurds take to trade—being traders by nature like the Scots. Foreign 'luxuries', such as the new coloured cloths, tea, and sugar, have quickly become necessities even in the remotest districts, and to obtain the wherewithal to purchase them the Kurd is compelled to cultivate for sale as well as for food.

439 • 661 Now that caravans can come to the towns without hindrance from those through whose territory they pass, instead

[text continues on p. 58A]

[illegible] (1 [illegible]) [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

of having a large proportion of their merchandise removed forcibly (as was the case in Turkish times) by the garrisons of soldiers, gendarmes, police and corvée officials, the villagers receive safety in his village with the indispensables we and sugar brought in exchange for his loads of tobacco or firewood cut from the hillside.

Great changes have been brought about in economic conditions by the improvement of communications and security, but the development of the country has barely started. If and when money and brains are available one can imagine Kurdistan being turned into a tourists' paradise for mountain climbing, game shooting,

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and the other a goatskin bag. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as monotonous as Scottish. Kurds and all other economic dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a pair of inner drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians were the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan contained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Jej, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

One of the advantages of appointment to this function is that it permits the central government to promote properly qualified officials, responsible to higher authority, rather than relegate their selection to the whim of the voters. On the other hand, the official appointed in England almost always comes from a different town, and usually from a different province, than that to which he is assigned. Moreover, although there is no law to say [illegible] to the government, the old middle and upper-class families and even families of [illegible], who furnished officers and officials to the Chinese scene, tend to dominate the scene of the new township as the society, educated class [illegible]. However, because there is little immediate community of interest between governor and governed, there is the possibility of the use of office for the furtherance of personal ends on a local level, and, as the higher levels in England itself, the exploitation of government positions by the influence of family or wealth. None of these things, however, should in any way be considered as an exception of institutions, particularly in the administration of the Hongkong district, but even the possibility of misfeasance has an easily imaginable effect on a people so extremely sensitive as the Chinese. Of more equal importance, however, is the fact that the administration of Hongkong lies in the hands of persons on the whole alien to the community itself, and the social implications of the presence of this new class shall be examined in some detail.

method of local officials has also of the question as a whole, he tends to keep to close informal touch with both of them. Similarly, he is the one to exclusively between a petty of the police and the prosecution of both and reports, cases, evidence, and prisoners must pass through his hands. The same relationship described between petty and prisoners exists between the latter and the prosecution, because the prisoners must refer his own reports and petitions to higher authority. Lastly, it has been indicated above that the prisoners is referred to as an agent for all sorts of requests. In the case Malaya that the private citizens has the customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is used in most European governments, or at the "top." If, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the submission of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through other clerk, petty, and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, ascending documents as the way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, often a perception of higher social rank, the direct application to the highest available authority, is, of course, the more effective because it bears the signature of authorization at the outset. It follows that the prisoners is customarily bound by those, either in their own interest or in that of some "client," wishing to bypass the normal paths of transmittal.

Throughout their history the Swats have suffered a

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

age and published by Theodore Igo C. A. Chauncey, representative of the Pennsylvania, should be the first attempt to deal in systematic fashion with the people themselves.[1] Lowell's study, however, is brief and neglects a number of aspects of life, the complex, the unreasonable surrounding birth, circumstances, marriage, and death, all which treatment should be undertaken. Secondly, the "Rossendale study" by Lowell includes a wide region of investigations ranging from birth to the Shadow Function only, while a few exceptions, the exercise research be restricted to a particular village or town. Lastly, he was primarily concerned with the agricultural villages and has little to say about the town of Rossendale Township.

In addition to a primary, enlightenment description of Scottish life, a second problem, of importance to the citizenship of the Middle West as a whole, is about hinged on this. The first basis of this is the question of Scottish nationalism, the expressions of which have recently attracted a great deal of popular attention to this group. Nationalism, which requires no new definition here, is a feature of consciousness. In the West Lowell contemporary trend is analyzed in Europe during the last two centuries. The nation, in each instance, is distinguished from others by criteria, often highly fluctuant, of race or culture. The goal of nationalism is the realization of an autonomous state. In this is achieved a political aim, but the real

[1] Lowell, 1914.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

and it is important not to confuse the ideal of the intellectual nationalists, a free Kurdish commonwealth, with that which the chieftains and their people are now striving to preserve, a society quite unlike the state.

The Kurds, occupying a mountainous terrain, were but superficially governed by the Iranian and Ottoman governments. Inasmuch as the roads were poor or the country impossible for artillery, the Kurds, a well-armed people, were usually the military equals of their governors. The control of the Iranians and Turks was thus largely confined to the maintenance of police posts and army installations and the attempt, often in vain, to maintain public order and collect a few taxes. Helmut von Moltke, writing in 1838, notes:

> It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman empire comprises vast regions in which the Porte exercises no real authority. It is certain that the Padishah (the Turkish Sultan) has to reconquer widespread regions within the territory of his own state. To this category belong the highlands (of Kurdistan) between the Tigris and the Persian frontier.[1]

In recent decades, however, the Kurds, notably in Iraq and Turkey, have been subjected to the full impact of the modern state and some remarkable changes, comparable to similar developments elsewhere in the Middle East, are beginning to take place, challenging the whole structure of their society. This last, as will be seen, is one which is at once tribal and feudal, formerly directed by a landed aristocracy. A

[1]Quoted in Safrastian, 1948, p. 30.

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. [177 291]

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding the necktie during the summer. A number affect the black wool forage cap instituted by King Faisal I. to replace the red tarbush of Ottoman connotation, rather than the usual European headgear, and others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Kurdish officials of higher rank prefer the European felt hat, rarely worn by Arab civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Kurdish resistance" to Arab rule. For un- [648]
dress attire, the official divests himself of his outer garments and puts on pajamas or the dishdasha, the cassock, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Bedouin type, these last not generally used by the townsmen. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains 291
to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Kurdish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for indoor use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because almost any garment is passed through the family until finally worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy [431]
to the poor, for clothing is a favorite benefice at the [735]
time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

army officer may wear his master's cast-off uniform trousers, the servant of an official a frayed shirt or sweater bestowed on him, and so on. On the other hand, a civil official or officer, aside from a few lounging items used privately, never appears in the "national dress" of a Kurd or an Arab, even in part. The Arabic adjective baladi (from balad, "town" or "municipality") is met here for the first time, referring to a "true countryman" in the same connotation as echt deutsch in German, but with an extremely derogatory meaning. An Iraqi who follows a career as an official or an officer has entered a higher class of society, and to misunderstand his new status by wearing, say, a skullcap, a turban, or the Arab headdress, would expose him to ridicule as a "rustic," baladi, who has no understanding of urban manners. This is particularly true of a Kurdish official, for such attire might be interpreted as symptomatic of nationalistic, and hence revolutionary, leanings. While the older aristocracy, the Arab and Kurdish chieftains wear the costumes of their people as a matter of course, there is no democracy of clothing as far as the government service and the governed are concerned.

Most of the men of the district are armed and appear frequently in public carrying weapons, particularly the chieftains and their bodyguards. The simplest and most widespread is the khunjir or dagger which is a curved blade of steel, sharpened on both edges, with a raised central rib. The hilt, without the protection of a guard,

and representatives of the same nation, totalling several millions, are hard by in Iran, Syria, and Turkey. There is some cause for apprehension as there have been no less than six armed Kurdish rebellions, some common to several of the four governments involved and quelled with difficulty, in the past twenty-five years. As in the case of most of the population, th royal family of Iraq is Arab and the language of government is Arabic. The spectre of Kurdish nationalism strike terror in the hearts of government officials, and there is little love lost between Arab and Kurd. Many of th Kurds regard the Arabs as unlawful rulers, at the same time scorning them for the poverty and filth to be found in southern Iraq. "Are you an Arab?" a Kurdish man or woman often challenges a dirty child of the village, "Go wash yourself." On their part, the Arabs, particularly those of the upper classes, following the tradition of Xenophon, regard the Kurds with a mixture of fear and disgust. "Why do you waste your time with those people?" the investigator was asked by an Arab official, "they are all anditz." In spite of these things, there is no bar to intermarriage between the two groups, and any Kurd can rise to great prominence in the government service, although he is _priori_ under suspicion. In 1951 two of the fourteen provinces in Iraq were directed by Kurdish governors, and the command of the army unit at Rowandus was for a time given to a Kurdish staff officer.

In addition, there is a certain amount of rivalry between persons of different provinces or cities, for

economic wealth has been cut from beneath them. In an ideal situation, they may survive only as landowners and as they are able to obtain positions in the government. The situation, however, is far from ideal, and in practice many continue as their forebears, side by side with the new competitors. It cannot be denied that they accord the government considerable aid in the maintenance of order, and, at the same time, provide it with great anxiety in their private warfare and political thought. 565 [178]

This Kurdish aristocracy is by no means feeble in the face of such competition, and has the advantage of popular support and sympathy, particularly, as has been seen, because it represents a highly idealized group. It has been said that the Kurds are easy prey to doctrinaire philosophies, specifically Communism, but among them, save in certain of the well-educated, there is no knowledge or sign of what may be called a "class struggle," or, in older terms, the rich or priveleged against the poor. The struggle is strictly between Kurdish society as a whole and what they consider an alien system. The investigator has talked at length with a number of dissatisfied Kurdish youths, as well as others in whom such sentiments might be expected, and has heard much of "good" chieftains and "bad" chieftains, but never the aristocracy condemned as such. It must not be thought that the speech of this aristocratic group is "reactionary," in the sense of opposition to modern innovations and the desire to return to older ways. Such things as automobiles, modern firearms, wirelesses, and 565 668 177 186

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Nuwas borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Nuwas, and inquired greedily if the great vessel had given birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Nuwas piously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Nuwas placed his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say to this after you have accepted the offspring of so many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to record any of them in detail. The townsman make little use of the madi or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town — or the Rowandus district. 538 517 [529] [484] [547] [549]

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very small part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [648] [668]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

like similar movements among the Arabs, the Greeks, and others, first became a potent factor in everyday life during the nineteenth century, and its principal target at the time was the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Its early protagonists were educated Kurdish officials and officers, organized in the familiar "literary" or "artistic" societies, and from them it spread in more or less extravagant forms to all classes of society. This preoccupation with ethnic independence, however, is not purely political, but is linked with the impingement of the modern state on a society at once tribal and feudal. To this end the warriors for Kurdish nationalism have been the chieftains, who have something more to gain than the vote, and its orators the men of the educated upper class, a point which must be discussed again in concluding this study. Agents of the Allied Powers left the Kurds under the impression they were to be given an independent state in the settlements which followed the first World War, and, insofar as this has been universally denied them (Kurdish literature, for example, is prohibited in Turkey), it is the starting point of most of their arguments. It is unnecessary to treat these nationalistic sentiments in great detail, because, with the ordinary passage of events in the Middle East, they can be exceedingly ephemeral, the friend of one day becoming the enemy of the next. Needless to say, the Kurds themselves are the heroes of these discussions, and, like many popular political expressions, such utterances

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are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment. 521 [668]

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the women, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the women's mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jayjani Ramazan and Jayjani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Sayran festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious life. 574 527 796 527

pagan; have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant. 771

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the amateur theologians was not of increasing impiety, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of puritan with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be denoted, the lack of condemnation of the government elite for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the faith, in which the townspeople find no interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Kurdish life has evoked conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, alcoholic beverages are not retailed openly in the town and the government elite amuses itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible defamation. Similarly, the most articulate demagogues of Kurdish independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their Arab colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the revolts of the past were partially phrased in religious terms, but it

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was repeatedly said that they were not. It is difficult 668 ●
to see, however, in comparison with reactionary movements
elsewhere in the Middle East that popular orators would
hesitate to make use of such material in times of crisis.

but the whole structure of society, tribal and feudal, which was only lightly touched by Ottoman rule has been challenged by the modern state. 667

Coupled with the impingement of the state, represented by the monarchy of Iraq, has been the question of Kurdish nationalism. The concepts of this movement are clearly a European importation. They were learned by educated Kurds, officials, officers, and teachers, of the late Ottoman Empire, probably from similarly-affected Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and other subjects of the Sublime Porte. These Kurds, drawn from the higher ranks of Ottoman society, carried nationalism to the people, and something of their success is indicated by the fact that it is difficult to find a Kurd in the rural areas who is not voluble in political matters. Nationalism, with its extravagant vocabulary, found easy listeners in the Kurdish aristocracy. If their administrative functions were to be usurped by the government and the economic exploitation of the commoners eliminated, the chieftains were to become superfluous, although perhaps none of them said this explicitly. The Kurdish aristocracy, whose lives had been oriented around the vendetta and who led a well-armed population, reacted differently than the impotent noblemen of Tchekov's Cherry Orchard or Keyserling's Abendliche Haeuser. The first general revolt under Shaykh Mahmud took place in 1922 and the second in 1930. A third occurred in 1932, and the last, that of Mulla Mustafa, at the close of the second World War. 668 669

Between these dates there were many other incidents, for example, the assassination of the dictator of Iraq, General Sidqi, by a Kurd in 1937. In neighboring countries, there was a general insurrection of the Kurds in Turkey in 1925 and one in Syria in 1937. The revolt in Iraq in 1930 was common to Turkey and Iran, and that of Mulla Mustafa to Iraq and Iran. All of these were put down with difficulty, and demanded the use of aircraft, armored vehicles, artillery, and, in some cases, European troops. The states were often aided by quarrels among the Kurdish chieftains. It is interesting that the Kurds regard these conflicts with the government in the same light as tribal warfare of the type which arises from the vendetta. It has been noted how brigands and other outlaws frequently have their own private blood feuds with the authorities. Mulla Mustafa was largely driven from Iraq, not by the army, but by Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who had a personal grudge against the Barzani chief and his followers. 668 669

In order to appreciate the place of Rowanduz in this process, it is necessary to review its position. The town, as has been said, is non-tribal and, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns much of its property, is not ruled by any overlord. In this way it has been assimilated without difficulty into the economic system of the state, as opposed to that of the tribe or feudalism. All of its lands have been surveyed and classified, and the taxes are collected directly from the inhabitants. As an administrative center 682 619

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

timate capacity of 110,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1958 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertised major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Darband-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Babans of Sulaimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, tend to attach tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting then to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1892 Hajji Qadir of Koi (*circa* 1817-1894),

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Baban principality was, in the words of another poet, 'neither subject to the Persians, nor slave-driven by the House of Osman.'

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Badr Khan and General Sharif Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1909, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the south of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression not only in Iraq but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadet from which went on to the academy and staff-college at Constantinople, and so reached a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these same officers naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's 'programme of the world's peace' enunciated in January of the year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be 'assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' Sharif Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the north-eastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

IV.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Köprü. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] It was at Sulaimani in 1918 that Kurdish was first made the official language of the administration; a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts later on were Sulaimani men.

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

the idealistic spirit of the time, was at first to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Even before the armistice contact had been established with a certain Shaykh Mahmud, head of the leading Sayyid family of Southern Kurdistan, who was informed that any Kurdish groups or tribes in the three *liwas* of Sulaimani, Kirkuk and Arbil which might wish to accept his leadership would be allowed to do so. It soon became evident, however, that the Shaykh had overestimated his popularity, and his province was eventually restricted to little more than the *liwa* of Sulaimani. No similar initiative was taken in regard to the Kurdish districts in the *liwa* of Mosul, where there was no articulate Kurdish opinion.

This first experiment in Kurdish autonomy under modern conditions was not a success. Within six months the Shaykh, resenting the limitations placed on his freedom to do exactly as he liked, rebelled. After a short military operation he was captured and deported, and the *liwa* was brought under the direct administration of the Occupation Authority. But quite apart from Shaykh Mahmud's personal ambitions there was always present at Sulaimani, among all classes of the population, an abiding conviction, rooted in their history, that the place contained the germs of a revived and extensive Kurdish state of which it was the predestined capital. The belief had little justification either in its physical appearance and commercial importance or in the academic attainments and political experience of its citizens, but it was always in the air. The proposal that Sulaimani with the adjacent districts should once more become an autonomous territory, therefore, had not come to the people as anything strange.

For the other political leaders the fall of Mahmud was thus no reason for renouncing the glittering prize brought so near by the Treaty of Sèvres. Assurances had been given in the British Parliament that the Kurds would not be forced to come under an Arab government against their will, and when the Provisional National Government of Iraq was formed in November, 1920, Sulaimani remained under the direct control of the British High Commissioner. Kirkuk (which then included Arbil) did accept a *Mutasarrif* (Governor) nominated by the new government, but he, like all the other officials, was a local man, and Turkish, the language of the educated urban classes (but not of the majority of the inhabitants), continued to be used for official purposes. When in June, 1921, the Amir Faysal arrived in Iraq as the candidate sponsored by the British Government for the throne Sulaimani refused to participate in the referendum; Kirkuk did participate but accounted for most of the

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negative votes cast. No representative from either *liwa* attended the accession ceremonies.

A difficult situation had been further complicated by the promulgation in January, 1920, by the Turkish Cabinet of a manifesto known as the 'National Pact' which, while conceding the right to self-determination of the Arabs south of the armistice line of 1918, refused to contemplate the surrender of the Mosul vilayet. The Treaty of Sèvres, signed by the representatives of the Sultan nine months later, was never ratified. For the next five years the Kurds were subjected to a campaign of intensive propaganda from Turkey: threats of invasion, clandestine correspondence with urban and tribal leaders, open incitements to rebellion, warnings to 'traitors,' and pervading all, the religious appeal for loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph (until the Caliphate was abolished in March 1924). Small bodies of uniformed Turkish troops actually crossed the border at various points in support of the restless tribes. The administrative boundary in Arbil and parts of Mosul was withdrawn to the edge of the plains, and in September, 1922, the whole of Sulaimani was evacuated. Shaykh Mahmud was brought back in return for an undertaking that he would secure the expulsion of the Turks from the *liwa* and that he would refrain from interfering in the neighbouring *liwas* of Kirkuk and Arbil. But in the intoxicating mountain air these promises were soon forgotten: in November the Shaykh proclaimed himself 'King of Kurdistan,' claimed the whole country down to the Jabal Hamrin as part of his 'Kingdom,' and so far from expelling the Turks sought to use their presence as a lever to press his ambitions. In December the British and Iraqi governments, hoping to rally the more moderate Kurds to resist the aggressor, made a joint communication to certain friendly leaders recognizing 'the right of the Kurds of Iraq to set up a Kurdish government' which should send responsible delegates as soon as possible to discuss boundaries and political and economic relations; but there was nobody capable of taking advantage of the offer, which lapsed.[9]

The prevailing uncertainty and unrest were actually aggravated by the signature at Lausanne in July, 1923, of a Treaty of Peace between the Allies and Turkey, for it specifically excluded the Mosul question from the settlement. In August, 1924, the dispute was referred to the League of Nations. A Commission was sent to examine the problem on the spot, and, in December, 1925, the Council awarded the vilayet to Iraq subject to guarantees that regard would be paid to the 'desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed

[9] The activities of Shaykh Mahmud necessitated a series of air and military operations in 1923 (more than followed; Sulaimani town itself was occupied by the Iraqi Army in July, 1924), but the Shaykh continued to harry the administration until June, 1927, when he submitted. He took up arms again in 1930 in sympathy with the Sayfiyeh intellectuals (see below) but gave himself up in 1932.

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the language of all these services.' The Turkish government at first refused to accept the decision but, by a tripartite treaty between the United Kingdom, Iraq and Turkey signed at Ankara in June, 1926, finally renounced its sovereignty over the Mosul vilayet. The administration of the three liwas was then assimilated to that of the rest of Iraq except in the matter of the official language and the race of the officials.

The Turkish menace was hardly out of the way when the approach of the end of the Mandate for Iraq roused misgivings among the leaders of Kurdish opinion as to the value of the guarantees. Petitions to the League were treated as treason, and in 1930 and 1931 many highly respected Kurdish intellectuals were imprisoned. When the application of Iraq for admission to the League came up for consideration in 1932 the Council required and received from the Iraqi government a solemn Declaration, which was to rank as part of the Constitution, reaffirming its undertakings in regard to the minorities. A special law was enacted defining the areas within which Kurdish and Turkish should be the languages of the local administration, of the law courts, and of primary education.

For the next few years there was little manifestation of political nationalism in Iraq. The hard logic of facts seemed to have persuaded the leaders, some sooner, some later, that their hopes were impossible of realization; most of them settled down quietly, salving their patriotic consciences, perhaps, with the vague idea that one day another world cataclysm might give their sons or grandsons their opportunity and that in the meantime any agitation would do more harm than good.

During the year preceding the outbreak of the Second World War there were indications that the German Legation in Baghdad was spreading propaganda, especially among young men of the official classes, that the Kurds had been grossly betrayed by Britain at the end of the last war but that a victorious Germany was ready to create an independent Kurdistan after the next. But after the actual outbreak of hostilities the older realists remained convinced that neither side was likely to alienate the Arabs for a small and internationally unimportant people like the Kurds, and preferred to take no initiative. In the spring of 1941, when Rashid 'Ali staged his *coup d'état* against the Regent and the lawful government of Iraq, Shaykh Mahmud escaped from Baghdad, where he had been living in honourable exile, and did indeed obtain some support from the younger generation and among the tribes for the idea of a revolt based on the belief that, 'the unreliability of the Arabs' having now become manifest, the Allies would no longer hesitate to give the Kurds

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

their 'rights'; but with the restoration of the Regent, a staunch friend of the Allies, the movement, such as it was, lost all momentum.

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'Do as you would be done by' is not a maxim that seems to have appealed very much to the various formerly subject peoples, in Europe or in Asia, who have been liberated since 1918, and it was hardly to be expected that the Arabs of Iraq would prove an exception. Even in Ottoman times the three vilayets had been considered as constituting a single unit, Turkish Arabia in British official parlance, and any scheme of partition on racial lines to meet the aspirations of a minority was as unpalatable as similar ideas have been to majorities elsewhere. Against any suggestion that the central government should make a special effort to conciliate the Kurds by recognizing their existence *qua* Kurds and not merely as individuals enjoying the ordinary civil liberties like anybody else, it was at first argued that since the greater part of Kurdistan lay outside Iraq any concession in this direction could only encourage the separatist tendencies of the Kurds of Iraq and that it would lead to demands for similar privileges from other racial or religious groups.

On the Kurdish side, quite apart from the initial unwillingness to accept subordination to the Arabs who had been a subject race like themselves, it was felt that the guarantees given to the League in 1925 and again in 1932 were being either ignored or at any rate grudgingly implemented. Statistics could be adduced to show that the Kurdish districts were not getting their fair share of the social services or development projects. Particularly bitter were complaints that the schools were inadequate in both quality and number, that failure to prepare and distribute school-books in Kurdish was making a mockery of the promises regarding the language instruction, and that Kurdish students were not being accepted for institutions of higher education or educational missions abroad. The big-spending Department of Irrigation was not represented in the north at all. In the sphere of Public Works there were complaints that all the emphasis was on police posts, and it was indeed the fact that even the construction of roads was for some years held back by the defeatist strategy of a Ministry of Defence which regarded them as facilities for an invader rather than a means of consolidating the administration and benefiting the population. The claim, made at the League of Nations and elsewhere, that the Kurds were always adequately represented in the Cabinet was denounced as disingenuous, since the Ministers in question, even if they could claim remote Kurdish origin, generally belonged to families long expatriated and were Arab rather than Kurdish in sentiment.

S: Edmonds G-S (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

Insofar as these grievances had some foundation in fact enough has already been said to show that the prevailing state of affairs was due, in part at any rate, to political circumstances beyond the control of the government, and in part to the restlessness of the Kurds themselves which for long periods had brought the administration in a large part of Kurdistan to a standstill. Some of the neglect, too, was undoubtedly due not to malice but to a tendency, not unknown elsewhere, for the higher authorities to take more thought for the parts of the country near the center than for the distant outposts.

However that may be, the result was that just when the earlier agitators were developing into elder statesmen who, sobered by experience, no longer regarded separation as feasible or desirable there was growing up a new generation nurtured on a sense of grievance and frustration. Resentment was further embittered by insulting references to the minorities not infrequently made by pan-Arab orators in moments of fanatical exaltation. In all the countries of the Middle East the western Powers are regarded as the supporters of the old reactionary Beys and Pashas who have retained most of the political power in their own hands (the charge is unfair but it would prolong this paper unduly to examine it here). It is only to be expected, then, that disgruntled youth (and especially young Kurds with a racial added to a social grievance) should look to Russia for its inspiration. The Russians have long been the neighbours of the Kurds through the Caucasian provinces, and, as we have seen, a small part of Kurdistan lies within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Even before 1918 Kurdish malcontents in Turkey and Persia were accustomed to seek support from the Russians. For the Russians exploitation of Kurdish unrest would be nothing new, indeed something of the kind has been seen comparatively recently at the time of the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in Persian Kurdistan, and again in 1947 when Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a fugitive rebel from Iraq, was welcomed in Soviet Armenia, given high military rank, and encouraged to broadcast in Kurdish from Erivan.

But with every year that passes any concerted armed revolt becomes more improbable. The mercantile classes, realizing as they do that economically the Kurdish north is bound hand and foot to Baghdad, have never shown any enthusiasm for anything but the mildest form of nationalism, and the programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before. The old loyalties to religious Shaykhs and tribal Aghas have been too deeply undermined for any self-appointed leader to command a serious measure of support in any violent adventure. The complexity of modern weapons has given the government an overwhelming advantage

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old stormy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

627 A Hamawand *Agha*, normally a close relative of the leader of the
628 warparty, would be appointed to the conquered village. He would settle permanently in the village with a small group of Hamawand supporters. What remained of the local taxes after their immediate needs were satisfied would be passed on to the *Agha* leader of the original party.

• 668 Conflicts easily arose between the Hamawand usurper and his original backer. As soon as the balance of power changed in favor of the former, and he further felt that he would be able to control the conquered village with his own forces, he would declare himself independent and thereby found a new lineage branch.

It may seem surprising that the smaller group in such a village should be successful in forcibly dominating the larger group for any length of time. As far as the conquest itself is concerned, the point was clearly made to me by the leader of one group of subjected serfs: «In those days, people were so busy with their farms and things, they had no time to be ready with guns and horses. Those who had enough money to feed the men that ride around on horses could conquer such poor villages.» And later, although the local Hamawands may have declared themselves independent of their old village, they could still count on support from their fellow tribesmen in case of revolt. The peasants, on the other hand, had no organization integrating a larger group. Furthermore, it is the peasant group who has the vested interest in peace, so that the crop can ripen and the stores survive. In case of conflict, the Hamawands risked only the loss of an asset, whereas the peasants, no matter what the outcome might be, were practically assured the loss of their whole year's crop.

621 The local group that emerged from these conquests has a very
622 characteristic structure and organization. Except where external administration intervenes effectively, all political power is in the hands of a well organized Hamawand minority, led by an hereditary *Agha*. This ruling group has vested interests in remaining separate from the remainder of the village, and the close tribal organization limited by descent provides the necessary mechanism.

623 This political dominance serves primarily to enforce certain privi-
651 leges in the economic field. The Hamawands regard themselves as

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nowadays the Government takes an active interest in the proceedings and by threat of dire and awful penalties is usually able to settle the affair near the start. Much more serious is a feud in which important tribal leaders are involved; here settlement is extremely difficult and assassinations may apparently continue for generations. One such major feud splits the Rowanduz district at the present time and has become so widespread that the contestants have assumed the scale and significance of political parties. Practically everyone I met seemed to be involved on one side or the other, some as active assassins, others, the majority, merely as intriguers. The term "my enemies" was clearly highly elastic; - as far as I could judge there was no particular distinction between mere political opponents and those one was prepared to assassinate. The allegiance of the more remote contestants is doubtless largely determined by kinship considerations, but this is not always obvious. A nephew of Hamid Amin of Dergala who had been shot in the back a year before was quite closely related to both of the principal contestant families; and there seemed to be no obvious reason why he should be campaigning on one side rather than the other.

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When this particular feud started is not clear, but it was already well established in 1918 and Ely mentions it a number of times; the most recent murder of the sequence occurred the day after I left Rowanduz. The murderer had come out of prison three days before, having been gaoled two years previously on account of an earlier assassination. My records on the subject are certainly very incomplete but even so they show a considerable casualty record:-

Descendants and Relatives of Hamil Agha - 5 dead, 2 wounded, 2 in prison.

Descendants and Relatives of Abdulla Pasha - 4 dead.

Today the affair has become entangled with all sorts of wider issues - Kurdish Nationalism in particular. Accusations of being pro-British, or pro-Arab, or anti-Kurd were levelled at all and sundry, and in the limited time available I had no chance to unravel all the complex of personal antagonisms and rival interests involved. Iraqi-Kurdistan however is now a part of Iraq and it was highly interesting to see how in this new political situation the old antagonisms were being re-aligned to cope with wider issues on a more impersonal front.

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Religious Organisation

Religion is not a subject that the investigator can gain much information on in his first preliminary survey, and my own studies in this field were particularly slender.

*Cf. the feud between the Husseinis and the Nashashibis in Palestine today.

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THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF MAHABAD

Archie Roosevelt, Jr.

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THE DREAM of Kurdish nationalists, an independent Kurdistan, was realized on a miniature scale in Iran from December 1945 to December 1946. The origin of the little Kurdish Republic, its brief and stormy history, and its sudden collapse is one of the more illuminating stories of the contemporary Middle East. Its strangely discordant themes of tribal warfare, rival imperialisms and social systems, medieval chivalry and idealistic nationalism well illustrate the complexity of the Kurdish picture, involving as it does a people never united and now split among five nations, none of which is sympathetic to Kurdish nationalist aspirations.

[1] ARCHIE ROOSEVELT, JR., served as Assistant Military Attaché in Tehran from March 1946 to February 1947. During this period he made a special study of the Kurdish situation and was one of four Americans to visit Mahabad during the brief existence of the Kurdish Republic.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
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101 131 648 In September 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, toppling over the structure painfully erected by Reza Shah Pahlavi. As his soldiers scattered, they sold or surrendered their arms to the tribes which still roamed the desolate mountains of Iran, holding to their organization, mores, and way of life in spite of the old Shah's efforts to subdue them. Among those thus benefiting from the Iranian collapse were the Kurdish tribes occupying the mountains along the Iraqi and Turkish borders from Maku, in the shadow of Mount Ararat in the north, to Qasr-i-Shirin, on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road in the south.

In the north, the Kurdish tribes in the mountains west of Lake Urmieh found themselves contained by the strong Soviet garrisons in Rezaieh, Shahpur, Khoi, and Maku. In the absence of effective Iranian authority, the Soviets maintained direct relations with the tribes — the Jalali in the north, the Shikak in the mountains west of Shahpur, and the Herki west of Rezaieh. The chiefs of these tribes were allowed to manage their own affairs by the Soviets, who only required that they maintain security and provide grain for the Red Army. At the southern extreme of the Kurdish area, near the Kermanshah-Baghdad road — one of the main supply links between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union — British troops kept the tribes quiet.

622 668 It was in the large area between the British and Soviet forces, in the vacuum left by the fleeing Iranians, that the Kurds were able to regain their autonomy. At first the two main centers of disturbance were Merivan and the Avroman Mountains, where Mahmud Khan of Kani-Senan established a precarious hegemony; and Baneh, where Hama Rashid Khan, long in exile in Iraq, built up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. Both of these tribal chiefs were recognized for a time by the Iranian Government as semi-official governors of their areas, but were then driven into Iraq by the reorganized Iranian Army. By the fall of 1945, all of Kurdistan south of the Saqqiz-Baneh-Sardasht line was again firmly in government hands. The vacuum was thus reduced to the small area between this line and the Soviet forces based on Rezaieh, in which there was only one town of any size — Mahabad, formerly known as Sauj Bulagh, a few miles south of Lake Urmieh.

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FORMATION OF THE KOMALA

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It was in this town of Mahabad, left to its own devices by the Allies, that the most recent of the Kurdish nationalist movements was born. On August 16, 1943, a dozen young Kurds, most of them small merchants and petty officials of the town, founded the Komala-i-Zhian-i-Kurd, or "Committee of Kurdish Youth." For purposes of secrecy, the membership of the new party was kept below 100 and was organized in cells; the semi-weekly meetings were never held in the same house twice in succession. The Constitution of the Komala was strongly nationalist and membership was restricted to persons of Kurdish descent on both sides of the family, the only exception being for those with an Assyrian mother — an indication of the present close relations between Kurds and Assyrians.

The Komala spread rapidly, not only in Iran but in other countries as well, where Kurds saw in the new group a more vigorous force than in the traditional Kurdish nationalist parties. Chapters of the Komala were founded in the Iraqi towns of Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Suleimania, Rowanduz, and Shaklawa; and there was a chapter functioning even in Turkey, where Kurdish nationalist activity is an offense punishable by death. The chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity of Mahabad also sent emissaries offering help. They were told that they were not needed then, but might be called on in the future.

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It was inevitable that the two great powers primarily interested in the area should eventually hear of the Komala. The British, whose Kirkuk oil fields are located in Kurdish country, kept a watchful eye on developments. Their political adviser in Mosul sometimes ranged as far as Mahabad, while his subordinates were stationed in Rowanduz, Kirkuk, Erbil, and Suleimania. Yet the British could not encourage Kurdish aspirations without arousing Arab resentment, and so remained deaf to the overtures of the Kurdish nationalists.

SOVIET INFILTRATION

With the Soviets it was a different story. At first they were evidently unprepared for active work among the Kurds, although

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they did once, in 1942, invite the leading aghas to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmieh, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, attached to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jafarov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.[1] This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

[1] Kurdish dress consists of a tasseled turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy grey pants of homespun wool, and a huge crimson kammerband, intricately knotted in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians forced to abandon their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied invasion, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are incorrigible dandies and a poor man among them would rather spend his last coins on a fine sash than on a good *kabab*. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

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Three impartially, the Komala moved inevitably into the Soviet orbit.

During this period VOKS, the Soviet international propaganda organization, was starting a number of "Iranian-Soviet Cultural Relations Societies" in all sections of Iran. As the Komala had grown too big to continue meeting in private homes, its leaders now asked the Soviets to found a branch in Mahabad; they hoped thus to obtain a place to meet without attracting too much attention. The Soviets readily complied, and it was founded, not as a branch of the Iranian-Soviet Relations Society, but as the "Kurdistan-Soviet Cultural Relations Society" (Anjoman-i-Farhangi-i-Kurdistan-u-Shuravi). The clubhouse was soon crowded with Kurds, who showed their gratitude to their new patrons by sending ten cases of cigarettes made of Kurdish tobacco to the victors of Leningrad.

It was at a ceremony in the society's clubhouse, in April 1945, that the Komala finally came into the open. The Soviet Consul from Rezaieh and the chief of VOKS in Azerbaijan were honored guests. The main feature of the program was an "opera" in which a woman called "Daik Nishteman" (Mother Native Land) was represented as abused by three ruffians, "Iraq," "Iran," and "Turkey," finally to be rescued by her stalwart sons. The audience, unused to dramatic representations, was deeply moved, and blood-feuds generations old were composed as life-long enemies fell weeping on each other's shoulders and swore to avenge Kurdistan.

At this ceremony the future head of the Kurdish state, Qazi Mohammad, was finally admitted to the party, to the gratification of the Soviets, who had not liked the democratic organization of the Komala and had long been looking for someone on whom they could count to lead it according to their suggestions. At first the Soviets, realizing the strength of the tribes, had approached tribal chiefs with requests to lead the nationalist movement. But only three of them commanded sufficient prestige for the task — Qaranei Agha Rais-ol-Ashair, venerable chief of the Mamesh and the acknowledged leader of the federation of which they were a part; Amr Khan Sharif, chief of the Shikak and "grand old man" of Kurdistan; and Amir Asad of the Dehbokri, die-hard

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conservative who, as honorary chief of the gendarmerie, had been made responsible for security of the area by the Iranian Government. But Soviet overtures to each met only polite evasion.

Thus it was that the Soviets finally turned to Qazi Mohammad, hereditary judge and religious leader of Mahabad, and a member of its most respected family. They were frequent guests at his house and eventually helped him, through pressure on the Iranian Government, to replace Amir Asad as government representative in the area, by his brother Seif Qazi, who took over the title of Commander of the Gendarmerie. Qazi Mohammad is said to have learned of the Komala only about a year after its formation, when he sent emissaries discreetly offering his adherence. Komala leaders had decided not to admit him, fearing that because of his strong and authoritarian character and also because of the deference which they themselves had been accustomed since childhood to show him and his family, he would eventually dominate the party and end its democratic character. When at Soviet insistence the Komala finally did admit him, there came about precisely the result they feared — one-man rule of the party.

Qazi's admission enabled the Soviets to draw the Kurds rapidly into line with Soviet policy, which, by the summer of 1945, began to reflect the growing aggressiveness shown by the Soviets elsewhere. Previously the instrument of Soviet penetration in Iran had been the Tudeh Party, a popular front of Iranian left-wingers which, although successful in other parts of Iran, had never been able to take root in Kurdistan.[2] Now, however, the Soviets were considering a new and ambitious plan — the attachment of northwestern Iran to the Soviet Union. Accordingly they formed an independence party to replace the Tudeh in Azerbaijan, a party which could then without embarrassing the Tudeh in other parts of Iran stage a revolution, declare the province independent, and possibly request incorporation in the Soviet Union. Obedient to Soviet orders, the Tudeh abolished itself and re-formed as the "Democrat Party of Azerbaijan," whereupon it began to use Azerbaijani Turkish as its official language and to demand separation from Iran.

[2] For a discussion of the Tudeh Party, see George Lenczowski, "The Communist Movement in Iran," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), pp. 29-45. [Source # 24]

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177 668 The Kurds of western Azerbaijan — which includes Mahabad - could hardly have been expected to join a party purportedly dedicated to Azerbaijani Turkish nationalism, so a new party had to be formed to fit them into the Soviet scheme. On September 12, Captain Namazaliev, Soviet Town Commandant in Miandoab, summoned the chiefs of the important Kurdish tribes, together with Qazi Mohammad and Seif Qazi, to Tabriz ostensibly to see the Soviet Consul. When they arrived, the bewildered Kurds were suddenly told to proceed to the railway station, where they were hustled onto a train and taken to Baku. For three days they lived in a villa outside the town and were entertained with tours, the theater, and the opera. On the fourth day they were ushered in to see Bagherov, President of the Azerbaijan S.S.R., who harangued them regarding the wrongs they had suffered under Reza Shah, and said that the Soviet Government would help the new Democrat Party, which was dedicated to freedom for the oppressed and which he strongly urged them to join. He condemned both the Tudeh Party, which he characterized as a group of ineffective trouble-makers, and the Komala, which he said was started in Iraq under the auspices of British intelligence and was nothing but an instrument of British imperialism. Then, after a warning not to say anything about the trip, the Kurds were put on the train to Tabriz, where they were loaded into Red Army vehicles and driven off to their homes.

THE DEMOCRAT PARTY OF KURDISTAN

186 668 The results of the expedition were soon apparent. Shortly after his return, Qazi Mohammad called a meeting of Kurdish notables to announce the formation of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan, which he urged all to join. Concluding from its name that the goal of the party was democracy on the American model, many responded enthusiastically. A manifesto, signed by Qazi Mohammad and 105 leading Kurds, was issued; it stated that the Kurdish people now wished "to take advantage of the liberation of the world from Fascism and to share in the promises of the Atlantic Charter." The declaration said that the Kurds wished nothing but the human and constitutional rights denied them by Reza Shah, and listed their aims as follows:

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1. The Kurdish people in Iran should have freedom and self-government in the administration of their local affairs, and obtain autonomy within the limits of the Iranian State.
2. The Kurdish language should be used in education and be the official language in administrative affairs.
3. The provincial council of Kurdistan should be immediately elected according to constitutional law and should supervise and inspect all state and social matters.
4. All state officials must be of local origin.
5. A single law for both peasants and notables should be adopted and the future of both secured.
6. The Kurdish Democrat Party will make a special effort to establish unity and complete fraternity with the Azerbaijani people and the other peoples that live in Azerbaijan (Assyrians, Armenians, etc.) in their struggle.
7. The Kurdish Democrat Party will strive for the improvement of the moral and economic state of the Kurdish people through the exploration of Kurdistan's many natural resources, the progress of agriculture and commerce, and the development of hygiene and education.
8. We desire that the peoples living in Iran be able to strive freely for the happiness and progress of their country.

The manifesto ended in Soviet style with the words, "Long Live Kurdish Democratic Autonomy!"

The formation of the new party resulted in the dissolution of the Komala and the absorption of its members by the Democrats. Yet from the beginning the tribal chiefs, fearful of communism, were wary of the new party, though many signed a pledge of support presented them by a Soviet political officer touring the tribal areas. This underlying tribal opposition would have made Qazi Mohammad's position untenable had it not been for a fortuitous accession of strength which arrived from Iraq — Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis.

The Barzanis had been even in Ottoman times one of the most troublesome of all the Kurdish tribes. In the 1920's Sheikh Ahmad of Barzan, considered a god by the Barzanis and neighboring tribes, frequently rebelled against the British, who several times were forced to call in the R.A.F. Finally Sheikh Ahmad, his younger brother Mulla Mustafa, and his principal followers were exiled, first in southern Iraq, then in Suleimania. On June 11, 1942, Mulla Mustafa, who had taken over the leadership from his brother, escaped to Barzan.

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The story of Mulla Mustafa's subsequent struggle with the Iraqi Government, of how he twice defeated the Iraqi army in 1945, and how by judicious use of funds the Iraqi Minister of Interior was able to enlist other Kurdish tribes against him and drive him from Barzan, must be told at another time. Suffice it to say that on October 11, 1945, Mulla Mustafa, Sheikh Ahmad, and about 1,000 armed Barzanis and their families entered Iran at a point north of Ushnuieh. With them were a number of Iraqi petty officials and schoolteachers of Kurdish descent, and Kurdish deserters from the Iraqi army and gendarmerie, including twelve army officers. The latter were men of high caliber, several of whom had been trained in England and had held positions on the Iraqi general staff.

Shortly after his arrival in Iran, the Mulla met a number of Soviet officers, including the general commanding Soviet forces in western Azerbaijan. The Soviets told him to place himself under the orders of Qazi Mohammad, and ordered the local Kurds to feed and house the destitute Barzanis. By the end of October the Mulla's forces, swollen by refugees and adventurers from Iraq, numbered nearly 3,000 men armed with British rifles captured from the Iraqi army, machine guns, and one field piece.

THE KURDISH PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

In November and early December, Soviet agents circulated among the tribes, telling them to mobilize for the coming struggle for independence and ordering the chiefs to assemble in Mahabad. All co-operated with the exception of the Mamesh, the Mangur, and the Dehbokri. Meanwhile in the rest of Azerbaijan the position of the Iranian Government was rapidly deteriorating. Armed "Democrats," many of them from Soviet Azerbaijan or the Caucasus, began to attack Iranian soldiers and gendarmes, who soon hardly dared leave their barracks. The whole province was in open "rebellion," while the Red Army stopped relief columns sent north by the Central Government to reinforce its hard-pressed garrisons. Finally, on December 10 the Democrats attacked the garrison in Tabriz and forced it to surrender. All eastern Azerbaijan then fell under the control of the newly-formed "Azerbaijan People's Government."

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The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Banei (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zero Beg Herki [3] received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.[4]

The new government, which controlled only a minute territory including the towns of Mahabad, Bokan, Naqadeh, and Ushnuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Senandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains west

[3] Zero Beg was a bandit chief originally associated with the famous Shikak rebel chief, Simitko. Upon the latter's defeat and murder by Reza Shah, Zero Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Baranduz Valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have been their favored protégé. Although of little importance in his own tribe, the Herki, most of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, these Soviet connections enabled him to play an important role in developments in Kurdistan.

[4] Other officials of the new government were Hajji Baba Sheikh, local religious leader, Prime Minister; Sadiq Haideri, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Nanaf Karimi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Mu'ini, Minister of Commerce; Ahmad Ilahi, Minister of the Treasury; Seyyid Mohammad Tahazadeh, Minister of Health; and Khalil Khosrovi, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.

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of Lake Urmieh, from Rezaieh north to Maku, are Azerbaijani Turks, the tribes of the hills commanding the plains are Kurds. The Miandoab area, southeast of the lake, also has a mixed population. These areas were claimed by both the Tabriz and the Mahabad governments and were a source of constant friction. Amr Khan and the tribes paid little attention to the Azerbaijani Democrats, and were continually encroaching on the villages and towns presumably under the control of Tabriz. In April 1946, the Soviets brought Qazi Mohammad to Tabriz in an attempt to settle the differences between the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds. It was essential at that time that the two puppet states form a united front, as negotiations were about to open between the Democrats and the Iranian Government for a permanent settlement of the status of the province.

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The final result of talks between Pishevari, leader of the Azerbaijani Democrats, Qazi Mohammad, and the Soviets was a treaty signed April 23, 1946, by the Kurdish and the Azerbaijani representatives. Publication of this treaty caused consternation in Tehran, as its clauses and indeed its very existence showed that the twin Democrat regimes considered themselves independent nations with the right to exchange representatives and make treaties. The text of the treaty was as follows:

1. The two signatory governments will exchange representatives whenever it is deemed advisable.
2. In those areas of Azerbaijan where there are Kurdish minorities, Kurds will be appointed to government departments, and in those parts of Kurdistan where there are Azerbaijani minorities, Azerbaijanis will be appointed to government departments.
3. A joint economic commission will be formed to solve the economic problems of the signatory nations. Members of this commission will be appointed by the heads of the national governments.
4. The military forces of the signatory nations will assist each other whenever necessary.
5. Any negotiations with the Tehran Government will be conducted in the joint interest of the Azerbaijan and Kurdish national governments.
6. The Azerbaijan National Government will take the necessary steps to promote the use of the Kurdish language and the development of Kurdish culture among the Kurds of Azerbaijan, and the Kurdish National Government will take similar steps with regard to the Azerbaijanis living in Kurdistan.
7. Both signatory nations will take measures to punish any individual or

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group seeking to destroy the historic friendship and democratic brotherhood of the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds.[8]

The Azerbaijani Democrats next proceeded to negotiate a settlement in Tehran with the Iranian Premier, Ahmad Qavam. By its terms all Azerbaijan, including the Kurdish areas, became once more nominally part of Iran, while the Democrat leaders were "appointed" to posts in Azerbaijan Province corresponding to those they already held in the Democrat government. The Kurds reacted unfavorably to the agreement. Although they had been represented in at least some of the negotiations by Sadr Qazi, Qazi Mohammad's brother and a deputy in the last Iranian parliament, they felt that their wishes had been largely ignored. Whereas the Azerbaijani Democrats had legalized the positions they had seized, Qazi Mohammad's government now had no legal basis at all. The Kurds had progressed from the condition of a minority in the Iranian state to that of a minority in an Azerbaijani Turkish state.

Finally, Qazi Mohammad himself went to Tehran to voice his disapproval to Premier Qavam. He asked to be made governor of a new Kurdish province consisting of the Kurdish parts of Azerbaijan, combined with the much larger areas inhabited by Kurds still under Iranian control — a territory that would stretch from the Russian border to a point half way between Kermanshah and Senandaj.[9] This new province was to have a degree of local autonomy, with its provincial officials and its army garrison recruited entirely from the local population. The wily Iranian premier agreed to Qazi's proposal, but with the proviso that Qazi must also obtain the consent of Dr. Javid, the Democrat Governor of Azerbaijan. Dr. Javid indignantly rejected the plan, and friction continued between the Kurds and the Azerbaijani Democrats.

Although in the course of these conversations in Tehran a truce

[8] The treaty was signed in Tabriz by Pishevari, Biriya, Dr. Javid, and Sadiq Padegan for the Azerbaijani Democrats, and by Qazi Mohammad, Seyyid Abdullah Gilani, Amr Khan Shikak, Zero Beg Herki, and Rashid Beg Herki for the Kurds.

[9] Senandaj (Senna) was the capital of the province of Kurdistan, the former independent principality of Ardelan. It included Saqqiz and Banah, but not Sardasht, which was administratively part of Azerbaijan. In the present article the word "Kurdistan" has been used to designate Qazi Mohammad's territory, none of which was in the province of Kurdistan.

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had been agreed upon by the Central Government on the one hand, and the Kurds and Azerbaijanis on the other, sniping and skirmishing continued, occasionally flaring up into open warfare. The Iranians, in view of the declared intention of the Soviets to evacuate Iran early in May,[7] now began to take more active military measures. The Kurdish front was held by the Iranian Fourth Division under the command of tall, able General Homayuni, recently transferred from Khuzistan, where he had carried out a vigorous disarmament program among the Arab tribes. In mid-April, Homayuni opened the roads and rushed reinforcements to Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht.

The Soviets were said to have promised the Kurds planes, tanks, and heavy weapons, and to have taken some fifty young Kurds to Baku for military and political training. For the present, however, Qazi Mohammad had to rely on tribal levies to oppose the Iranians. In the hills overlooking General Homayuni's forces was a formidable but divided force consisting principally of the Barzanis, but also including small Kurdish tribes always ready for fighting and looting, and Hama Rashid and his henchmen.[8]

As General Homayuni pulled more and more reinforcements into the area, Qazi Mohammad and the Soviets put pressure on Amr Khan of the Shikak and his allies, the Herki, to come down from the north and aid in the operations. At first Amr Khan demurred on the excuse that his horses were in pasture elsewhere and could not be moved, but at the beginning of May he reluctantly sent his tribesmen to the battle zone.

The month of May 1946 was marked by a number of fierce battles, all fought by small numbers and none of them followed through by decisive operations. In the beginning of the month the Kurds won a victory damaging to Iranian prestige when they surprised an army column on a road march near Saqqiz, killed twenty, and captured thirty-odd prisoners, two machine guns, and 4,000 rounds of ammunition. The Kurdish prisoners were conscripted in the Kurdish army; the rest were sent to Tabriz.

[7] The Red Army finally evacuated Iran on May 9, 1946.

[8] Hama Rashid was of dubious value to the Kurds, as he was continually carrying on secret negotiations with the Iranian army for his reinstatement as Governor of Baneh, and was also suspected by both Kurds and Iranians of a mysterious connection with the British. In August, hearing that plans were being made in Mahabad to have him murdered, Hama Rashid fled back into Iraq.

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668 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mah-
721 mudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Senandaj Road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby liaison officers were exchanged,* each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to Baneh and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

186 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his
609 iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British opportunism, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going con-
642 cern. Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi
621 Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wazir* (minister) to *rais* (chief).
624 Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishwa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

*The Kurdish Iranian officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Nazarzadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army plane in which he was traveling crashed near Bonab.

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Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalism everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, ascetic face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not form the same combination as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Suleimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Hetaw* and *Hilal*.[10] All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

[10] A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Komala period, such as *Kalawizh* and notably *Nishtiman*, official organ of the party, which bore a picture of Saladin on the cover and circulated in Iraq as well as Iran.

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the Democrat Party of Kurdistan. The importance Qazi Mohammad attached to literature and the Kurdish language may be adduced from the presence on his staff of two young poets, Hazhar and Hiseman, whose poems were published in spite of the paper shortage.

Although these efforts did not suffice during the republic's short life to bring it anywhere near the standard of the other two centers of Kurdish culture where Kurdish has been freely written and taught for twenty-five years, politically at least Mahabad was the focal point toward which all Kurdish eyes now were turned. In intellectual Kurdish circles in Beirut, Istanbul, and Baghdad, as well as among the wild mountains of western Asia, all were watching to see whether Qazi Mohammad would succeed or fail. Couriers brought communications to him from groups of Kurds not only in Iraq but in Syria and Turkey as well. His movement appealed especially to the young people, who felt that the older nationalist parties had not accomplished much. In Iraq, for instance, a new secret party, the leftist "Rizgari," was formed of these elements.

ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENT

The old nationalist parties, the Hewa in Iraq and the Khoybun in Syria, were not enthusiastic about Qazi Mohammad because of his Soviet connections. Fear and even hatred of the Soviets among the Kurds is strong for several reasons. In the first place, most Kurds are deeply religious and remain distrustful of the Soviet attitude toward religion. Furthermore, many of them have met refugees fresh from the Soviet Union or have talked to Moslems in the Red Army, few of whom paint a rosy picture of the lot of Oriental peoples under Soviet rule. It must also be remembered that the Russians have been traditional enemies of the Kurds since the days of the Tsars. Russian troops in World War I fought over a large part of Kurdistan, leaving a trail of ruin and depopulation still traceable in many Kurdish valleys and villages. In Mahabad itself, Russian troops had been under orders for several days to shoot anyone appearing in the streets, and the town was looted and burned. None of this has been erased from the long oriental memories of the Kurds, who still frighten their crying

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children into silence by threatening them with the word "Russian."

The Soviets tried hard to counteract this unreceptive attitude. They played up "Kurdish autonomy" in the Soviet Union, and the brave deeds of one Samand Siamandov, Red Army colonel of Kurdish origin, "Hero of Leningrad." How much success they had is hard to judge, but certainly large sections of the population, as well as landlords, merchants, and religious leaders, continued to distrust them and to extend this distrust to Qazi Mohammad, whose connection with the Soviets was undeniable. The walls of the building in which his government was housed were plastered solidly with Soviet propaganda posters; his newspapers and magazines contained a large proportion of Soviet material translated word for word into Kurdish; and his poets composed panegyrics to Stalin and the Red Army.

Yet in contrast to the rest of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan was to outside appearances free of Soviet agents. Aside from a few Iran-sovtrans truck drivers, who acted as observers for the Soviet and pro-Soviet governments, Soviet citizens were almost unknown in the area and Soviet agents kept under cover. There was said to be a Soviet representative in residence in Mahabad, though his presence was denied by Kurdish authorities.[1] Hashumov, Soviet Consul in Rezaieh, and his assistant Aliakbarov made occasional trips to Mahabad.

While terrorism reigned unchecked in eastern Azerbaijan, in Kurdistan there were few if any political prisoners and only one or two cases of what may have been political assassination, though a number of Kurds not in sympathy with the regime did flee to Tehran. In the streets of Mahabad one could hear radio broadcasts from Ankara or London, while in Tabriz to listen to these brought the death penalty. Whether the reason for this freedom was the moderation and liberalism of Qazi and his cabinet, or the presence of the tribes who would not tolerate violent action against persons connected with them, the net result was to make the regime popular at least among the citizens of Mahabad, who enjoyed their respite from the exactions and oppression they

[1] The last of these Soviet advisers, one Amalov, is said to have been in Mahabad until the last days of the republic, when he fled to the Soviet Consulate in Tabriz.

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641 considered to be characteristic of the central Iranian Government.

OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBES

If the Soviets kept their overt interference to a minimum in
249 order to reconcile the tribes to the regime, they were certainly un-
578 successful. In addition to historical, social, and religious reasons
• 669 for the tribes' opposition to the Soviet-supported government,
177 there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish tribesmen depended largely on their tobacco crop for their livelihood, and now that their market in the rest of Iran was cut off they suffered considerable hardship. In certain areas food supplies already strained had to be shared with the destitute Barzanis, who had long outworn their welcome.

This tribal discontent was at its strongest in the south where the deceased Qaranei Agha's son, Mam Aziz, chief of the Mamesh, along with his ally, Bayazid Agha of the Mangur, so openly opposed Qazi Mohammad that the Soviet vice-consul finally came down from Rezaieh and threatened to have the Barzanis sent against them. When Mam Aziz continued to resist, the Barzanis did indeed attack him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his tribesmen. From Rezaieh north, the tribes looked to the leadership of Amr Khan Shikak, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and for the time being was keeping aloof in Zindasht, his mountain capital southwest of Shahpur. The only tribes Qazi Mohammad could count on were the Gawrik of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Zerza, in the Ushnuieh region. Even Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis did not get on with Qazi Mohammad, who was no longer able to feed them.

668 Thus it was that Qazi Mohammad, in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitude of the Tehran Government, found himself almost without support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and matériel, in the fall of 1946 Qazi Mohammad was still without either heavy weapons or trained men, or indeed any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly obvious, Qazi sent frantic messages to the tribes, his only hope, say-

Pr Roosevelt G-8 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

• 668 ing that the Soviets had promised the Kurds their support and demanding that the tribes come to the front to fight the Iranian Army. The tribes refused.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF IRANIAN CONTROL

Meanwhile, events were moving rapidly. The Tehran Government had been insisting that the Democrats surrender the district of Zenjan, which is not in the province of Azerbaijan. When the Iranians seemed about to back up this demand by force, the Democrats agreed to evacuate the area, and by the end of November it was completely in the hands of the Iranian army. Shortly after midnight, on December 10, the Iranians attacked Democrat positions in the Qaflankuh Pass, south of Mianeh; within twenty-four hours resistance had collapsed and the Democrat leaders were in headlong flight to the Soviet Union, a year to the day after their capture of Tabriz. In his telegram of surrender to Premier Qavam, the Democrat Governor stated that the Kurd commander, Seif Qazi, had been informed of his decision and had been told that he was expected to order his forces to cease hostilities.

On December 13, Qazi Mohammad's brother, Sadr Qazi, a deputy in the Iranian Parliament who had been in Mahabad acting as go-between for his brother and the Iranians, appeared at Miandoab. There he told General Homayuni that the Kurds were ready to receive the Iranian army peacefully. The general said he would move his forces in as soon as the Barzanis were evacuated from the Mahabad area. He sent forward an advance party of pro-government tribesmen, including some of the Dehbokri and the Mamesh and Mangur who had returned from Iraq, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ghaffari. These were stopped not far from Mahabad by a representative of Qazi Mohammad who said that the agreement with General Homayuni called for occupation of the town by regular troops, not by tribesmen who might cause disorder. The tribesmen finally retired without fighting, and on December 15, 1946, after the Barzanis had withdrawn to Naqadeh, the Iranian army entered Mahabad, thus bringing to an end the year-old Kurdish Republic.

The Iranian army was given a great reception, and Qazi

R: Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

Mohammad and the army commanders exchanged visits. But on December 17 a number of Kurds were arrested, and the following day Qazi Mohammad, Seif Qazi, and many others were imprisoned. The only members of Qazi's government to remain at liberty were Hajji Baba Sheikh, immune because of his religious standing, and a handful of Kurds who had fled to Iraq or hidden in the villages. In addition to imprisonment, Kurdish leaders were further punished by having tribesmen quartered in their homes, eating at their expense — a time-honored Iranian method of imposing a fine without holding a trial. On December 30, Sadr Qazi, who had returned to Tehran, was brought from his home to Mahabad and imprisoned with his brother, although he had throughout the year left Tehran only when his services as mediator were required by the Iranian Government. The army asked all persons who had grievances against the prisoners to present their evidence, and after an examination by a military court condemned Qazi Mohammad, Seif Qazi, and Sadr Qazi to death. At dawn on March 31, 1947, they were hanged in the square of Mahabad.

The Iranian military government has carried out a program to eradicate all traces of Qazi Mohammad's regime. The Kurdish printing press was closed, the teaching of Kurdish prohibited, and all books in Kurdish were publicly burned. To show the tribes it meant business, the army executed eleven petty tribal chiefs of the Faizullah Begi and the Gawrik of Saqqiz.

One feature in the reconquest of Mahabad needs to be noted. Everywhere else in Azerbaijan, peasants, workers, and shopkeepers massacred the Democrats at the first indication of their collapse. This spontaneous reaction clearly indicated the hatred felt by the people for the regime. Yet in Mahabad, all passed peacefully, a circumstance especially remarkable in that elsewhere in Azerbaijan the secret police was strong and prepared for such emergencies, while Qazi Mohammad did not even have such an instrument. This fact would tend to confirm reports that Qazi Mohammad's regime was popular — at least in his own capital.

In the north, Amr Khan and the tribes under his influence took no active part in these events. The Iranian army, evidently not

Pr Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

669 wishing to incur obligations, had not informed Amr Khan of its projected move into Azerbaijan, and so by the time he had gathered his tribesmen to attack the Democrats, the war was over. Amr Khan and the other chiefs quickly sent the Iranian commander professions of loyalty. All were accepted back in the fold except Zero Beg, whose tribesmen ambushed some Iranian soldiers in Balaneah, near Reza'ieh, while he was conferring there with General Homayuni. Zero consequently had to flee, accompanied by a few tribesmen and Assyrians, to Ushnuieh, where he found Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis in a state of precarious truce with the Central Government. The Mulla finally refused the government's order to disarm his tribesmen or return to Iraq, and fighting broke out again. By June 1947 the Barzanis had fought their way north to Maku and seemed about to cross the border into the Soviet Union.

IN SUMMARY

177 186 668 This latest attempt to found a Kurdish state ended with the Iranian occupation of Mahabad. Like previous attempts it failed largely because of disunity among the Kurds themselves. One of the dilemmas of Kurdish nationalism is that while not only its leaders, but nearly all its rank and file, must come from the more enlightened townspeople, its military strength has always had to come from the tribes and their chiefs, with neither the education nor the imagination to look for anything but gain and loot in the weakening of government authority. During 1946 the Kurdish tribes, naturally opposed to government control, felt as restive under Qazi Mohammad as they had under the Central Government, even though he was of their own race. Because of this feeling, as well as their distrust of Qazi's Soviet connections, the tribes almost all sided with the Iranian army.

The principal immediate reason for the collapse of the republic was the failure of Soviet support to materialize. A young and strong nationalist party which might have united a majority of educated Kurds was infiltrated by foreigners who used it for their own purposes and then let it be destroyed. The miniature state had been built under the protection of the Red Army, and continued to exist after its evacuation only because of the possibility

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

of its return. When the Kurds no longer hoped for this, and the Iranians no longer feared it, there was no chance for Qazi Mohammad's movement to survive.

The whole episode was a serious blow to the development of Kurdish nationalism. There is now no Komala and no Democrat Party of Kurdistan, and many of the potential leaders of the Kurds are dead, in prison, or in exile. Yet this does not mean that Kurdish nationalism is finished. The Kurdish Republic found its support among those progressive elements of the population which seem bound to increase in numbers and importance, and was opposed by those elements which seem destined to disappear. It remains to be seen whether Kurdish nationalism is practical in an area where, until recently, nationalism was an unknown conception and men still give primary allegiance to their religious and tribal chiefs. The Kurds have never been combined in a stable state of their own and enjoy no ancient unifying culture. Separated from each other by mountain barriers, they have always had to look for their cultural and economic needs to the capitals of the different states in which they have lived.

If the states the Kurds inhabit allow their Kurdish populations a degree of local autonomy and give up the attempt to force an alien nationalism upon them, they may succeed in obtaining a loyalty similar to that found in Switzerland with its multinational population. The Arab countries have made a start in this direction. A similar policy in Iran, if left free of foreign penetration, might be a cause of closer unity rather than of separatism between two of the nation's peoples.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Kurd MAII

claim the right of wintering in the Christian villages of Armenia, and, as fanatical Moslems, they indulged on occasion in massacres of their unwilling Christian hosts—this often with the connivance or tacit approval of the Turks, who were not reluctant to see the Christian communities of Asia Minor decrease in numbers.

For obvious reasons, detailed figures as to the number of the Kurds are not available,[1] but estimates, some of them much out of date, give a total of some 3 millions, distributed as follows :

Turkey	1,250,000
Iraq (1924) . . .	494,000
Iran	700,000
Baluchistan . . .	350,000
Transcaucasian Russia (1911)	125,000
Syria	100,000
Afghanistan . . .	20,000

The Kurds cannot be said to have any advanced political feeling, and, even less than the Badawin Arabs, have rarely been able to combine for long in a stable, large-scale political organisation. Individualism and local tribal feeling are the chief characteristics. Kurdish political activity has been negative : that is, strongly against any other group that has tried to rule them, and their predilection tends to be anti-governmental, whatever the composition of the latter may be, rather than for pro-Kurdish aims. Since 1923 there have been ten serious revolts by the Kurds against various national governments—two against Turkey, four in Iran, and four in Iraq. One of these, in 1947, made use of weapons looted from Iranian military depots. Such revolts lend themselves to intervention by outside powers ; and an American view [2] is that a Kurdish revolt against Iran in 1942 had tacit support from Russia, with the aim of embarrassing the Iranian government. Little was finally achieved, however : one factor may have been the importance at the time of American lease-lend supplies to Russia, as the result of which the U.S. was able to exert some moderating influence on Russian policy.

Since 1927, a Kurdish independence movement, the 'Khoibun', has been in existence, but its activities have hitherto had little success, the main obstacle being jealousy, division, and lack of co-operation among the Kurds themselves. An attempt was made to enlist

[1] In modern Turkish statistics the Kurds are described as 'Mountain Turks'.
[2] That of Professor W. L. Westermann.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kūrdistan, the Kūrds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kūrdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and nugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or mendacity. This may be seen from one of the more recent examples: 114

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered unworthy to live. My father once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very bashful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1] [181]

The sanguine reputation is not wholly without reason. In older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiya, the irregular bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and spokesmen in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with outsiders, but acts to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the 579 669 648 702 648 579 [628]

[1] Nuwaya, 1913, p. 193.

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." 159
"How much did they take?" the Cossack officer asked. 792
"Fifty tumans," he answered, and the officers ordered the other Jews to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowanduz, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Amin. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Amin asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a sack and filled it with coloured sand. I went through [755] the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my sand on the face of the sick man, reciting from the [727] Quran. I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named Hajji Nawras in Shaqlawa. There was a Major Hay in the district who spoke Kurdish, and, when he heard from Hajji Nawras what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowanduz. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Rowanduz I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [669] of the Kurds revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowanduz, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an 443 Armenian merchant named Jagmur, and he entrusted me 159 with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages 792 around Rowanduz. When I returned, I found I had 200 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmur, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmur, always profitable, but I found traveling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowanduz to sell groceries. When

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 159 792 [767]

Sayyid Hosani, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hosani was not directly concerned in the feud between Muri Dawil Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hosani for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hosani was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, mukhtar, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop, 159 [628] [669] [205] [579] [651] 159 463

but the whole structure of society, tribal and feudal, which was only lightly touched by Ottoman rule has been challenged by the modern state. 177

Coupled with the impingement of the state, represented by the monarchy of Iraq, has been the question of Kurdish nationalism. The concepts of this movement are clearly a European importation. They were learned by educated Kurds, officials, officers, and teachers, of the late Ottoman Empire, probably from similarly-affected Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and other subjects of the Sublime Porte. These Kurds, drawn from the higher ranks of Ottoman society, carried nationalism to the people, and something of their success is indicated by the fact that it is difficult to find a Kurd in the rural areas who is not voluble in political matters. Nationalism, with its extravagant vocabulary, found easy listeners in the Kurdish aristocracy. If their administrative functions were to be usurped by the government and the economic exploitation of the commoners eliminated, the chieftains were to become superfluous, although perhaps none of them said this explicitly. The Kurdish aristocracy, whose lives had been oriented around the vendetta and who led a well-armed population, reacted differently than the impotent noblemen of Tchekov's Cherry Orchard or Keyserling's Abendliche Haeuser. The first general revolt under Shaykh Mahmud took place in 1922 and the second in 1930. A third occurred in 1932, and the last, that of Mulla Mustafa, at the close of the second World War. 668 668 669

Between these dates there were many other incidents, for example, the assassination of the dictator of Iraq, General Sidqi, by a Kurd in 1937. In neighboring countries, there was a general insurrection of the Kurds in Turkey in 1925 and one in Syria in 1937. The revolt in Iraq in 1930 was common to Turkey and Iran, and that of Mulla Mustafa to Iraq and Iran. All of these were put down with difficulty, and demanded the use of aircraft, armored vehicles, artillery, and, in some cases, European troops. The states were often aided by quarrels among the Kurdish chieftains. It is interesting that the Kurds regard these conflicts with the government in the same light as tribal warfare of the type which arises from the vendetta. It has been noted how brigands and other outlaws frequently have their own private blood feuds with the authorities. Mulla Mustafa was largely driven from Iraq, not by the army, but by Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who had a personal grudge against the Barzani chief and his followers. 668 669

In order to appreciate the place of Rowanduz in this process, it is necessary to review its position. The town, as has been said, is non-tribal and, although the House of Isma'il Beg owns much of its property, is not ruled by any overlord. In this way it has been assimilated without difficulty into the economic system of the state, as opposed to that of the tribe or feudalism. All of its lands have been surveyed and classified, and the taxes are collected directly from the inhabitants. As an administrative center 682 619

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

timate capacity of 150,000 Kw.) is to be completed in 1958 at Dibis on the Little Zab to serve all northern Iraq.

Two of the most widely advertized major projects of the development programme, the great dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Darband-i Khan on the Sirwan, are located in Kurdistan and are bringing some temporary benefit to the neighbourhood in the form of wages for labour. But their purpose is first and foremost the protection of Baghdad from flood, and the secondary benefits from storage of water will accrue to the lands down stream. Up stream considerable areas of agricultural land will be submerged and many villages are doomed to destruction. The government is understood to be fully alive to the necessity of tackling the delicate problem of compensating and finding new land for the dispossessed cultivators with foresight and generosity, and of balancing these large spectacular works with lesser projects in the upland valleys which will be of more direct and permanent value to the local people. Failure in this regard might well lead to unrest.

III.

The Kurds have not remained unaffected by the rising tide of nationalism that has swept over the countries of the Middle East since the turn of the century; and to understand the attitude of the Kurds of Iraq to the central government of Baghdad we must cast a brief glance backwards over the history of the region both before and after 1918.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian governments a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived in both countries until about the middle of the 19th century. Two of the princely families are intimately connected with the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr Khans of Bohtan (still in Turkey) with their capital at Jazirat ibn Umar (now Cizre), and the Babans of Sulaimani. It is not easy to fix on any particular date or circumstance as marking the beginning, or even a turning point, in the development of Kurdish nationalism in the modern sense. Throughout the 19th century, both before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were of course frequent revolts against the central authority in which the leaders did not fail to appeal to racial sentiment in order to rally their followers. Modern nationalism, unlike earlier manifestations of a similar spirit, tend to attach tremendous importance to language. It would be tempting then to suggest that some particular significance attached to the year 1892, when members of the Badr Khan family began the publication of a newspaper called *Kurdistan*, numbers of which appeared at intervals until 1902 in towns as far apart as Cairo, London and (of all unlikely places) Folkestone, England. But in 1892 Hajji Qadir of Koi (*circa* 1817-1894),

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

175 negative votes cast. No representative from either *liwa* attended the 668 accession ceremonies.

648 A difficult situation had been further complicated by the promulgation in January, 1920, by the Turkish Cabinet of a manifesto known as the 'National Pact' which, while conceding the right to self-determination of the Arabs south of the armistice line of 1918, refused to contemplate the surrender of the Mosul vilayet. The Treaty of Sèvres, signed by the representatives of the Sultan nine months later, was never ratified. For the next five years the Kurds were subjected to a campaign of intensive propaganda from Turkey: threats of invasion, clandestine correspondence with urban and tribal leaders, open incitements to rebellion, warnings to 'traitors,' and pervading all, the religious appeal for loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph (until the Caliphate was abolished in March 1924). Small bodies of uniformed Turkish troops actually crossed the border at various points in support of the restless tribes. The administrative boundary in Arbil and parts of Mosul was withdrawn to the edge of the plains, and in September, 1922, the whole of Sulaimani was evacuated. Shaykh Mahmud was brought back in return for an undertaking that he would secure the expulsion of the Turks from the *liwa* and that he would refrain from interfering in the neighbouring *liwas* of Kirkuk and Arbil. But in the intoxicating mountain air these promises were soon forgotten: [669] in November the Shaykh proclaimed himself 'King of Kurdistan,' claimed the whole country down to the Jabal Hamrin as part of his 'Kingdom,' and so far from expelling the Turks sought to use their presence as a lever to press his ambitions. In December the British and Iraqi governments, hoping to rally the more moderate Kurds to resist the aggressor, made a joint communication to certain friendly leaders recognizing 'the right of the Kurds of Iraq to set up a Kurdish government' which should send responsible delegates as soon as possible to discuss boundaries and political and economic relations; but there was nobody capable of taking advantage of the offer, which lapsed.[2]

The prevailing uncertainty and unrest were actually aggravated by the signature at Lausanne in July, 1923, of a Treaty of Peace between the Allies and Turkey, for it specifically excluded the Mosul question from the settlement. In August, 1924, the dispute was referred to the League of Nations. A Commission was sent to examine the problem on the spot, and, in December, 1925, the Council awarded the vilayet to Iraq subject to guarantees that regard would be paid to the 'desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed

[2] The activities of Shaykh Mahmud necessitated a series of air and military operations in the years that followed; Sulaimani town itself was reoccupied by the Iraqi Army in July, 1924; but the Shaykh continued to harry the administration until June, 1927, when he submitted. He took up arms again in 1930 in sympathy with the imprisoned intellectuals (see below) but gave himself up in 1932.

existed for centuries. Today it cannot be denied that some tribesmen, particularly the kotchir, belong to their group because of kinship relation (the Kurdish term tayfa, from Arabic, ta'ifa, "tribe," is used to describe a tribal subdivision still to be found which seems to represent a patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial. 619 631 [614]

It is important to notice that there are two main bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and that commonly called "tribal law," executed by local administrative officers. The institution of dual legal systems was evoked by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of whose time-honored customs were, to say the least, out of joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code. The differences between the two need not be considered in detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such as adultery or rape. There are in the Rowanduz district a number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and its administration is not charged to the local judge, but is an added task of the qaimmaqam. Hence the office of that official in Rowanduz has often the aspect of a courtroom, the qaimmaqam and his clerk patiently and laboriously inquiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through an interminable parade of witnesses--coarsely-dressed 671 [693] 695

series made up solely of males. To this are added noteworthy collateral ancestors and, in the one or two generations closest to the chieftain in question, all of the collaterals, including the names of wives, sisters, and the latter's husbands. The importance of such a lineage lies in the fact that it is the sole patent of nobility, itself a matter of the highest social importance, and is of considerable value in the arrangement of marriages and the knowledge of one's potential friends and enemies. It is usually associated with a certain amount of folk history, the wars, revolts, feuds, and other deeds with which its personnel were concerned. Commoners are able to reproduce to some extent the lineage of their chieftain, for, as has been noticed, the honor of their leader is also their own, and animated conversations on such topics as aristocratic marriages and lineages offer an everyday source of entertainment. Unlike the mal, the fxmilixx is not associated with a single house, and its members may live in a large number of separate establishments.

It is convenient here to dismiss the question of inheritance with a cursory survey. Inheritance is not a matter over which the Kurdish populace exercises any unique control, because it was defined in the Quran and supplemented over the centuries by the jurists and doctors of Islam. A whole branch of Islamic jurisprudence is concerned with this complex question, and a number of popular expositions are available to the general reader.[1] In

[1]Goudefroy-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 143-151.

and delegations of guests from all parts of Kurdish Iraq. 585
When a woman, divorced or widowed, is married a second 587
time, the festivities are meager compared with those described above, confined to informal banquets for the two households concerned.

Divorce, like inheritance and betrothal, is a matter 586
of religious and civil law, and the townspeople and the [671]
Kurds in general, inasmuch as they seem to follow no customs which contravene the code, have nothing to do with these formulations. For a man, divorce is a simple proceeding in Muslim Iraq, for he need only come into the presence of the judge or the mulla or priest, with two witnesses, and subscribe to one of the several formulae, of which the simplest is saying, in Kurdish, to his wife, tallagem bo dayi (the verb from Arabic talleqa, "to divorce,"), "I divorce you." According to Islamic prescription, a husband can divorce his wife twice in this fashion and each time take her back, but the third recitation is absolutely binding. Only if the woman marries a third [587]
party and is subsequently divorced by him can she rejoin her first spouse in another marriage. If a man wishes to make the divorce final on the first occasion, he repeats the formula three times. Of the minor separations, those of the first or second occasions, there are two types. In the first of these the woman asks no compensation, and the divorce admits of easy reunion. In the second, the woman demands and is paid the mu'akher, that part of the

584 369 Rarely select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[1], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

[191] The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have as well the right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[2].

562 584 In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities perceived as holding out as a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. While in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

583 In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[3]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Hadidja I lived in a home where the then 25 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 23[4]. Her first child was born 6-7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around Tavella, to which many families moved just for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, that, failing the precautions afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11-12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6-7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

[221] It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour expected of her in her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what Kaberry[5] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9-11 is fully trained in the pattern of behaviour expected of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her widely duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

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585 [1] Her marriage contract. A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[135], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host —in this case the father of the bridegroom— must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[136]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[137]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and, at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semi-circle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semi-circle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Trganlov Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wiora[138]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[139] and from the Bakhtiari[140], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Trganlovia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in this group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth sack up under his waistband. The drum[141] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[142] had a funnel-shaped bend, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Trgawra one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventone tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

4 Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

595 595 [584] children living in the house showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[169] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizaj", who, 78 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[170]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 595 Two half-grown 13-14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 369 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children —a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[171] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Bakhe was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 [584] In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 525 [583] There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bicycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the woman's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Coran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes— when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Coran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

[611] [582]

Kurdish music is nevertheless pleasant to the ear. 534
resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a pleasant lilt. 535
Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages. [K 562]

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all K
of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated 619
and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help 643
of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he com- 641
pletely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's 728
bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them 702
with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy.
Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the K
strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain [218]
over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him
as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him K
in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There 782
was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Juj, who represented himself 779
to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and 682
eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to 784
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and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous 671
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and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of 657
affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government 648
was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal K
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of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as follows:-

1	The Agha himself
1	Wife
3	Sons
4	Daughters
7	Maidservants } Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants }
1	Mulla
1	Brother
5	Guests
3	By exaggeration
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In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expense of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee: especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about £5/- a bag (of 36 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dargala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and most frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship, between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

The town of Rowandus, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowandus occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowandus, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

dangerous if it reaches the point of knives. The blow 579
with the closed fist is unknown in Rowanduz, and one
strikes with the open palm or wrestles. Sticks or [411]
khunjirs are the next favored weapons in such an exchange,
and it is considered shameful for a man to bite or scratch
like a woman. As in other Islamic communities, quarrels,
sometimes quite serious, are much more common during the
fast of Ramadan. Four violent exchanges were observed
between women on one day during Ramadan. However, there had [682]
been in 1951 no homicides in the town for a period of three
years. Criminals of a higher order are at present unknown. [674]
The last of them, Nuri Bawil Agha, who dabbled in brigandage,
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the murder of Isma'il Beg. Nuri is said to have often
arranged the theft of goods from merchants, and then to
have sold them back to the owners for appropriate sums.

The office of the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, in Rowanduz 622
is peculiar, for it does not seem to have an incisive
everyday definition. It is not elective, and a mukhtar
is selected by the government with the more or less tacit
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7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

642 554 the presumption that everything not legitimized in terms of the order is outside its scope». «So long as the encumbent of such a status does not act counter to the traditional order, ... loyalty is due, not to 'the order', but to him personally.» (Parsons, op. cit., p. 121).

The main contrast between the Kurdish systems and this «traditional» type lies in the implication in the definition of the latter that concrete traditional prescriptions are indeed accepted and agreed upon by all. The cultural heterogeneity of the South Kurdish area has been emphasized above; this heterogeneity makes for a situation where a truly traditional system can not operate. Any single concrete traditional prescription tends to be questioned by all but a minority, and conflicting interpretations of what is in fact the traditional order are constantly advanced. As a result, the theme of *power* attains an overriding importance, following the line of reasoning that if you can get away with something, it can't be *very* wrong. The effective check on excesses in the use of power is the threat of murder. Though there is obviously much more excited talk than • 681 action, Kurds are rightly famous for being «trigger-happy», and a person who strongly feels that his rights have been infringed upon may go to great lengths to retaliate. Since no institutional means exist, violence has become institutionalised as the only mechanism at hand.

178 642 It is tempting to see the present situation as the result of breakdown of a formerly functioning traditional system. There is considerable evidence indicating that Southern Kurdistan some 100 years ago was better integrated than today, in the form of a strongly 175 feudal Pashalik centering around Suleimani. The Baban Pashas of 642 Suleimani had frequent opportunities during conflicts with both the Persian and the Ottoman rulers to show that they had the unquestioning support of an overriding majority of the population, and through several centuries of rule they built up a traditional hierarchy of hereditary status positions, entitling persons to political offices (Rich op. cit., p. 115). The traditional nature of the rule is strikingly brought out in the following citation, where the Pasha of Suleimani explains the solidarity that his subjects feel towards him by contrast-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

578 lead to one side burning the other's crops or stealing their cattle.
628 Until bloodshed has occurred nothing is serious and a good clan Agha will
684 see to it that the parties submit to arbitration before the affair
• 681 reaches a crisis. More serious are affairs in which women are involved; an insult to honour can only be wiped out by death and the discovery of adultery can have only one possible sequal. Such cases however need not necessarily lead to feud; if the guilty lover belongs to the same village as the injured husband a single murder is considered to settle the matter. If the parties are from different groups however the affair is much more serious and several assassinations may take place before settlement can be reached. Eventually, provided it is the honour of commoners rather than of Aghas that is at stake, the Aghas concerned will arrange faal through the mediation of the tribal chiefs. According to Hay "A blood feud is usually settled by the payment of blood-money; every condition of man or woman has his or her price, and even the parts of the body are catalogued. A Kurmanji or middle class Kurdish farmer is valued at £90, one of his women at £45, and his leg or arm at say £20. Such payment is often made in kind, some cattle or a horse, or so much wheat being handed over to the aggrieved party. It is very common for a girl to be given away in marriage in payment of blood money. Thus if £90 were owing, the price of the blood of one m n the debt might be paid by the delivery of one girl, three cows and a donkey". I have no comparable information, though I think the general principle is accurately described. In Hay's time the Government could seldom apprehend a murderer. He says "For the murdered man's relations to take their revenge is quite in order, but an execution at the hands of that monster, the Government, is an entirely different matter. The culprit therefore is carefully concealed until he can make good his escape to the hills". The position today is somewhat different and I fancy the murderer is usually caught. This however does not end the feud; blood feud murders are punishable only by two years imprisonment and the war starts again when the culprit gets free.*

628 As has been explained the feuds of commoners and the less important Aghas are settled in the end by tribal arbitration. Moreover

* The Administration makes a distinction between feud murders
628 justified by tribal custom and ordinary murders which are not. The
684 former come under a special code for which the maximum penalty is two
178 years imprisonment; the latter come under the ordinary Iraq criminal code for which the penalty is much more severe (? death). This has had an interesting repercussion. In the old days by tribal custom an affair of honour was adequately settled if the man only was killed, the woman in the case being merely driven out of her own community to fend for herself. Today it is necessary for the avenging husband to prove to the Authorities that it is really an affair of honour and not just a cold blooded murder. The custom now therefore is to kill both the guilty parties.

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the tribal leader retains longest in the face of breakdown of tribal organization (cf. Memni, p. 126). The ability to avoid or resolve such conflicts between villages is a prerequisite for the maintenance of lineage unity, and it is therefore essential that the principle of collective responsibility is *not* applied to the co-residents of the village community. 614 628

Leach (op. cit., pp. 56-7) discusses a feud between two competing lineages in the Rowanduz area. Though in effect a struggle for political supremacy between rival lineages, it appears to be governed by ideas of retaliation and equality. Hay (op. cit.) further lists the traditionally stipulated blood money to be paid for various classes of people. The Rowanduz area, as contrasted to Southern Kurdistan, is one where a number of well-organized lineages are in close contact. This is due in part to a difference in local history. Suleimani is an old center, and the whole territory was long subject to the feudal Baban administration, based on non-lineage principles. The Rowanduz mountain areas, on the other hand, retained a presumably characteristic tribal organization, with numerous territorially separate, independent lineages till quite late, when it was united by conquest in a larger state system under the Mir og Rowanduz around 1830. It is interesting to speculate whether the fusion of numerous lineages into a larger state may not have changed some of the factors outlined above in such a way as to permit the institutionalized extension of the South Kurdish pattern of personal revenge to a pattern of blood feud. 178 628

In Southern Kurdistan, it is difficult to see what sanctions would be brought to bear against homicide within the maximal lineage, other than this pattern of personal revenge. Other mechanisms, once existing, may however have been disguised by now through the activities of the external administration. 621 626 682

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Not being sure of the day of his wife's return home, he had not been anxious at her non-arrival, but had been spending the evening with a party of friends. A question had arisen regarding his bravery; and, to vindicate it, he had accepted a wager to go alone at midnight to the Bas Khan, and leave there a token of his visit. He had been searching for a safe place in which to leave this token, unawed by the ghastly missiles hurled at him, as he supposed, by some bandits who had taken up their abode in the khan.

Mr. Rich, when travelling in Kūrdistan, met a girl of the Bulbassi tribe who had killed with a spear a Turk who insulted her. This young Amazon was dressed like a man, and served the chief, Fazullah Effendi, as his faithful henchman, accompanying him on all his expeditions. The women of this tribe are particularly hardy and intrepid. They sometimes take to the road as brigands, and unlucky is the trader or traveller who falls into their hands. For not content with robbing him, they strip him, excite him to make proposals to them, and then punish him for so doing with every species of mild torture which their lively imaginations can suggest, such as pinching, scratching, and scourging with thorns.

In the domestic circle the women are treated as equals by the men, who are most affectionate in their relations with their parents, sisters, and children, and in the character of husbands most considerate, kind, and forbearing. As an illustration of this latter trait, and at the same time of manners generally among the sedentary Kūrds, I cannot do better than give the following charming story.

by the court clerk, Shakir Effendi, with great ceremony until the debtor should pay. Again, a merchant and a barber fell into a wrangle in the market-place in Rowanduz because the barber had wakened the merchant's infant children late the preceding night with his noise. Words passed, particularly on the side of the barber, the merchant drew his khusair, and was beaten from behind with a club by the barber's son. At this point the police took them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection on their respective characters, fined the barber a dinar for disturbing the peace.

Also without subordination to the qaimmaqam are the teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and responsible to officers of the Ministry in Erbil. By law primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rowanduz district only a small number of children, sons and daughters of ambitious or wealthy people, are able to attend primary school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to college. The primary school is entered at the age of six or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with the "twelfth class," corresponding to the American first grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include reading and writing in Arabic (in Rowanduz there are special classes in Kurdish), mathematics, history, and social studies, and the course is normally completed at the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school can be entered next, and consists of three classes ("fifth"

to the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence. 684 562 628 683 622

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Hence the aristocratic houses maintain diwankhanag which vary considerably in size and form according to their estates. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the diwankhana of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion, 574 622 [342] [343]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1860) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the 291
baldness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form, but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the *ferkeddûn*, or cloak, is of a darker shade of blue, with white stripes round the bottom, the corners being knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kûrdish women 291
do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In 562
large towns like Suliemanieh the ladies wear a blue checked sheet, and a screen of black horsehair, like the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however, seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest rank, who may wish to pass through the streets *incognito;* and the lower class women generally go about with their faces uncovered. The village women veil themselves when they leave their homes; and the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Menservants [398
are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms 379]
occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors are freely received by the assembled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom 181
of manners, Kûrdish women conduct themselves with 562
the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the forwardness too often seen in the behaviour of the Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, 434
exceptionally high among the races of the country,

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MAIN Kurd MAIN

any lapse from virtue on the part of a married woman being, as a rule, summarily punished by the injured husband with death; and her partner in guilt usually shares the same fate. No social odium attaches to the man who thus takes the law into his own hand; on the contrary, such an action is considered highly meritorious. Various stories are current among the Kûrds illustrating such retributory vengeance. One relates how a Kûrd, the captain of some irregular troops employed at Bagdad, hearing of his Kourmandji wife's suspected unfaithfulness during his absence, returned secretly to his native town, entered the house by night, and shot dead both her and her lover. Another of these stories describes the murder, by a boy of fifteen, of his stepmother and her partner in guilt during the absence of his father, whom a feud with a neighbouring chief had obliged to remove temporarily to a distance. In both these cases the deed was considered highly meritorious, and its perpetrator treated with every mark of consideration by friends and neighbours. The relatives of the guilty persons made no complaint to the authorities, nor did they manifest any resentment. On the contrary, the crime which had occasioned the murder is so abhorrent to the Kûrdish mind, that the customary visits of condolence were not paid to the families of the dead.

Stories, too, are common of women, both married and unmarried, who have defended their honour by taking the life of their assailant. One of these stories is so thrilling that I will endeavour to reproduce it in brief. A Kûrdish lady was returning, accompanied only by a manservant, to her husband's house from

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

a visit to her parents, who lived a day's journey off. On the road this man contrived so many delays that, instead of reaching home before sunset, they were obliged to stop for the night at a lonely and untenanted khan, of evil repute as the resort of robbers and brigands. After stabling the horses, the man came upstairs to the room occupied by his mistress, and approached her with dishonouring proposals. But she, divining his intention, had ready a small knife, which she plunged into his throat as he laid hold of her, and he fell dead. Not daring to close her eyes in that horrible place, she crouched in a corner to await the dawn. About midnight she was startled by hearing the sound of horse's hoofs approaching the khan—for who but a malefactor could arrive there in the dead of night? The newcomer alighted, and appeared to be seeking a stable for his horse, as he was leading it about below. "If he finds our horses," she thought, "I am lost," and again seizing the knife she cut off one of the dead man's arms and flung it from the window at the stranger as he passed below. He, however, still continued to wander backwards and forwards, leading his horse; so the next time he passed she cut off the other arm and threw that also at him. Upon this he cried, "Whosoever ye be, know that I am Dergo of Kisan,[1] and I fear ye not!" Oh, joy! It was her husband's voice.

"Dergo!" she called in reply, "It is I, thy Guzel, come and save me."

The astonished husband and his wife found their way to each other, and mutual explanations followed.

[1] A town between Bitlis and Van.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Not being sure of the day of his wife's return home, he had not been anxious at her non-arrival, but had been spending the evening with a party of friends. A question had arisen regarding his bravery; and, to vindicate it, he had accepted a wager to go alone at midnight to the Bas Khan, and leave there a token of his visit. He had been searching for a safe place in which to leave this token, unawed by the ghastly missiles hurled at him, as he supposed, by some banditti who had taken up their abode in the khan.

Mr. Rich, when travelling in Kûrdistan, met a girl of the Bulbassi tribe who had killed with a spear a Turk who insulted her. This young Amazon was dressed like a man, and served the chief, Fazullah Effendi, as his faithful henchman, accompanying him on all his expeditions. The women of this tribe are particularly hardy and intrepid. They sometimes take to the road as brigands, and unlucky is the trader or traveller who falls into their hands. For not content with robbing him, they strip him, excite him to make proposals to them, and then punish him for so doing with every species of mild torture which their lively imaginations can suggest, such as pinching, scratching, and scourging with thorns.

In the domestic circle the women are treated as equals by the men, who are most affectionate in their relations with their parents, sisters, and children, and in the character of husbands most considerate, kind, and forbearing. As an illustration of this latter trait, and at the same time of manners generally among the sedentary Kûrds, I cannot do better than give the following charming story.

for the Hutu themselves, safeguard had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a razzia, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose man provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own. 484 579 629

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Hutu. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the indemnity or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, so they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter 69% 628 622 [583] 628 584 622 [684]

of generosity. Commoners are not in a position to quarrel with a chieftain, and the problem was usually solved in this way. The youth was summoned and kissed the hand of his reluctant father-in-law, addressing him as a parent. If, however, the fugitive couple belonged to aristocratic houses, the most sanguine of vendettas could follow. 622 626 584

The integrity of its women is perhaps the primary asset of a family's honor. If a Kurd insults anything other than the women of his opponent, he is in danger of being slain himself. If, however, he seriously questions the honor of a woman, the latter must be killed by her relatives, never the accuser. The accusation is thus extremely dangerous, and, although it is sometimes heard in joking exchanges, a serious accusation cannot be taken lightly. The honor of a man depends very much on that of his female relatives, and the primary rule in this second regard is that no woman, unmarried or married, can have unseemly traffic, specifically intercourse, with any other person than her husband. If a bride cannot demonstrate her virginity, she can be returned to her relatives who are obligated to slay her, although she is not thus cast to them in every case. Similarly, if there is an accusation of adultery, a wife can be directed to the same fate. The woman, it might be said, is always the offender. It follows that if a woman errs in this way and is detected, she must flee, either to a chieftain or 577 562 554 [484] [585] 489 562

in the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence. 684 562 628 683 622

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initial advance, and he must slap her or draw his knife with 585
a threatening gesture. This done, sometimes seriously,
the couple may retire to their bed.

The virginity of a maiden must be attested, and from the white undergarments and bedding the maid who makes up the room in the morning is able to report on her "virtue," for the only test is the blood of the hymen. Occasionally the youth will smear a handkerchief with this blood and present it to his mother. In either case, the mother kisses the girl on the forehead and praises her for her chastity. The stained handkerchief, accompanied by an expensive gift, may be sent to the mother of the girl. If no blood is in evidence, a suspicious husband can return [586] [627] [684]
the girl to her father's house, and her relatives are more or less obligated to kill her. If, however, the youth's father is "pious," he requests his son to pardon the girl and to say nothing. After the bride has remained for seven days, a delegation of women from her father's house escorts her to her old home for a visit of several days. Her husband comes to take her a second time, on this occasion with no ceremony, and exchanges gifts with his father-in-law at this meeting. The feasting and dances which accompany the wedding can endure for a week or more, but most townspeople consider two or three days sufficient. The marriages of the poor are conducted with less ostentation, although relatively high sums may be expended, and those of the Kurdish aristocracy with the greatest display, the slaughter of dozens of animals

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a clumsy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narrow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red ochre silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connection with the urban soiree wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house ostensibly cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amounting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The assurance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[19], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She does run the same risk as brides I had seen in the village, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home this visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the execution I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

831 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured hus-
684 band, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the metre of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of
831 nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a named bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 Hay[154] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it
592 seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who
684 misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must
831 surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *nâmûs* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[155] says that it was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume consistant à mettre sur le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("yyshk"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Fellberg[156]. That the Arabs kill
831 a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred
191 to by Dickson[157], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Niebuhr's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1763: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[158].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Coran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[159], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[160].

586 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talâq*:
587 "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the 'idda-period[161] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[162]. By *talâq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

578 628 • 684 681 lead to one side burning the other's crops or stealing their cattle. Until bloodshed has occurred nothing is serious and a good elder Agha will see to it that the parties submit to arbitration before the affair reaches a crisis. More serious are affairs in which women are involved; an insult to honour can only be wiped out by death and the discovery of adultery can have only one possible sequel. Such cases however need not necessarily lead to feud; if the guilty lover belongs to the same village as the injured husband a single murder is considered to settle the matter. If the parties are from different groups however the affair is much more serious and several assassinations may take place before settlement can be reached. Eventually, provided it is the honour of commoners rather than of Aghas that is at stake, the Aghas concerned will arrange feal through the mediation of the tribal chiefs. According to Hay "A blood feud is usually settled by the payment of blood-money; every condition of man or woman has his or her price, and even the parts of the body are catalogued. A Hurmanji or middle class Kurdish farmer is valued at £90, one of his women at £45, and his leg or arm at say £20. Such payment is often made in kind, some cattle or a horse, or so much wheat being handed over to the aggrieved party. It is very common for a girl to be given away in marriage in payment of blood money. Thus if £90 were owing, the price of the blood of one m n the debt might be paid by the delivery of one girl, three cows and a donkey". I have no comparable information, though I think the general principle is accurately described. In Hay's time the Government could seldom apprehend a murderer. He says "For the murdered man's relations to take their revenge is quite in order, but an execution at the hands of that monster, the Government, is an entirely different matter. The culprit therefore is carefully concealed until he can make good his escape to the hills". The position today is somewhat different and I fancy the murderer is usually caught. This however does not end the feud; blood feud murders are punishable only by two years imprisonment and the war starts again when the culprit gets free.*

628 As has been explained the feuds of commoners and the less important Aghas are settled in the end by tribal arbitration. Moreover

* The Administration makes a distinction between feud murders justified by tribal custom and ordinary murders which are not. The former come under a special code for which the maximum penalty is two years imprisonment; the latter come under the ordinary Iraq criminal code for which the penalty is much more severe (? death). This has had an interesting repercussion. In the old days by tribal custom an affair of honour was adequately settled if the man only was killed, the woman in the case being merely driven out of her own community to find for herself. Today it is necessary for the avenging husband to prove to the Authorities that it is really an affair of honour and not just a cold blooded murder. The custom now therefore is to kill both the guilty parties.

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opposing sides. Occasionally these "bands" can disturb 857
the adult authorities, as in 1950 when some of the [685]
"raiders" took the money of the son of the assistant
commandant of police. Another game is played with a 857
rubber ball and a stick by two teams. These face each 524
other and one of the two "chiefs" hits the ball toward
his opponents with a stick. If the ball is caught by a
member of the opposing side, one of the first team is
eliminated from further participation, and so it continues
until "it can be seen who remains." A third consists in
forming a circle of a dozen or so youths. A ball is thrown
quickly among them until one is expelled for dropping it.
Hide-and-seek is a favorite, as well as throwing stones
or walnuts from a mark on the ground at a hole some dis-
tance away. Jik or knucklebones, obtained from a sheep,
is played by two. One bone is thrown up in the air and
the player endeavors to strike it while still in flight
with the second bone so that both will fall in a certain
way. Something similar to European or American "marbles"
is executed with small wooden balls. The girls commonly
play "house," imitating the domestic activities of their
elders. The older boys, it might be noted, refuse to play
with the girls as unworthy of their dignity. The girls, 868
much more than the boys, are called to perform household 857
tasks, helping the mothers with their work and taking care
of the younger children. It is said that a mother will
cause the oldest daughter to perform almost all of the
domestic activities, instructing her for the role of a

civil servants in Rowanduz who are not under the direct surveillance of the qaimmaqam (although, in an extraordinary case, the qaimmaqam could probably obtain his transfer or dismissal), and is responsible to the Ministry of Justice in Baghdad from whence he was appointed. The administration of the civil code is charged to this ministry, rather than to a judiciary independent of the executive branch of government. It governs a Court of Cassation, four Courts of Appeal located at Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk, and Mosul, fourteen Courts of First Instance (corresponding to the fourteen provinces) with unlimited powers, and forty-four Courts of First Instance with limited powers. These last are courts of single judges, and that of Rowanduz provides an example. 692

Thus the judge at Rowanduz is restricted in the types of cases he can try and the sentences his court can hand down. He cannot, for example, give the death penalty, and cases for which this is possible are forwarded to Erbil for trial. On the other hand, his court must be sought for the multitude of everyday questions of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and lesser violations of the civil statutes. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate the usual type of case brought before him. Two merchants in Rowanduz owned shops side by side, and one owed the other the sum of twenty dinars which he was unable or unwilling to repay. A heated argument ensued, and the creditor carried his case to the judge. The judge ruled in his favor, and the debtor's shop was padlocked and sealed. [696] 691 686 [696]

by the court clerk, Shakir Effendi, with great ceremony until the debtor should pay. Again, a merchant and a barber fell into a wrangle in the market-place in Rowanduz because the barber had wakened the merchant's infant children late the preceding night with his noise. Words passed, particularly on the side of the barber, the merchant drew his khunjir, and was beaten from behind with a club by the barber's son. At this point the police took them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection on their respective characters, fined the barber a dinar for disturbing the peace.

Also without subordination to the qaimmaqam are the teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and responsible to officers of the Ministry in Erbil. By law primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rowanduz district only a small number of children, sons and daughters of ambitious or wealthy people, are able to attend primary school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to college. The primary school is entered at the age of six or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with the "twelfth class," corresponding to the American first grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include reading and writing in Arabic (in Rowanduz there are special classes in Kurdish), mathematics, history, and social studies, and the course is normally completed at the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school can be entered next, and consists of three classes ("fifth"

to pay the taxes in money for their tribesmen or clients, 651
and in return demand a proportion, said to be often as high as 50%, of the crops. There is a constant struggle between the tax-assessor and the tax-payer, overestimation by the former and underestimation by the latter of the value in question. "If the rent of some land is 100 dinars," a landowner said, "the owner will tell the assessor it is only 50. No one pays taxes properly." It is for this reason that the investigation of economics by a disinterested observer is often difficult, for no one likes to reveal the true state of his finances, even to his most intimate friends.

There is in the serai an excise and customs director [647] [439]
who must supervise the collection of duties from the customs points at Jindian, Rayat, and Hajji Umran on the Iranian frontier. The volume of trade between the district and Iran is not large, one of the most important imports being Iranian rice, and is probably but a fraction of its former magnitude. Thus the collection of customs duties, as well as the detection of smuggling (with the exception of arms [687]
and ammunition, a capital offense) cannot be said to constitute a great problem. The Tobacco Monopoly will be spoken of below, and locally the only excise problem seems to be the manufacture of bootleg arrack by the Nestorians, [273]
a violation which is most often winked at. A certain amount of charcoal is illegally produced in the district and smuggled south to Erbil and Kirkuk, but this is an 314 656 372

there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and upper-class families who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the serai, with its important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during hours of business, its guards, and its four-colored ensign fluttering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech. But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet of oppression, but of sorrow, for in lorries drawn up before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many will never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the serai, old and young mothers and wives, dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside, and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Nestorian has set up an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation.

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building

Beg, Nuri Bawil Agha, and Sadiq Agha. Because that of Nuri Bawil Agha has suffered adverse fortunes, the House of Isma'il Beg, headed by Lali Khan, has the greatest interest in the town, owning considerable property therein. Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Muhammad 'Ali Agha might be mentioned, for it is nearby at Jindian, and its sons, such as Rashid Agha, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, not only of these families but of the district at large, enter into daily life to a large extent. They provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, revenue, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. One might inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Agha, the son of Nuri Bawil Agha, or Rashid Agha of Jindian, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the government personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmad of Betas and the army officer, Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, who had captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor. Sayyid Ahmad,

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[699]

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. 159 792 [743]

There was a man in Rowandus who had great influence, Sayyid Mousai Effendi Zakrizai. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'uf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowandus," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ma'uf Effendi was given the post again. [622] [574]

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Belediya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowandus was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Asis any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowandus its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowandus, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [604] [687] [964]

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowandus. I became a darvish and a khalifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old man, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [305] [785] [DC]

pagan; have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant. 771

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the amateur theologians was not of increasing impiety, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of puritan with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be denoted, the lack of condemnation of the government elite for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the faith, in which the townspeople find no interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Kurdish life has evoked conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, alcoholic beverages are not retailed openly in the town and the government elite amuses itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible defamation. Similarly, the most articulate demagogues of Kurdish independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their Arab colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the revolts of the past were partially phrased in religious terms, but it

177 771

[688]

[273]

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by the court clerk, Shakir Effendi, with great ceremony until the debtor should pay. Again, a merchant and a barber fell into a wrangle in the market-place in Rowanduz because the barber had wakened the merchant's infant children late the preceding night with his noise. Words passed, particularly on the side of the barber, the merchant drew his khanjir, and was beaten from behind with a club by the barber's son. At this point the police took them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection on their respective characters, fined the barber a dinar for disturbing the peace.

Also without subordination to the gaimmagam are the teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and responsible to officers of the Ministry in Erbil. By law primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rowanduz district only a small number of children, sons and daughters of ambitious or wealthy people, are able to attend primary school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to college. The primary school is entered at the age of six or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with the "twelfth class," corresponding to the American first grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include reading and writing in Arabic (in Rowanduz there are special classes in Kurdish), mathematics, history, and social studies, and the course is normally completed at the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school can be entered next, and consists of three classes ("fifth"

civil servants in Rowanduz who are not under the direct surveillance of the kaimmaqam (although, in an extraordinary case, the kaimmaqam could probably obtain his transfer or dismissal), and is responsible to the Ministry of Justice in Baghdad from whence he was appointed. The administration of the civil side is charged to this ministry, rather than to a judiciary independent of the executive branch of government. It governs a Court of Cassation, four Courts of Appeal located at Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk, and Mosul, fourteen Courts of First Instance [illegible] with unlimited powers, and forty-four Courts of First Instance with limited powers. These last are courts of single judges, and that of Rowanduz provides an example.

Thus the judge at Rowanduz is restricted in the types of cases he can try and the sentences his court can hand down. He cannot, for example, give the death penalty, and cases for which this is possible are forwarded to Erbil for trial. On the other hand, his court must be sought for the multitude of everyday questions of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and lesser violations of the civil statutes. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate the usual type of case brought before him. Two merchants in Rowanduz owned shops side by side, and one owed the other the sum of twenty dinars which he was unable or unwilling to repay. A heated argument ensued, and the creditor carried his case to the judge. The judge ruled in his favor, and the debtor's shop was padlocked and sealed.

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such house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 francs (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rwandan seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of unwrought stone, these last used for thresholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

was in reality that of a tribute empire, concerned with the collection of taxes and recruits. Even in those two [648] just tasks there was a contest, often in good humor, between the governors and the governed, and the victories were divided. As long as money and men were in reasonably good evidence, the Turks left the Kurds to their own devices. They handed down justice of a sort, but most [691] quarrels never reached their courts. They were not particularly concerned with homicide, insofar as the murdered party was not a Turk, and, above all, they did not tamper with the economic structure of society. The bulk of the [651] taxes were collected, in the best way possible, from the chieftains and landowners, never from the farmers and shepherds. The Kurds regarded these taxes, when they were forced to pay them, as a sort of levy to some superior chieftain. Matters of education or public health received [658] [744] little attention. This does not mean that in certain other areas of the Ottoman Empire there was not a complex bureaucratic government, but in Kurdistan it may be summed up as little more than desultory control. The gentle character of this administration, compared with that of today, is indicated by the fact that many Kurds look back with nostalgia to the "freedom" of Ottoman times.

In ethnological theory the significant difference [121] between primitive and civilized society is held to have its [619] basis in economics. Membership in a primitive society is defined in terms of kinship relation, usually by "blood,"

outbuildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards 743
for the district, although much is lacking in modern equipment and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical officer, also subordinate to the qaimmaqam. There are 759
several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical 759
service in the district is in some disrepute, largely because of the character of the medical officer. Trained in Lebanon, he was characterized as having expensive cures for expensive patients, and none at all for others. A poor servant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a rash, to this doctor was peremptorily told "to wash his baby more often," hardly a prescription of value as the child was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman with some complaint entered the doctor's office while the latter was in conference with a visitor to the district. When the countryman asked for the doctor, this person himself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not there, and would not be expected for several days." Such unfortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab physicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery as a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the 344
town are to be found the courthouse and residence of the [693]
judge (Arabic, hakim), the former a small, squarish mud-brick building of a single storey. When court is in 695
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civil servants in Rowandus who are not under the direct surveillance of the qaimmaqam (although, in an extraordinary case, the qaimmaqam could probably obtain his transfer or dismissal), and is responsible to the Ministry of Justice in Baghdad from whence he was appointed. The administration of the civil code is charged to this ministry, rather than to a judiciary independent of the executive branch of government. It governs a Court of Cassation, four Courts of Appeal located at Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk, and Mosul, fourteen Courts of First Instance (corresponding to the fourteen provinces) with unlimited powers, and forty-four Courts of First Instance with limited powers. These last are courts of single judges, and that of Rowandus provides an example. 692 ●

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The town of Rowandus, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the gaimmaqam of Rowandus occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowandus, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through zaiba or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the zaiba-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

to let Ahmed Beg know of their presence and visit his 622
diwanhane, or he will think they look down on his hospital- 574
ity, or, worse, do not know him or recognize him as a
chieftain."

Save for the question of hospitality, it may be seen 423
from the section on administration that the government 649
takes a strong interest in chieftains' activities. The
state lays claim to all unregistered land, emiriya, which
includes a large amount of "tribal" and village territory,
and would prefer to collect taxes directly from the pro-
ducers, thus cutting off the most important source of
aristocratic revenue. Some of the chieftains, abreast of
the times, have attempted to have tribal lands registered
in their own names. The execution of the law belongs to 649
the government, either the civil code of the judge or the 642
tribal code of the eshiresgen. Vengeance is also of the [692]
state, and homicides are to be handled by the police and
the courts, rather than the vendetta. Safeguard and
sanctuary in a well-policed district are thought to be
unnecessary. Modern Iraq is in concept democratic, and [559]
such titles as agha, beg, or shaikh, while they are widely
used, do not enjoy the sanction of law. The army and the
constabulary are thought adequate to handle military
exigencies, and the arming of a populace, particularly
parties of bodyguards, is considered superfluous, if not
dangerous. Thus the Kurdish aristocracy has lost many of 525
its important functions and perogatives. They are no longer 178
leaders in war or administrators, and much of their

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth. 609

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied 755
there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil.

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the 695
quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest
in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the 249
area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be
pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a
philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all
saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred.

The independent judiciary functions through its court in
Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, 635
since in the first instance cases come before the Mudir (sub-district 691
magistrate) and then before the Qa'im Maqam (district magistrate)
before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules
governing "appeal" to this court, nor as to the limits of sentence that
can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only
serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at
Erbil.

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil 695
and Rowanduz. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion 101
and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In
this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Kurds and Turks and
is thus in general inclination Kurdo-phil. The army on the other 513
hand is staffed mainly by Iraqi-Arabs whose hatred and fear of the
"barbarous Kurd" can be taken for granted.

The Liwa is divided into several districts (Khaas) each 695
presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Maqam). Area A, Map 1
with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the
Khaa of Rowanduz. The Qa'im Maqam is responsible for his district
in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for his Liwa.

The Khaa in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts
(nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Balik tribe all reside
within the nahiya Balik - the administrative district in this case
coinciding with the tribal one. Dargala on the other hand is
administered from Rowanduz.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who
provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the
tribe. It is the venality of these junior officials which is the
worst feature of the system, and which is the real source of

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

The Class Agha

The gund Aghas' relations to their tenants has now been defined; they in turn owe allegiance to the Agha of the taifa. This individual also may glibly claim to own all the land of all the gunds under his suzerainty, but his ownership is of a much more nominal variety than that of the gund Agha. The taifa Agha does not levy any specific charge upon his underlings but rather receives from them gifts in proportion to his usefulness. Thus Ismail Amin Agha of Nargusian, even though he belonged to the same tira as Shaikh Mohammed Agha of Balash head of the Hallashertifi and nominal paramount of all the Balik, did not admit that the latter was in any general sense his superior; though Shaikh Mohammed for his part claimed that Ismail Amin was his vassal. This discrepancy I think is only partly due to the recent loosening of political ties. In general it would appear that prior to the coming of the external administration the function of the taifa Agha was roughly that of arbitrator and court of appeal rather than dominating overlord. He seems to have been called in to arbitrate in small scale feuds, settle disputes between neighbouring villages over grazing rights and water, settle divorce disputes and so forth. For these services he would be suitably recompensed by the parties to the dispute.

This system of justice was doubtless exceedingly corrupt by European standards, but probably worked tolerably well. It is not clear what sanctions could be employed to enforce judiciary decisions of this sort. Today the claimant is encouraged to short-circuit the traditional machinery of the Aghas' courts and appeal for justice direct to the police. To some extent the two systems continue to operate side by side but with the continual lessening of the Aghas' authority litigation tends more and more to be a matter for the external administration only. I tried to obtain some opinions as to the relative efficiency of the old system and the new. The results were interesting. It was admitted that the decisions of the Agha in the old days were somewhat arbitrary, being based on considerations of wealth and nepotism rather than moral right, but at least a decision was arrived at quickly. The modern procedure on the other hand though plainly well intentioned is considered in practice to be slow, complicated and costly, and since the wealthier litigant can nearly always manage to appeal to a higher court if the first decision goes against him, the "justice" is nearly as one sided as before. Moreover it was argued that the police were just as corrupt as the Aghas with the disadvantage that, whereas formerly the Aghas were to some extent limited in their decisions by kinship obligations, the police had no interest at all except to sell justice to the highest bidder. Though this is certainly an overstatement of the case, many of the Iraqi police do appear to be exceedingly corrupt. So much so in fact that the new Qa'im Maqam of Rowanduz, chief magistrate of the district, was generally acclaimed by all as the almost unique example of a sincere

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

617 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers
692 has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 In earlier times the tribe Agha was probably in a position to
721 organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Rayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the
622 largest tribe, Mallasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[711] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammed asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Rowanduz on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammed ran away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammed as head of the Mallasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Bay Ingenieuly remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

[731] "Bay (p. 68) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Bay however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the tribe rather than the subject.

693

693 LEGAL AND JUDICIAL PERSONNEL.—*specialized law-enforcement personnel other than police (e.g., sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, pursuers, coroners); attorneys at law (e.g., counselors, barristers); bar associations; justices of the peace; court officials (e.g., judges, prosecuting attorneys, public defenders, clerks, court reporters); grand and petit jurors, parole and probation officers, executioners; qualifications, selection, functions, and prerogatives of each; payment (e.g., fees, commissions, salaries); legal ethics, etc. See also:*

Police . . . . . 698 Legal education 974

a great number of animals, thus partially explaining the seemingly small figure for "animals" cited above. 235 [42]

In spring the Jutchig are on the move, leading their flocks of sheep and goats from winter pasturage around Mosul and Erbil to summer grazing in the hills and mountains. The passes and defiles are filled with their animals, an annoying impasse to swift communication, and their black tents line the watercourses and trails. As winter approaches they return once again from the uplands seeking the warmth of the Jazira plain. In former days their passage could often be turbulent. Because of his flocks, the Jutchig must get through, and was accustomed to fight a way if some peaceful could be found. Much of this has lately been changed, for police vehicles with automatic weapons are strong arguments against violence, and the construction of better roads has greatly facilitated movement, although the nomad still has the right of way after dark, and moving a vehicle through the sea of animals blinking in the headlights is difficult. Even then the Jutchig constitute one of the most difficult administrative problems of a police force such as that of Rowanduz. He must arbitrate their quarrels in passage (usually a sheep missing from the nomad, or transient flocks in a villager's field) as well as those they cannot settle among themselves. Lastly, as many cross the national border into Iranian Azerbaijan, the police of Rowanduz must arrange their transfer twice each year with the authorities of that country. 221 233 [625] [491] [493] [495]

existed for centuries. Today it cannot be denied that some 619
tribesmen, particularly the hejbir, belong to their group 631
because of kinship relation (the Kurdish term is ashîr, from [614]
Arabic, 'a'ilah, "tribe," is used to describe a tribal sub-
division still to be found which seems to represent a
patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly
clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial.

It is important to notice that there are two main 671
bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered
by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and that
commonly called "tribal law," executed by local administra-
tive officers. The institution of dual legal systems was
evoked by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of
whose time-honored customs were, to say the least, out of
joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code.
The differences between the two need not be considered in
detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some
respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an
erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such
as adultery or rape. There are in the Rowandus district a
number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and
its administration is not charged to the local judge, but [693]
is an added task of the qaimmaqam. Hence the office of that 695
official in Rowandus has often the aspect of a courtroom,
the qaimmaqam and his clerk patiently and laboriously in-
quiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through
an interminable parade of witnesses--scarcely-dressed

outbuildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards 743
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townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can be done with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered degrading for men of the "upper" class to work with their hands. The group of persons who are not so talented, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, mullas or priests, and businessmen, such as the wealthier merchants and the owners of the *chaikhanes* and the hotel. Such a person is termed *effendi* or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two examples are provided by Shaikr Effendi and Ra'uf Effendi, both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shaikr Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Ra'uf Effendi is the *mukhtar* or representative of the townspeople. The chief mulla of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the women's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less domestic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowandus serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mulla in Rowandus have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mulla in Rowandus in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen

[1]Spencer, 1946.

Al Shamsan E-S (1997) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

Within Islam the construction of marriage is signalised by two things: the drawing up of a marriage settlement and the wedding festivities.

The drawing up of a marriage settlement is, as Levy points out[91], the main—I am tempted to say the basic—feature of a contracted marriage. According to what my interpreter told me, a marriage settlement drawn up by Kaids in the urban milieu of Sidaimani demands the presence of four male members of the bride's family, the most important of whom is the bride's guardian, as a rule her father. Four male members of the prospective bridegroom's family, that is to say the groom and three others, must also be present. There is also a mufti and the qâdî by whom the marriage settlement is drawn up[92]. My interpreter informed me that the prospective bride might also be present, though closely-veiled and in a somewhat passive role. Whereas the bridegroom thus has no opportunity of seeing the bride until the marriage is consummated, the bride apparently is afforded a chance of seeing her future husband. I was also told that on this occasion she is asked whether she agrees and that it is then open to her to refuse to go on with the marriage, her father being unable to force her. According to the *shafi'i* rite the bride must agree to the marriage[93]. The marriage settlement is not concluded between the bride and bridegroom, but between the bride's wali and the bridegroom with the others present as witnesses[94]. The bridegroom agrees to pay the bride price, its size is finally fixed, and with it the decisive point: how great a part of it is to be immediately available, before the wedding, and how much is to be held back for payment in the event of a divorce, that is to say if a man repudiates his wife (a right not shared by the latter), or in case of the husband's demise. When my interpreter's sister contracted marriage, I was told that the sum set aside for the contingency of divorce or widowhood was not, as normally[95], a half or a third, but if I understood aright—nearly four times that sum paid out, 1500 Din. (1500). The paid up part of the bride price was 400 Din. — (400). This large sum my interpreter's family demanded guaranteed to secure the sister's marital position and to prevent any repudiation in the event of another wife[96]. I cannot say whether the sum was made larger than in fact it was in order to add prestige to the family's economic reputation.

With the drawing up of the marriage settlement the man, in addition to paying out the bride price, undertakes to support his wife, give her food, clothes, and attendance commensurate with the standard obtaining in her family home[97]. A breach of this marriage settlement gives the wife grounds for divorce. The other possibility a woman has to obtain divorce is the re-payment of the bride price. Apart from these instances the right to dissolve marriage lies with the man, who utters three times the word talâq, "I repudiate thee", or better, in Juynboll's[98] translation: "I renounce all rights over thee", as in some cases when drawing up the marriage settlement certain clauses, *sc'ûq*, can be inserted or attached so that definite lapses or positive actions on his part nullify his rights over the wife, thus providing her with one more possibility to obtain a divorce. On contracting marriage the wife undertakes to bear the husband children who belong to the husband, also in the event of divorce. Here it is true, the woman takes the children with her so long as they are quite small, but is obliged to send them back to the father's house when the boys are six and the girls eight years old.

As mentioned, the drawing up of the marriage settlement takes place at the qâdî, the judge. (It was stated that in the villages only the local mufti was necessary). This has caused Ostrorog[99] to declare that the drawing up of a marriage settlement is a civil act, advancing as proof of this assertion that

existed for centuries. Today it cannot be denied that some 619
tribesmen, particularly the Ashiriz, belong to their group 681
because of kinship relations (the Kurdish term hizb, from [614]
Arabic, hi'ib, "tribe," is used to describe a tribal sub-
division still to be found which seems to represent a
patrilineal clan), while at the same time it is perfectly
clear that a great deal of membership is simply territorial.

It is important to notice that there are two main 671
bodies of criminal law in Iraq, a civil code administered
by judges appointed by the Ministry of Justice, and what
commonly called "tribal law," executed by local administra-
tive officers. The institution of dual legal systems was
evoked by the existence of Arab and Kurdish tribes some of
whose time-honored customs were, to say the least, out of
joint with the provisions of a modern, quasi-European code.
The differences between the two need not be considered in
detail. In general, "tribal" law is more lenient in some
respects, as in "justifiable" homicide (disposing of an
erring female relative), and more stringent in others, such
as adultery or rape. There are in the Rowanduz district a
number of groups who can have recourse to tribal law, and
its administration is not charged to the local judge, but [699]
is an added task of the kaimmakam. Hence the office of that 695
official in Rowanduz has often the aspect of a courtroom,
the kaimmakam and his clerk patiently and laboriously in-
quiring into the intricacies of some rural feud through
an interminable parade of witnesses--coarsely-dressed

III

...rtship and billmen from remote villages—every ...n on a cloth-covered Queen for their long-winded depositions. In the event that a chieftain has appeared, usually to palliate any offense which may have taken place within his grounds or to vouch for a suspect, the little ...rkhana or tea-shop across from the government building is full of his body-guards, and a current of excitement runs through the town. [265]

Those tribes having connections in the Rowanduz District, while not necessarily confined to it, include the Baleki under Mulla Musa Agha, the Bervinet under Mahmud Beg Khalifa Dauid, the Herki under Fetah Agha, the Herati under Hajji Hawsy Agha, the Khoylani under Salim Agha, the Hamawi under Muhammad Sayidi, the Sertati under Fetah Agha, and the Surchi under Kadir Agha. The most important and numerous are the Baleki, the Bervinet, the Herki, and the Surchi. Most of these have a network of lesser divisions, corresponding usually to lesser chieftains. It will be seen later that a chieftain must have no connection with a tribe to enjoy the rank. There are, to be sure, two views of the status of tribes and their leaders, that of the government and that of the local inhabitants. The list given here is that officially furnished by the qaim of Rowanduz, and does not necessarily correspond with some segments of local opinion, for, on the one hand, certain "lawful" chieftains may be exiled, imprisoned, or unrecognized, while others, such as As'ad Agha who keeps to a well-guarded house in Rowanduz, are unable to return to their villages [428] because of a feud.

695 ● 619 622 619

743

...buildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards ...r the district, although much is lacking in modern equip...ment and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical ...fficer, also subordinate to the kaimmaqam. There are 759 ...several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical 791 ...service in the district is in some disrepute, largely because ...of the character of the medical officer. Trained in ...Lebanon, he was characterized as having expensive cures ...for expensive patients, and none at all for others. A ...poor servant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a ...rash, to this doctor was peremptorily told "to wash his ...baby more often," barely a prescription of value as the ...child was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman ...with some complaint entered the doctor's office while the ...latter was in conference with a visitor to the district. ...When the countryman asked for the doctor, this person ...himself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not ...here, and would not be expected for several days." Such ...unfortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab ...physicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery ...as a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the ...town are to be found the courthouse and residence of the ...judge (kadhi, hakim), the former a small, squarish mud- 394 [693] ...brick building of a single storey. When court is in 695 ...session, there is usually a small number of villagers or ...townspeople squatting or leaning against the front wall, ...waiting to be called. The judge is the foremost of several 692

and for this reason he is glad to give a share of his profits, if only that his ruler, the symbol of the group, can show hospitality, which is, in fact, that of the poor villager himself. These aristocratic guest-rooms, in addition to providing food and shelter for whoever seeks them, are used to some extent as a clubhouse for the men, and a commoner, tribesman or tenant, can appear during the day for tea, tobacco, and the latest gossip. The chieftains themselves use them for what, in want of a better term, might be called their "courts," where they entertain friends and visitors, hear the complaints and news of their people, and direct their various activities. The etiquette of entering such a guest-room is exactly like that described above for a chaykhana, or tea-shop, and the activity is much the same, talking and smoking, although the atmosphere is more solemn and the refreshments gratis. As in the case of the Arab Bedouin, a stranger may enjoy hospitality unchallenged for three days, and after this period the chieftain, while he does not send his away, may ask his name and his errand. Questioning the hospitality of a chieftain, which constitutes a reflection on his people, is an extremely grave insult, and can also provide the basis of a feud. Thus visitors in a remote district must avail themselves of the chieftain's guest-room, for, if they do not, it may be thought an insult is intended. Speaking of a party of strangers in the Barzinet country, a Kurd said, "It is necessary for them

civil servants in Rowandus who are not under the direct 692
surveillance of the mutesarrif (although, in an extraordinary case, the mutesarrif could probably obtain his transfer or dismissal), and is responsible to the Ministry of Justice in Baghdad from whence he was appointed. The administration of the civil side is charged to this ministry, rather than to a judiciary independent of the executive branch of government. It governs a Court of Cassation, four Courts of Appeal located at Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk, and Mosul, fourteen Courts of First Instance (corresponding to the fourteen provinces) with unlimited powers, and forty-four Courts of First Instance with limited powers. These last are courts of single judges, and that of Rowandus province an example.

Thus the judge at Rowandus is restricted in the types of cases he may try and the sentences his court can hand down. He cannot, for example, give the death penalty, [696]
and cases for which this is possible are forwarded to Erbil for trial. On the other hand, his court must be sought for the multitude of everyday questions of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and lesser violations of the civil statutes. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate the usual type of case brought before him. Two merchants 691
in Rowandus owned shops side by side, and one owed the 694
other the sum of twenty dinars which he was unable or unwilling to repay. A heated argument ensued, and the creditor carried his case to the judge. The judge ruled in his favor, and the debtor's shop was padlocked and sealed [695].

by the court clerk, Khakir Effendi, with great ceremony until the debtor should pay. Again, a merchant and a barber fell into a wrangle in the market-place in Rowandus because the barber had weaned the merchant's infant children late the preceding night with his noise. Words passed, particularly on the side of the barber, the merchant drew his khanjir, and was beaten from behind with a club by the barber's son. At this point the police took them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection on their respective characters, fined the barber a dinar for disturbing the peace.

Also without subordination to the ministries are the teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and responsible to officers of the Ministry in Erbil. By law primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rowandus district only a small number of children, sons and daughters of ambitious or wealthy people, are able to attend primary school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to college. The primary school is entered at the age of six or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with the "twelfth class," corresponding to the American first grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include reading and writing in Arabic (in Rowandus there are special classes in Kurdish), mathematics, history, and social studies, and the course is normally completed at the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school can be entered next, and consists of three classes ("fifth"

for the Kurds themselves, safeguard had a more important application. If a man was a member of a group engaged in a vendetta, and had to pass through dangerous territory, he could put himself under the protection of a neutral group whose men provided him with an escort and, should he be killed, was obligated to avenge his death just as if he had been one of its own. 484 579 629

Sanctuary is something of major importance among the Kurds. If a man had committed a crime, usually a murder, he could throw himself on the mercy of the nearest chieftain and the latter was bound by honor to protect him from his pursuers. Often the chieftain paid the beiaibhrin or blood-money to the injured parties, although unrelated to them or to the criminal, as a generous gesture. Of greater interest, perhaps, the chieftain provided sanctuary for runaway lovers. If a youth and a maiden fell in love and their parents forbade the match, they sometimes fled together, and, if captured by their irate relatives, would be slain. It is said that the first thing for such fugitives to do is to have intercourse, so they cannot be separated except by death, for a woman who has lost her virginity out of wedlock must be killed by her kinsmen. If the pair were able to reach a chieftain, the latter now acted as a matchmaker. He sought out the parents of the girl, informed them that their daughter was under his protection, attempted to reconcile them to the marriage, by this time consummated, and often paid the dowry of the bride, again, as a matter 69[illegible] 628 622 [583] 628 584 622 [604]

mdir, "exiled," in his own words, to the country, must account for a nahiya or sub-district, in this case with an average population of some 10,000 souls, with a staff of a few tax-assessors, clerks, a police detachment and servants which together usually numbers less than 30 or 40 men, less than 1/250th of such a population.

The lot of the typical mudir is not an enviable one. His chief tasks are those of the great trinity of Middle Eastern administration, the maintenance of order, the collection of taxes, and the selection of army recruits. Because these three demand most of his time and energy, other problems, such as public health, must suffer in comparison. The government headquarters is the central village of a nahiya usually a decrepit one-storey outpost of mud-brick or rubble, built about an unpaved courtyard. It contains some offices, a guardroom and quarters for the police, and a primitive jail, and boasts neither plumbing, heating, or electricity. The mudir himself is assigned a house, but he can rarely have more than the minimum in furnishings, just as he usually cannot yet afford marriage. He is most often a younger man from 25 to 35 years of age, a lawyer by training, and in high hopes of some better favoured assignment. Moreover, he finds himself an alien in the community, not only because his origins are elsewhere, but also because his social rank does not seem to admit of free intercourse with those he governs. There are, to be sure, mudirs who take a great part in the social life of their nahiyas, but

ittle collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khukiris
he curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because
n with business in the serai are disarmed on entering
d may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The
ofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting
ists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them turfs of
ass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on
ty at night take up their station in a corner of the
of.

The offices of the serai open on the inner courtyard.
ere are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the
rst storey, and the interior windows and those of the
cond storey facing the valley are glassed and barred.
e walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists
bare brushes and poles which support the roof. The
ors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs,
d long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few
fices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Desks, desks, and
ore desks are occupied with stacks of dossiers
d loosely-glazed papers. Everything is written by hand,
r there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office
ands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned
er over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and
e rare work which demands attention after dark must be done
r kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are
ipped with stoves in winter time. Directly across the
rtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual fur lining, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of marble stairs may be found the office of the <u>qaimmaqam</u>. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the <u>qaimmaqam</u>'s littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

K 534
K 535

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a pleasant lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians often the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

K [563]

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Moslems in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Jej, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

K [613]
K 793
K [634]
K 731
K 697

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MAII Hard MAII

The Kûrds, too, generally leave to the women the business of settling accounts with that regular, but unwelcome, visitor, the tax-gatherer.

On the arrival on one occasion of this functionary at the camp of the Haidarânlû, a large and wealthy tribe established in the plains to the north-west of Van, he was politely received and treated with black coffee and tobacco in the tent of the chief, Ali Agha, who courteously informed him that he was at liberty to enter the different tents for the collection of the sheep tax. Once in the tents, however, the tax-gatherer soon perceived that while he was striving to get hold of everything he could detect, the object of the women was to conceal from him all they could. Out of interests so opposed a collision naturally soon arose, and a shower of vituperation, followed by an attack with sticks and stones, assailed the unlucky official, who was finally rescued from the hands of these fair furies by the men of the tribe, and carried for safety to the tent of the chief. Ali Agha now gave him the friendly advice to get from the women all they were willing to give and return at once to Van, thanking Allah that no worse had befallen him. "My good fellow," he concluded, "what can you do with women? They will have their way. Take the money and be off."

In 1854 there passed through Constantinople on their way to the seat of war a band of Kûrdish cavalry led by a woman named Kara ("Black") Fatmé Hanûm. Save for the decoration for which blood in her eyes there was, however, nothing Amazonian in the

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1890) 1891
MAII Kurd MAII
Kurdish MS10

aspect of this female warrior, who is described as having been a little shrivelled up old woman.'

Among the nomad and peasant Kirds, as might be expected, very little attention is paid to education. The sedentary Kirds in Sulaimaniah and other centres, are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have Mullahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges. The wives and daughters of the learned Kirds are also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kirdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mullahs to publish works in that language. The Kirdish tongue is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feeling often manifests itself among Kirdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

The members of the Yezidi sect, who belong to eleven different tribes, and number between seven and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

* [illegible], *The Yezidis*, p. 130.

is native to the town, although one is related to the chief mukhtar. It is interesting that a substantial number are Christians, for in contemporary Egypt it is commonplace that Coptic Christian students are at a disadvantage with their Muslim instructors and fellows. Here the roles are reversed: the Christian instructor can be placed in some embarrassment by his Muslim pupils. Most rural schoolteachers, such as those of Rawanduz, are young men of poorer families, graduates of the teachers' college in Baghdad, and, while the hierarchy of the Iraqi civil service, occupy a low position indeed. They are not highly paid (and can hardly afford the amusements of the others), and are to some extent looked down upon by town folk administrators, army and police officers. Because of such disabilities, instructors have the not undeserved reputation of being an easy prey to extremist political formulae, and are subject to some official distrust and scrutiny. With meticulous conduct required of him in addition to his other complaints, the teacher is apt to feel his lot is extremely unhappy, if not precarious. On the other hand, the teacher, because he is often courted by the fathers of his pupils, is likely to play a much wider part in the social life of the town than, say, an army officer, and to enjoy considerable prestige among the lower classes, a role among these last which will be returned to later.

Playing a part in the social life of the town far greater in importance than any which it might normally

posture in the formal administration to the army. It would be ungrateful to speculate on the character or strength of strategic installations throughout the district, as these constitute an important link in the chain of defenses which guard the northern frontier of Iraq. It is possible, however, to make some cogent general remarks concerning the unit which has its training headquarters near Rowanduz, and since commandant, a colonel, has prestige and power equivalent to that of the principal. On the southeastern bank of the Rowanduz river, between Rowanduz and Jindian, is located the garrison, quartered in a huge rectangular barracks enclosing an interior parade ground, constructed some years ago by the British. This building houses barracks, stores, offices, mess-rooms, and, with a few exceptions, everything necessary to the operation of the unit. Near it other parade and training grounds have been set up. Slightly closer to Rowanduz, below the road by the river, is a motley aggregate of small mud-brick dwellings which are used as married quarters for the non-commissioned officers. Most of the officers as are accompanied by their wives have their homes in Rowanduz.

The unit includes a large number of officers and enlisted men, and the ethnic origins of both groups are somewhat varied. The colonel was a Muslim Kurd, a major was a Nestorian Christian, one captain was a "Shereh Arab,"[1] and

[1]"Shereh Arab" is English usage; referred to as Ta'ziba, they prefer the term Abarsi, "easterner," themselves.

gether was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Shareh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of motors arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlukan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

roadside <u>chaykhana</u> between Kwrlokan and the barracks. With the reputations of their daughters in mind, the townspeople of Rowandux keep the enlisted personnel of the army at some distance, and, because the army has greater freedom in Kwrlokan, describe its population, perhaps a hundred in all, as being wholly made up of "prostitutes and procurers." There seems to be no truth in the accusation. In addition, they do not tolerate arrack-drinking by enlisted men in Rowandux. The story is often told how several years ago a soldier managed to become intoxicated while in town and made loud and unseemly remarks in a <u>chaykhana</u>. He was thrown into the gorge, and, in the inquiry into his death, the townspeople asserted that, while drunk, he claimed "he was able to fly," and that they knew nothing of the matter beyond this.

There are, at times, government agents of other departments at work in the district, for example, those of the Directorate-General of Agriculture, but their connections are with Erbil or Baghdad, rather than with Rowandux itself. Some of the most important of these are the engineers of the department charged with public works, for they utilize local labor in their constructions. In the summer of 1951 one such engineer was engaged in resurfacing the road between Rowandux and Jiadien, and some fifty men from Rowandux and the district were employed in this work. There are any number of others, such as repairmen for the telephone and telegraph lines, who frequent the area.

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a <u>shaykhana</u> can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the <u>shaykhana</u>, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The <u>shaykhana</u>, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the <u>qaimaqam</u> or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in <u>shaykhanas</u> will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (<u>hatiw baz</u>, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.)

265 554 [577]

[574]

[558]

[701] [578] [838]

differs little from that of the townspeople, but it is necessary to mention the drinking parties of the men. The Kurds of this area are not fond of alcoholic beverages, although a few of the chieftains have experimented with them, and it can almost be stated categorically that no person native to Rowanduz makes use of them. A "secret sinner" (the use of intoxicants is forbidden in the Quran) would have a difficult time, for his wife would be sure to find him out and carry the tale to Kinsmen, but there seems to be little desire, even among the young men and other persons disgruntled with the unchanging tempo of country life. Bayin Amina, the wife of Shakir Effendi, was married from an Ottoman family in an area of Turkey where drinking, separately, to be sure, of groups of men and women of the upper class was commonplace. She regretted, not the deficit of potables, but the cheerful woman's parties of her youth. With the officials and army officers it is quite otherwise, for many come from the great cities, or have had their training there, where inebriation is a standard form of entertainment. Some of the officers prefer beer, perhaps on the analogy of British officers, but the most popular is arrack (omnipresent in the Eastern Mediterranean: ouzo in Greece, raki in Turkey, zibib in Egypt, and 'arag in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq), a distillate of fermented grapes or dates flavoured with anise or mastika, gum arabic, and of great potency. It is poured in small amounts into tumblers and water is added, which, if the

262 273 [704]

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NAII Bard NAII

ing his form of rule to that of the feudal sovereign in Simon, Persia: 178
«You are not the lord of a tribe, nor are your sons your tribesmen. 694
You may clothe them, feed them, and make them rich, but they are
not your cousins, they are but your servants» (ibid, p. 84).

When Bohtan rule was broken in 1851, Ottoman legal practice as 178
well as personal ambition achieved a footing in the area. This contributed 483
further to the breakdown of traditional principles, since it offered
individuals the opportunity to manipulate the two different systems,
traditional usage and Ottoman legal code, to their own advantage.
This most profoundly affected land tenure. All land, unless otherwise
registered, was deemed to belong to the Ottoman Sultan.
Though the rule existed that no whole village should be registered
as the property of any single person, this and other rules were gener-
ally overlooked. Thus leaders of tires, Begs, or in fact any other
person who could bribe a few witnesses, registered large tracts of
land as their personal property. Although actual power was of course
necessary to make these formal transactions effective so far as the
collecting of tax was concerned, the result was that a category of
landowner emerged for which there were no clear traditional prece-
dents, and their claims, when supported by power and supposed
Ottoman land code, could not truly be disputed. As a result, the
field was left open to individual exploitation on a much larger scale
than in Bohtan times, and the only effective checks were the above
mentioned threats to the personal safety of the exploiter.

COMPOSITE COMMUNITIES

In the Hamawand area, some local groups are found today where 563
tribally organized Hamawand exploit a non-tribal tenant population
(Mankjin) as a serf group. Such situations have come about by recent
military conquest, and show incipient developments of a caste system.
Certain aspects of organization have been developed by the Hama-
wand as an adjustment to this situation.

The Hamawand formal political structure already outlined was 701 •
also a military hierarchy of command. Each village was expected to
muster a group of horsemen, usually 10—15, led by the village *Agha*,
as a fighting unit in the Hamawand army. Each of these soldiers,

usually called *silliman*-, owned at least one horse and one rifle, and kept a constant large supply of ammunition. During their periods of insurgence, it was difficult for the Hamawands to obtain such supplies. An informal symbiosis was therefore established with merchants in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who, in return for furnishing the items that the Hamawands needed, were permitted to pass through the area with their other goods. The Hamawands used Turkish Mauser rifles, and made their bullets of soft lead. As late as 1949, swords and lances were still employed.

When a Hamawand boy reached the age of 7, military instruction began — «just like soldiers are trained». The father supervised the training, and according to legend, any boy who did not show sufficient fearlessness was chased out of the area. After the youth had killed his first man in battle, or otherwise showed himself worthy, he was given the full status of *silliman*, and generally a present from the *Agha* — a horse, a good rifle, or a quantity of stolen animals for sale.

The village *Aghas* were expected to mobilize the *silliman* of the village at short notice for service in the larger units, led by the *Aghas* of the major branches of the Hamawand. But the village *Agha* was also free to initiate raids or conquest himself. A small group of *Aghas* from closely related villages might get together and contribute forces to the venture, or a single village might undertake the enterprise. Thus a war-party was formed, under the leadership of one *Agha* or one senior *Agha*. If the purpose was not looting of caravans, but conquest, some as-yet unconquered village was chosen as the object of attack, and the normal procedure would be for the group of *silliman* to ride in a body to the village and offer the inhabitants an ultimatum. If the village surrendered, one of the Hamawand party was untied in it to collect taxes. If the village chose to resist, it would be attacked, and if the Hamawand gained entry they would rob the village of all movable property, as well as domestic animals, and carry it all away. The defeated villagers, unable to continue their agricultural work without implements and animals, would then normally send a delegation to the victorious Hamawand village, promising submission for return of the property.

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in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by given ideals of moderation.

To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or eating is observed. When all the tea comes out of the kettle, one somewhat, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places constrains. In eating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) The ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

situation of armed conflict. The conceptual separation of peace chief and war chief, frequently found in other societies, is lacking in the Kurdish area; thus the leader in war is also the leader in peace, and differences in total status organize the men of a local community in a single, universally relevant hierarchy of individuals. The pertinent questions in the present connection regarding armed conflict are thus concerned with who initiates it, and what the extent and nature of his following is. 721 701

As pointed, of course, external administration prevents large scale conflicts of any kind, and this kind of leadership is rarely expressed, and then only in a limited field. In the autonomous Kurdish system, on the other hand, conflicts of all kinds were endemic, and the following discussion relates primarily to the patterns as freely expressed up till the nineteen twenties.

In the tribal political system, political office directly involved leadership in war, and each *Agha* and *Beit* in the hierarchy was responsible for mustering, and vested with the command of, a specified number of rifle-men. The same correspondence between civil and military command was characteristic of the feudal organizations of the non-tribal areas, and e. g. of the temporary organization established by Shaikh Mahmud.

The *Agha* of a village could also independently initiate war parties — a development carried to the extreme in the case of the Hamawands. Such war or raiding parties also served as steppingstones for political advancement — the Hamawand who conquered a village would sooner or later break loose from the *Agha* that backed him, and constitute himself as an *Agha* on his own right. In the non-tribal areas, this was more easily done, and the successful marauder might carve out a small domain for himself. In the tribal system, the raiding parties directed towards the conquest of land were generally composed of near kin, who were, in fact, relieving local village population pressure and looking for a new place to settle down. The feudal lord, on the other hand, recruited his soldiers where he could, though there was a conscious attempt, as pointed out in the discussion of Baban organization to utilize tribal solidarity and use smaller groups of tribesmen to control larger groups of non-tribal peasants. Thus,

leadership in war parties, and resultant conquest, was a major path of status mobility.

Raiding parties, not aimed at conquest, but merely at the looting of caravans or hamlets, tended to be more open in composition. Competent riflemen-adventurers from various villages would congregate under the command of some charismatic leaders in the terminology of the external administration, and follow him as long as his luck lasted. Characteristically enough, the Hamarwada form an exception to this usual pattern. Adapting their whole society to an economy based on war and looting, they also developed a singular form of professional ethics connected with these activities. Not only were even the incidental raiding parties apparently organized in the same pattern as village administration; rules of fair play were also developed. According to the accounts of their opponents as well as their own law, women were never harmed or even searched in the raids on caravans — if you were able to slip your money-bag to a woman without the Hamarwada noticing it, your money was safe — if the woman was keeper! Moreover, if the hour for prayer found them in the middle of battle, they would each in turn get off their horse and go through the complete ritual, after which they would again charge into the turmoil!

The ordinary brigand, apart from this Hamarwad[illegible]peculiarity, qualified himself in the eyes of the villagers by a high rating on the scale of honor and bravery, as well as a fairly consistent run of good luck. In spite of persistent efforts on the part of the external administration, brigandage and raiding continues — though on a greatly reduced scale — and this must primarily be due to the positive value given to this type of bravery. The ideal which the brigand should approach is closely similar to our conception of Robin Hood. At the time of my visit, a certain bandit and murderer by the name Kalla Pisa was active in the area. For all practical purposes he seemed to regard himself as involved in a blood feud with the police — and the stories circulating about him had a familiar Robin Hood ring. They involved stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, miraculous feats such as visiting the police inspector's home and forcing him to serve up a luxurious dinner, being gallant to the ladies, etc. etc.

A person exhibiting similar virtues to a lesser degree will normally tend to lead the local worship society of his own village, and is the type of person who frequently makes his career as the minister of a feudal lord, thereby attaining district but probably considerable powers. 701 * 579

An occasional legitimate expression for this type of leadership today is the spaewr, organized on a village level e. g. when cattle is stolen, on a larger scale when cooperating with the police in tracking a brigand. It should be noted, incidentally, that such assistance on the part of a whole district or tribe is only accorded to the police when the police has made himself obnoxious to the villagers of the area in question. 128

possibly on the instigation of the Ngoni, because he was said to have corrupted the morals of the youth.

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Ndola.

The Government have made various departments in agricultural matters chiefly with a view to improving the level of livestock and the quality of relative crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all exportable tobacco each year more than repays any expenses incurred.

The Independent Judiciary functions through the court in Ndola. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Ndola (administrative) magistrate and then before the Ba'ile Bwalo (district magistrate) before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Ndola.

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Ndola and Kawambwa. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Bemba and Tonga and in time to general inclination Bemba-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Ngoni-Lenje whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Bush" can be taken for granted.

The Area is divided into several districts (Mbusa) each presided over by a District magistrate (Ba'ile Bwalo). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Mbusa of Kawambwa. The Ba'ile Bwalo is responsible for the District in much the same way as the Mchemmili is responsible for his Area.

The Mbusa in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (Amalipa) over which presides a Mukilo. The Mukilo tribe all reside within the Amalipa Mukilo - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Incepts on the other hand is administered from Kawambwa.

The Mukilo has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the reality of these junior officials which is the most feature of the system, and which is the real source of

against this people and, in many instances, their ignorance or cowardice. This may be seen from one of the more recent complaints:

> Some of them are farmers and shepherds, but most of them are robbers. If a Kurd has not killed six or seven men, he is not respected and considered capable to live. My friend once told me a story he heard from one of the Kurdish chiefs. He said he had a son who was very beautiful, and this was considered quite a disgrace, for one of these chiefs is always made leader in case of war. It would also be impossible for him to marry one of the best girls unless he was a successful thief and robber. He carries with him a gun and a sword, and no matter how bloody or evil the deed he commits may be, it only adds respect and honor to his name.[1]

The smuggler reputation is not wholly without reason. In older times the Kurdish chieftains were not above plundering expeditions from their mountains and in recent years have proven incorrigible revolutionists, for reasons which will be considered in this study. This has not endeared them to their co-religionists among the Arabs, Iranians, and Turks. Secondly, many Kurds served in the Hamidiye, the irregular bodies of reactionary troops organized by the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid to crush incipient liberal and nationalistic movements in the tottering Ottoman Empire, and the Armenians and other Christians who suffered from their depredations, as well as missionaries and spokesmen in Europe, have been loud in their denunciation of the Kurdish nation as a whole. Lastly, the blood feud and brigandage are well known in Kurdistan itself. The first is not concerned with outsiders, but exists to emphasize a bloodthirsty reputation, and the

[1] Bowyer, 1913, p. 193.

officers against a conscription law, because obviously is not taxed.

The census officer and an assistant have an office in the serai, as has been mentioned above. The difficulties encountered in preparing a census for a district such as this are formidable, but administratively the task does not have the priority of others. The chief problem is simply the determination of the numbers of men and women in the district, itself a Herculean labor, and statistics in matters of births, deaths, marriages, and the like, are simply unknown. Because this is a new department, however, one might expect expansion in the future.

Finally, the serai houses the office of a civilian recruiting officer and his assistants whose task is the selection of recruits for the army. In Iraq every male must perform two years' military service after reaching the age of 18 years unless deferred for unfitness, pursuit of a higher education, or some other reason. There are four divisional commands to which recruits are sent for training and service, the transmission from Rowandiz being by lorry to Erbil. The Iraqi army, while equipped and organized on a British model, has little appeal for the poorer Arab or Kurdish youth, for the pay is almost nothing, the food refused to kreat and soup, and the regular enlisted personnel tyrannical. Thus, while the Kurds are noted for their love of arms and fighting, conscription is a joyless event in the poverty-stricken households, and

there are many malingerers. The legal remedy for evasion, whenever detected, is simply the extension of the term of duty. There are, to be sure, many Kurds of middle and upper-class families who, on the completion of their secondary schooling, select the not unpleasant and honorable career of an army officer.

For the people of the district the serai, with its important complement of officials, its bustling crowd during hours of business, its guards, and its four-cornered ensign flattering above from a flagpole, is the physical symbol of governmental authority. "The serai prefers this," or "the serai would never permit that," is heard in popular speech. But for many it is a place, neither of prestige nor yet of oppression, but of sorrow, for to barrios drawn up before its gateway depart the groups of recruits and prisoners bound for Erbil, and the people know that many will never return. There is always a number of women to be found outside the serai, old and young, mothers and wives, dressed in the stained, dark cloth of the countryside, and often one will raise her voice in a low-pitched lament or fall into tears. An enterprising Westerner has set up an antique camera at one corner, and the prisoner and recruit often exchange photographs with their wives, the poorly-made prints that are so often brought out during the long months of separation.

To one side of the serai, on one of the two streets leading up into the town, is a small, square brick building

another one of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Kurds Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organizations, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of makes arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlukha, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

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Government responsibility among the tribes. May describes the predicament of his chief as "between ruthless wicked breaking out wicked principles, they want their authority to remain honourable wicked".

Below the Bakir there should be in each village a Bukkum, the functions being basically those of magistrate and tax collector. Among the hill Kuki the Bukkum is invariably the head of the village concerned and the two in Lorbie each.

This summarises briefly the normal functions of the various elements of Government within the area under discussion. A more dynamic view of the interaction between Government and tribe will emerge in the course of later Volumes.

702. Iraq has had conscription since 1934. Since and nominally all Kurds are liable for military service. It is part of the duties of the Mukhtar to record births and report to the Kaim the names of those liable for service. Until very recently however no real records have been kept, as to avoid military service it was usually necessary to produce suitable presents for the right people at the right moment. Contemporary military service provides the Agha with a convenient means of getting rid of undesirable characters. That at least summarises the position as outlined to me by my interpreter. But I obtained no figures as to the actual numbers conscripted.

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The census officer and his assistant have an office in the corral, as has been mentioned above. The difficulties encountered in preparing a census for a district such as this are formidable, but administratively the task does not have the priority of others. The chief problem is simply the determination of the numbers of men and women in the district, itself a herculean labor, and statistics in matters of births, deaths, marriages, and the like, are simply unknown. Because this is a new department, however, one might expect expansion in the future.

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Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink [272]
tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial [524]
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However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokan, 341
the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks 701
the site of old Kowandus beneath the bluff, and there is a 265

distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qadha is charged to the qaimmaqam.

181 579 [628] [177] [491] [625] [704] 625 647 624

Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

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Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowandus, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowandus save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a _shaykhana_ where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (_tawli_ in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowandus, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kavlokan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowandus beneath the bluff, and there is a

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, khanjirs (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the serai are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass have found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the serai open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tamped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few offices boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and convenient corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in wintertime. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, its inner wall

perform in its formal administration is the army. It would be ungrateful to speculate on the character or strength of strategic installations throughout the district, as these constitute an important link in the chain of defenses which guard the northern frontier of Iraq. It is possible, however, to make some cogent general remarks concerning the unit which has its training headquarters near Rowandux, and whose commandant, a colonel, has prestige and power equivalent to that of the qaimmaqam. On the southeastern bank of the Rowandux river, between Rowandux and Jindian, is located the garrison, quartered in a huge rectangular barracks enclosing an interior parade ground, constructed some years ago by the British. This building houses barracks, stores, offices, mess-rooms, and, with a few exceptions, everything necessary to the operation of the unit. Near it other parade and training grounds have been set up. Slightly closer to Rowandux, below the road by the river, is a motley aggregate of small mud-brick dwellings which are used as married quarters for the non-commissioned officers. Such of the officers as are accompanied by their wives have their homes in Rowandux.

The unit includes a large number of officers and enlisted men, and the ethnic origins of both groups are somewhat varied. The colonel was a Muslim Kurd, a major was a Nestorian Christian, one captain was a "Marsh Arab,"[1] and

[1] "Marsh Arab" is English usage; referred to as Ma'edan, they prefer the term sharqi, "easterner," themselves.

produced and cheaper, tends more and more to replace stone 339
in house building, despite the fact that thereby the life
of a house, particularly in a region of winter rain and
snow, is considerably shortened. Mud-brick has undoubtedly
been known in the region from antiquity, but its greatly
increased use in the construction of house walls is a
feature of the last half-century. Cement-blocks, which
have been cited in certain government structures, are im-
ported, and these buildings themselves are constructed
under the direction of government engineers. Some of the
chieftains in outlying villages have not missed the advan-
tages of building stone and concrete over mud-brick as
far as small arms fire is concerned, and one of them, [712]
Mahmud Beg of the Baradost, was busy in erecting a large
building which on completion will be almost the duplicate
of a fortified police post.

The carpenters of the town are occupied partially 335
in building and partially in the repair of furniture and 322
certain manufactures. Heavier pieces of timber are rare
in such a deforested area, and most of them, such as lintels,
are used again and again. Mud-roofs are laid down on a
thick layer of poles and twigs which are furnished by
village woodmen. Doorposts and doors are made of heavy,
roughly cut timber, and window-frames with glass must be
imported from Erbil. Furniture, benches and chairs, are [352]
used for generations, and the carpenters simply repair
them, rather than manufacture new items. Aside from this

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowandus and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowandus with subsidiary police posts at Rayat and Galala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winter; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various valleys; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Rayat valley.

B. Foothill Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.M.Hamilton - Road through Kurdistan.

[Rowanduz -- Analyst]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 712

Kurdistan landscape. The citadel of Amadiya, a Kurdish stronghold, stands on the flat-topped hill to the right protected by a rampart built up from the rock which crowns the precipitous hillsides

[A 385(A)]

and his Marsh Arab constable. Enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the police are furnished their uniforms, rations, and quarters, although those who can bear the expense may live in private dwellings with their families. The duty uniform of the police consists of a forage cap with a black cloth patch sewed on its front to which a silver badge is pinned, a shirt and tunic with metal buttons, short trousers, wrap-around puttees, and heavy army shoes. The cloth is of olive drab wool in the winter and khaki drill in the summer. The dress uniform, which includes a spiked helmet, encountered in Baghdad and other larger towns, is never seen in Rowandus. Officer's uniforms differ only in that they are of better quality, long trousers may be worn, and a sun helmet may be substituted for the cap. Ranks and insignia are much like those of the army, following--with an Arabic terminology--a British model. The arms of the police, also like those of the army, are the British Enfield rifle for enlisted men and the Webley service revolver for officers. The police and army officers alike have a great predilection for swagger sticks, ranging from slender batons to heavy pieces of wood bound with leather. The Rowandus police detachment has at its disposal several light American vehicles equipped with water-cooled machine-guns and a number of lorries.

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[177] [411]

[713] [493]

The police are assigned in small numbers to the mudirs, while a larger unit is kept in Rowandus at the

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

elders having great weight, and, as I shall subsequently point out, even the women are not excluded from a share in the politics of the tribe.

Though more or less dominated by the numerous conquerors who have successively, for three thousand years, overrun those regions which are now called Kûrdistan, the Kûrds have never ceased to own a distinct nationality. Since the Ottoman conquest they have been constantly wavering between the two rival powers of Islam—the Sunnis and the Shias, as represented by the Turks and the Persians respectively, siding, according to the exigencies of the time, now with one party and now with the other. Notwithstanding their sufferings in the destructive wars of conquest waged for centuries by Turk and Persian, and the constant internal feuds fomented by both those nations in order to weaken the power of the Kûrdish warriors, they still maintain a sort of semi-independence, preserving their nationality as distinct from that of their neighbours as in earlier days, though possessing no dynasty, political constitution, ancient religion, historical traditions, or literature, to bind them together.

Three times during the present century have national aspirations incited them to throw off the Turkish yoke; but owing to the immense extent of mountainous country over which they are scattered, their successes have been but partial and nugatory. Representatives as they probably are of the ancient Chaldeans, no other race has, perhaps, so long preserved its nationality under conditions so unfavourable.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd M/11

539 that one can well do without gold and rich stuffs, but that without soldiers one cannot maintain one's power.

542 The Kûrdish women, of the nomad tribes more especially, take a lively interest in the social and political affairs of the tribe, are acquainted withall that concerns it—its feuds, plans, and conspiracies, in which they are indeed often moving spirits. As enterprising and indefatigable as the men of their race, they are ever on the alert, and ready to leap to the [992] saddle, where, though not elegant riders, they are quite at home, and able to keep up with their husbands in their adventurous wanderings.

This participation in the political life of the tribe is a peculiarity of nomad life, and of a primitive state of society. Mr. Millingen relates two instances which came under his personal notice of the intervention of women in public affairs. After a skirmish with the [721 Shikiah tribe, the beaten Kûrds retired to their en- 727] campment, with the loss of twenty-four of their warriors, and sent with all haste a deputation to the Pasha of Van imploring his mediation. A kind of commission being despatched on their behalf from this town, it was met at a distance of several miles from the Shikiah camp by a crowd of women, the pretty ones at the head wearing black veils, and shrieking as loudly and woefully as it was in their [728] power to do. Their lively grief, backed by a bribe of the Kûrdish delicacy called *djadjik*,[1] was successful in bringing about a solution favourable to the tribe, which, through the mediation of the women, was allowed to escape further punishment.

[1] The onion-flavoured cheese above-mentioned (p. 126).

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammad Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kanlokan below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of jihad or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages,

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

the Jaf confederacy of nomadic as well as sedentary tirsa. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Hamawiands, an independent tira of population ca. 1000-1500, which became sedentary some two or three generations ago.

The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defence and offence in war. Property rights to land and grazing areas are held jointly by the tira as a whole; exclusive usufruct rights are vested in its localized segments, inhabiting compact villages with a population of 50 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have traditional rights to certain fields. These rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as normal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degrees of kinship (in any one level of segmentation, "brothers" exclude "cousins" from inheritance).

Further, until successful pacification in 1932, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in tens if a segment were attacked from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary charter when conflicts arose within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both within, where they led to fission, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

There is a clear contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the readiness with which the problems of fusion and fission are solved. A man's rights to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as hired farm help ("aqawl") of degraded status. The territorial exclusiveness of lineage segments does tends to be maintained to high degree, and there are no kinship mechanisms for developing "stretched" lineages with local territorial and political rights.[7] The segmentary nature of the territorial lineage expresses itself directly in geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited nearly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map or clearly seen where one has a view of the valley bottom. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the tira as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. No religious or ritual

[7] A permanent relationship may occasionally be established between a conquering lineage group and a conquered, non-tribal peasant population, who retain certain rights as serfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a caste barrier is set up, preventing intermarriage between the two groups. The relationship, observed on the southern margins of Hamawand territory, does not seem to be very stable.

701 usually called «riflemen», owned at least one horse and one rifle, and kept a constant large supply of ammunition. During their periods of insurgence, it was difficult for the Hamawands to obtain such supplies. An informal symbiosis was therefore established with merchants in Suleimani and Kirkuk, who, in return for furnishing the items that the Hamawands needed, were permitted to pass through the area with their other goods. The Hamawands used Turkish *Mauser* rifles, and made their bullets of soft lead. As late as 1880, swords and lances were still employed.

702 When a Hamawand boy reached the age of 7, military instruction began — «just like soldiers are trained». The father supervised the training, and according to legend, any boy who did not show sufficient fearlessness was chased out of the area. After the youth had killed his first man in battle, or otherwise showed himself worthy, he was given the full status of rifleman, and generally a present from the *Aghe* — a horse, a good rifle, or a quantity of stolen animals for sale.

• 721 The village *Aghas* were expected to mobilize the riflemen of the village at short notice for service in the larger units, led by the *Aghas* of the major branches of the Hamawand. But the village *Agha* was also free to initiate raids or conquest himself. A small group of *Aghas* from closely related villages might get together and contribute forces to the venture, or a single village might undertake the enterprise. Thus a warparty was formed, under the leadership of one *Agha* or one senior *Agha*. If the purpose were not looting of caravans, but conquest, some as-yet unconquered village was chosen as the object of attack, and the normal procedure would be for the group of riflemen to ride in a body to the village and offer the 727 inhabitants an ultimatum. If the village surrendered, one of the Hamawand party was settled in it to collect taxes. If the village chose to resist, it would be attacked, and if the Hamawand gained entry they would rob the village of all movable property, as well as domestic animals, and carry it all away. The defeated villagers, unable to continue their agricultural work without implements and animals, would then normally send a delegation to the victorious Hamawand village, promising submission for return of the property.

628 724 In fact, the basic principle underlying the institution, namely the collective responsibility of the members of the descent group, seems to be lacking. Where the descent group is in fact the local community, one is faced with the problem of deciding whether the group at any one time acts *qua* descent group or *qua* local, that is territorial, unit. To analyse the data relating to this, it is necessary to make a distinction between (1) such collective responsibility relating to homicide, where a whole group is held responsible for the initial act of *one* member, and (2) the collective nature of other types of *feud and warfare*, where the whole group as a political unit is involved in the *initial* action — such as would be the case where a death resulted from any kind of organized and premeditated raid that one group might make upon another, with a primary interest in booty. If, in this latter case — though it might lead to retaliation — the retaliation were not governed by considerations of equality, it could not properly be called blood feud.

Incidents of type (2) have certainly been frequent in Southern Kurdistan. Incidents of type (1), on the other hand, did not come to my knowledge, either in historical material or on the contemporary scene. It would rather seem that a pattern of individual and particular *revenge* prevails, which extends only to very near kinsmen and accomplices. Certainly, the only case history which I can document fairly completely (see Appendix II) is appropriately described in such terms. In this pattern of revenge, the harm and retribution is definitely directed towards the person who committed the initial murder, only secondarily towards his nearest kinsmen, and that only if they have taken a clear stand in the conflict. There can be no feeling of collective responsibility within the whole descent group, since random retaliation within the lineage or even village of the offender is never considered. Conversely, only the very close kin of the deceased are motivated by the desire for revenge. The orphan would experience great difficulties in calling on lineage mates to assist him by virtue of their righteous indignation — he would do much better if he emphasized an economic motive, constituting himself as the leader of a small group of «bandits» in an attempt to rob his opponent. Thus, both in the case of homicide between

tira and between sections of a single *tira*, the procedure seems to be one of personal revenge, and not retaliation within the whole group to which the offender belongs. It therefore seems useful to emphasize this difference by limiting the term blood feud to its typical form, as found e. g. among the Nuba, and to explore the possible reasons why the jural concepts of collective responsibility, on which the blood feud pattern is based, are *not* applied to a Kurdish lineage group or segment of such.

It is necessary to emphasize the unique situation, as compared to most societies described in the anthropological literature, in which these jural principles are to be applied. Kurdish lineages are not organized factions within a community, as is often the case in other societies; nor do they have the usual ramifying kinship connections with other groups. With a high frequency of close kin marriage, as described above, a Kurdish lineage, and even the lineage segments down to the village level, are endogamous, socially isolated units. They are, furthermore, geographically isolated. The *tira* as a whole occupies a large, contiguous territory; the members of the *tira* are essentially the sole residents of that territory. The local group, the village, is also the lineage segment. There is no indigenous political authority above the level of the maximal lineage; and such a maximal lineage has no vital relations with other groups (except a certain minimum of trade). The maximal lineage can therefore, in the autonomous Kurdish system, be regarded as «the society».

The concept of collective responsibility thus hardly applies in the usual sense in the relations between segments of *different* lineages —between groups in separate «societies». Jural principles of this type can only be applied *within* moderately homogeneous societies, where any individual as a sociological person is an approximate equivalent of his co-lineage mates. (Fortes 1953). With the geographical separation of Kurdish lineages, furthermore, feud between them would in fact necessitate aggression into «foreign» territory. The maximal lineage is a politically unified corporate group for purpose of defence, and thus conflicts on any scale between segments would lead directly to all-out war between the lineages to which they belonged. In such a situation, economic and other considerations favoring continued

765 in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by pious ideals of moderation.

574 551 621 576 To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the tea comes out of the host's one samovar, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places conscious. In seating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

• 721 701 The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) This ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

situation of armed conflict. The conceptual separation of peace chief and war chief, frequently found in other societies, is lacking in the Kurdish area; thus the leader in war is also the leader in peace, and differences in total status organize the men of a local community in a single, universally relevant hierarchy of individuals. The pertinent questions in the present connection regarding armed conflict are then concerned with who initiates it, and what the extent and nature of his following is. 721 • 701

At present, of course, external administration prevents large scale conflicts of any kind, and this kind of leadership is rarely expressed, and then only in a limited field. In the autonomous Kurdish system, on the other hand, conflicts of all kinds were endemic, and the following discussion relates primarily to the patterns as freely expressed up till the nineteen twenties.

In the tribal political systems, political office directly involved leadership in war, and each *Agha* and *Ratz* in the hierarchy was responsible for mustering, and vested with the command of, a specified number of rifle-men. The same correspondence between civil and military command was characteristic of the feudal organizations of the non-tribal areas, and e. g. of the temporary organization established by Shaikh Mahmud.

The *Aghas* of villages could also independently initiate war parties — a development carried to the extreme in the case of the Hamawands. Such war or raiding parties also served as steppingstones for political advancement — the Hamawand who conquered a village would sooner or later break loose from the *Agha* that backed him, and constitute himself as an *Agha* on his own right. In the non-tribal areas, this was more easily done, and the successful warleader might carve out a small domain for himself. In the tribal system, the raiding parties directed towards the conquest of land were generally composed of near kin, who were, in fact, relieving local village population pressure and looking for a new place to settle down. The feudal lord, on the other hand, recruited his soldiers where he could, though there was a conscious attempt, as pointed out in the discussion of *Baban* organization to utilize tribal solidarity and use smaller groups of tribesmen to control larger groups of non-tribal peasants. Thus,

7: Barth E-S (1951), 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

leadership in war parties, and resultant conquest, was a major path of status mobility.

Raiding parties, not aimed at conquest, but merely at the looting of caravans or bazaars, tended to be more open in composition. Competent riflemen adventurers from various villages would congregate under the command of some «brigand leader» in the terminology of the external administration, and follow him as long as his luck lasted. Characteristically enough, the Hamawands form an exception to this usual pattern. Adapting their whole society to an economy based on war and looting, they also developed a singular form of professional ethics connected with these activities. Not only were even the incidental raiding parties apparently organized in the same pattern as village administration; rules of fair play were also developed. According to the accounts of their opponents as well as their own lore, women were never harmed or even searched in the raids on caravans — if you were able to slip your money-bag to a woman without the Hamawands noticing it, your money was safe — if the woman was honest! Moreover, if the hour for prayer found them in the middle of battle, they would each in turn get off their horse and go through the complete ritual, after which they would again charge into the turmoil!

The ordinary brigand, apart from this Hamawand development, qualified himself in the eyes of the villagers by a high rating on the scale of honor and bravery, as well as a fairly consistent run of good luck. In spite of persistent efforts on the part of the external administration, brigandage and raiding continues — though on a greatly reduced scale — and this must primarily be due to the positive value given to this type of bravery. The ideal which the brigand should approach is closely similar to our conception of Robin Hood. At the time of my visit, a certain bandit and murderer by the name Kulla Pira was active in the area. For all practical purposes he seemed to regard himself as involved in a blood feud with the police — and the stories circulating about him had a familiar Robin Hood ring. They involved stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, miraculous feats such as visiting the police inspector's home and forcing him to serve up a luxurious dinner, being gallant to the ladies, etc. etc.

627 692 and honest administrator. The venality of the junior police officers has probably an important effect upon the economic status, and hence the influence of the Aghas. The position was put to me thus by Hamid Amin Agha of Dergala. "In the old days" he said "all my followers gave me presents; nowadays few can afford to, they must keep in well with the police and then they have nothing left for me".

622 721 In earlier times the taifa Agha was probably in a position to organise small scale military activities; even today this would appear to be partly true. I was told for instance that in 1936 Ali Agha of Rayat, head of the Shevdini, had led his men across the border and sacked a Persian police post in reprisal for the latter having impounded some of his clansmens' cattle. Naturally such incidents are strongly disapproved of by the authorities.

The Tribal Agha

619 622 "In the case of the Balik, as we have seen, the Agha of the largest taifa, Mullasherifi, is also Agha paramount of the whole tribe, and this is doubtless the normal rule. His function as tribal Agha does not ever seem to have amounted to very much except in time of war, in which case he automatically became leader of the whole group and doubtless received economic benefits accordingly. In time of peace he only receives small token payments, such as gifts of fruit and the like, from his more remote subordinates.

[721] The evidence concerning the actual behaviour of the Balik during the disturbed times of 1914-1920 is contradictory. Sheikh Mohammad asserts that he led his people to a victorious massacre of the invading Russian army; Hamid Amin of Naupurdar on the other hand says that Sheikh Mohammad ran away and that it was he Hamid Amin who saved the remnants of the Balik from annihilation and finally routed the Russians. Whatever really happened, it seems clear that Sheikh Mohammad as head of the Mullasherifi ought to have led the Balik to war, whether he actually did so or not.

The first effect of contact with the external administration was certainly to increase the influence of the tribal Agha at the expense of his fellows. Thus Hay ingenuously remarks (p. 67) "The tribal chief has many obligations towards his tenants and tribesmen, the most important of which is that he will become their spokesman in all matters which concern the Government". The British

[731] "Hay (p. 68) states that it is the custom to present the paramount chief with a pregnant ewe from every considerable flock at the beginning of the year. Hay however makes no distinction between tribes and clans and the obligation may be towards the Agha of the taifa rather than the ashiret.

621 622 614 114 Such generalisations may lead to some startling sociological conclusions:-

> (p.221) This village (Merga; Map 2) lies just below Sheikh Mohammad Agha's residence (Walash) in the Balik country, and its inhabitants, some fifty families in number, are nearly all his relations. Being of 'chiefly' descent they consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate the soil; they have therefore only two means of livelihood, sponging on Sheikh Mohammad Agha who pays them most of his salary to keep them quiet, and looting and taking toll from the caravans that pass along the Persian Road.

This paragraph I consider most illuminating. For it is precisely on the basis of such evidence that the British policy of 'military pacification' is carried out on all the outlying frontiers of Empire. The tribesmen just beyond the border are always, it seems, "desperate bandits and brigands" intent on plundering the innocent peasantry within the jurisdiction of the British raj. Hay of course does not intentionally deceive. He had only seen Merga from afar and was merely recording the position as outlined to him by Sheikh Mohammad. In giving this account however Sheikh Mohammad was fairly obviously blackmailing the British Administrator for more money, and was probably himself responsible for the particular piece of brigandage complained of. Merga today has one of the most extensive cultivations of the whole district, and is considered a prosperous village. There seems no reason to suppose that the position was radically different in 1920, even though the ravages of war had temporarily disorganised the agricultural arrangements of the whole area.

• 721 181 This is not special pleading on behalf of the villagers of Merga or of the Kurds in general, but it is time that their nefarious activities were seen in proper proportion. It must be admitted that prior to the establishment of an external authority most Kurdish tribes freely resorted to brigandage on every possible occasion. It was a socially approved aspect of inter-tribal life and one upon which the Kurds themselves lay great emphasis in folk tale and tradition. But it is this very emphasis that has led to the fabulous distortions that appear in all accounts of Kurdish life either lay or official. To read the literature one must suppose that in former times the majority of Kurdish communities lived solely on the proceeds of plunder and ransom; and while the Government continues its present policy of cultural suppression such fallacies are obviously convenient. But the unbiased observer cannot avoid the conclusion that most of the more spectacular exploits of Kurdish brigandage are products of the Kurds' own imagination. Seen in their proper scale these warlike activities can never have been more than an exciting gloss upon the normal balanced cycle of agricultural economics.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 5

Warfare

Under present conditions large scale warlike activities on the part of the tribes are a complete impossibility, but that does not justify us in dismissing the topic of warfare altogether as being of no relevance to the present social situation. Historically speaking the traditional forms of Kurdish social organisation are associated with an ideology of raids and counter raids, war, pillage and feud. Earlier writers have undoubtedly greatly exaggerated the extent to which the average Kurd in former times did in fact devote himself to murder, violence and loot, but in describing this preoccupation they were, after all, only accepting the Kurd at his own valuation. The Kurdish ideal of manly behaviour does correspond very closely with the typical English concept of a "Brigand". His folk tales are gory in the extreme; his conversation hardly less so. And this has relevance to the existing situation. The Agha likes to think of himself as a military leader rather than as a landlord; he habitually classes all his neighbours into 'friends' and 'enemies'. The consequences of this attitude are highly subtle and cannot be examined here, but at least two divergent trends can be noted. On the one hand the sharp antagonism between neighbouring groups is even today a force of social cohesion; the members of the clan or the tribe are aware of their unity largely in terms of their common enmity to some other group. On the other hand increasing economic contacts and the constant harmonising efforts of the Police and the Administration, in so far as they are successful in lessening intergroup suspicion, do at the same time serve to lessen the social cohesion of the groups concerned.

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While organised raiding or warfare is now impossible the private feud continues and may be examined further.

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The Feud

The motif of the blood feud may be summarised by the phrase that "a man's wrongs must be avenged by his kinsfolk and his descendants", and we may note at once that a system of small patrilocal, nearly endogamous groups is peculiarly suited to perpetuate antagonisms of this kind. The individual's near kinfolk are also his near neighbours, and since his wife's kinsfolk are probably identical with his own he is bound by no ties of loyalty to any group outside his own village. Within the village all are bound together to resist the aggressor, beyond it everyone is a potential enemy, the identity of interest between the family and the village is complete.

Quarrels between villages may arise from a variety of causes, chiefly economic. Water and grazing rights are always ill-defined and may lead to serious friction in times of scarcity, and this may

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9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 Although in the course of these conversations in Tehran a truce
721 had been agreed upon by the Central Government on the one hand, and the Kurds and Azerbaijanis on the other, sniping and skirmishing continued, occasionally flaring up into open warfare. The Iranians, in view of the declared intention of the Soviets to evacuate Iran early in May,[7] now began to take more active military measures. The Kurdish front was held by the Iranian Fourth Division under the command of tall, able General Homayuni, recently transferred from Khuzistan, where he had carried out a vigorous disarmament program among the Arab tribes. In mid-April, Homayuni opened the roads and rushed reinforcements to Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht.

The Soviets were said to have promised the Kurds planes, tanks, and heavy weapons, and to have taken some fifty young Kurds to Baku for military and political training. For the present, however, Qazi Mohammad had to rely on tribal levies to oppose the Iranians. In the hills overlooking General Homayuni's forces was a formidable but divided force consisting principally of the Barzanis, but also including small Kurdish tribes always ready for fighting and looting, and Hama Rashid and his henchmen.[8]

As General Homayuni pulled more and more reinforcements into the area, Qazi Mohammad and the Soviets put pressure on Amr Khan of the Shikak and his allies, the Herki, to come down from the north and aid in the operations. At first Amr Khan demurred on the excuse that his horses were in pasture elsewhere and could not be moved, but at the beginning of May he reluctantly sent his tribesmen to the battle zone.

The month of May 1946 was marked by a number of fierce battles, all fought by small numbers and none of them followed through by decisive operations. In the beginning of the month the Kurds won a victory damaging to Iranian prestige when they surprised an army column on a road march near Saqqiz, killed twenty, and captured thirty-odd prisoners, two machine guns, and 4,000 rounds of ammunition. The Kurdish prisoners were conscripted in the Kurdish army; the rest were sent to Tabriz.

[7] The Red Army finally evacuated Iran on May 9, 1946.

[8] Hama Rashid was of dubious value to the Kurds, as he was continually carrying on secret negotiations with the Iranian army for his reinstatement as Governor of Baneh, and was also suspected by both Kurds and Iranians of a mysterious connection with the British. In August, hearing that plans were being made in Mahabad to have him murdered, Hama Rashid fled back into Iraq.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mah-
• 721 mudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Senandaj Road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby liaison officers were exchanged,[1] each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to Baneh and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

186 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his
609 iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British opportunism, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going con-
642 cern. Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi
621 Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wazir* (minister) to *rais* (chief).
624 Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishwa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

[1] The Kurdish liaison officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Nanavzadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army plane in which he was traveling crashed near Baneh.

leaders in Moslem armies, from Saladin (Salah ad Din) in the hosts that opposed the Crusaders, to the late Bekr Sidqi in the army of Iraq; but they have never drawn attention to their Kurdish origin, as the name 'Kurd' implies a shepherd, which in the East is considered a lowly occupation not worthy of great men.

Some have carved for themselves small kingdoms among the tribes of their own race. But that very martial spirit which makes the Kurd proud and independent, and forbids him to acknowledge the sovereignty of anyone outside his tribe for long, has prevented the Kurds from becoming united under any one chief and thus imprinting their name on the history of the world.

In the history of the new state of Iraq individual Kurds have already made their impression. The best-known is Shaikh

[p. 390 (B)]

721 Mahmud of Sulaimaniya, whose several rebellions against the British earned him the unofficial title of 'Director of Training of the R.A.F.' He gave the Royal Air Force practice in operations spread over twelve
726 years. The British method of limited air bombardment after due warning suits the ideas of the chivalrous Kurd in war: to the Kurd it is one of the things that are 'not done' to kill too many people. Shaikh Mahmud and his merry men would set off on the warpath and fight for a few months until they began to suffer discomforts, then give in until the restless highland spirit once more urged them on.
727 Sometimes people got killed, but that was one of the misfortunes of the game. During one rebellion, when a British aircraft was brought down near Penjwin, Shaikh Mahmud captured its two occupants and held them prisoner for a fort-

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Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a pleasant lilt. 534 535
Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the [K 563] Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

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of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated 619
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4 Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
Kur-J MA

Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Irani Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

42 Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH1 Iraq MH1
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now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K. 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
Mill Rural Mill

that one can well do without gold and rich stuffs, but that without soldiers one cannot maintain one's power.

The Kûrdish women, of the nomad tribes more especially, take a lively interest in the social and political affairs of the tribe, are acquainted with all that concerns it—its feuds, plans, and conspiracies, in which they are indeed often moving spirits. As enterprising and indefatigable as the men of their race, they are ever on the alert, and ready to leap to the saddle, where, though not elegant riders, they are quite at home, and able to keep up with their husbands in their adventurous wanderings.

This participation in the political life of the tribe is a peculiarity of nomad life, and of a primitive state of society. Mr. Millingen relates two instances which came under his personal notice of the intervention of women in public affairs. After a skirmish with the Shikiah tribe, the beaten Kûrds retired to their encampment, with the loss of twenty-four of their warriors, and sent with all haste a deputation to the Pasha of Van imploring his mediation. A kind of commission being despatched on their behalf from this town, it was met at a distance of several miles from the Shikiah camp by a crowd of women, the pretty ones at the head wearing black veils, and shrieking as loudly and woefully as it was in their power to do. Their lively grief, backed by a bribe of the Kûrdish delicacy called *djedjik*,[1] was successful in bringing about a solution favourable to the tribe, which, through the mediation of the women, was allowed to escape further punishment.

[1] The onion-flavoured cheese above mentioned (p. 126).

the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handria Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war. 361 [133] [727]

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowandus and Handria rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowandus, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowandus is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowandus river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan [491] [487]

Attention might be directed to the land of Rowandus itself. Before the Russians burned the old town, the present site above the valley was occupied by only a few Ottoman buildings, summer residences, and gardens. Most of the choicest lands in the new town are owned by Lali Khan and Ra'uf Effendi whose families had titles from Ottoman times. In the lower priced lands of the modern upper town there is a variety of tenure, government (amiriya), private (tapu), and religious endowment (vaqf), but the two most important owners are those mentioned here.

It is somewhat unfortunate, in treating the economics of the Rowandus district and the position of its principal town within such a system, to be unable to present an exact quantitative analysis. In the absence of government statistics, and faced with the widespread distrust of the populace toward inquiries which might bear some relation to taxation, one must be satisfied with a generalized description of a primary nature. This need not be regarded as a deficit, inasmuch as the more important conclusions of this study have reference to social structure, an emphasis, however, which in no wise implies that the economic background is not critically germane to the discussion. It is therefore possible, in closing this section, to re-emphasize certain generalities which statistical information would not seem likely to modify in any serious fashion.

The size and importance of any town can be governed by a number of things, environmental, economic, social, or religous.

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." 159
"How much did they take?" the Cossack officer asked. 792
"Fifty tomans," he answered, and the officers ordered the other Jews to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowandus, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Anis. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Anis asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a sack and filled it with coloured sand. I went through [755] the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my sand on the face of the sick man, reciting from the Quran. I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. [727] I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named Hajji Hawres in Shaqlawa. There was a Major Hay in the district who spoke Kurdish, and, when he heard from Hajji Hawres what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowandus. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Rowandus I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [469] of the Kurds revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowandus, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an 443 Armenian merchant named Jagmur, and he entrusted me 159 with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages 792 around Rowandus. When I returned, I found I had 200 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmur, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmur, always profitable, but I found traveling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowandus to sell groceries. When

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

701 usually called «riflemen», owned at least one horse and one rifle, and kept a constant large supply of ammunition. During their periods of insurgence, it was difficult for the Hamawands to obtain such supplies. An informal symbiosis was therefore established with merchants in Suleimani and Kirkuk, who, in return for furnishing the items that the Hamawands needed, were permitted to pass through the area with their other goods. The Hamawands used Turkish Mauser rifles, and made their bullets of soft lead. As late as 1880, swords and lances were still employed.

702 When a Hamawand boy reached the age of 7, military instruction began — «just like soldiers are trained». The father supervised the training, and according to legend, any boy who did not show sufficient fearlessness was chased out of the area. After the youth had killed his first man in battle, or otherwise showed himself worthy, he was given the full status of rifleman, and generally a present from the *Agha* — a horse, a good rifle, or a quantity of stolen animals for sale.

721 The village *Aghas* were expected to mobilize the riflemen of the village at short notice for service in the larger units, led by the *Aghas* of the major branches of the Hamawand. But the village *Agha* was also free to initiate raids or conquest himself. A small group of *Aghas* from closely related villages might get together and contribute forces to the venture, or a single village might undertake the enterprise. Thus a warparty was formed, under the leadership of one *Agha* or one senior *Agha*. If the purpose were not looting of caravans, but conquest, some as-yet unconquered village was chosen as the object of attack, and the normal procedure would be for the group of riflemen to ride in a body to the village and offer the
• 727 inhabitants an ultimatum. If the village surrendered, one of the Hamawand party was settled in it to collect taxes. If the village chose to resist, it would be attacked, and if the Hamawand gained entry they would rob the village of all movable property, as well as domestic animals, and carry it all away. The defeated villagers, unable to continue their agricultural work without implements and animals, would then normally send a delegation to the victorious Hamawand village, promising submission for return of the property.

7:. Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

727 622 A Hamawand *Agba*, normally a close relative of the leader of the warparty, would be appointed to the conquered village. He would settle permanently in the village with a small group of Hamawand supporters. What remained of the local taxes after their immediate needs were satisfied would be passed on to the *Agba* leader of the original party.

668 Conflicts easily arose between the Hamawand usurper and his original backer. As soon as the balance of power changed in favor of the former, and he further felt that he would be able to control the conquered village with his own forces, he would declare himself independent and thereby found a new lineage branch.

It may seem surprising that the smaller group in such a village should be successful in forcibly dominating the larger group for any length of time. As far as the conquest itself is concerned, the point was clearly made to me by the leader of one group of subjected serfs: «In those days, people were so busy with their farms and things, they had no time to be ready with guns and horses. Those who had enough money to feed the man that ride around on horses could conquer such poor villages.» And later, although the local Hamawands may have declared themselves independent of their old village, they could still count on support from their fellow tribesmen in case of revolt. The peasants, on the other hand, had no organization integrating a larger group. Furthermore, it is the peasant group who has the vested interest in peace, so that the crop can ripen and the stores survive. In case of conflict, the Hamawands risked only the loss of an asset, whereas the peasants, no matter what the outcome might be, were practically assured the loss of their whole year's crop.

621 622 The local group that emerged from these conquests has a very characteristic structure and organization. Except where external administration intervenes effectively, all political power is in the hands of a well organized Hamawand minority, led by an hereditary *Agba*. This ruling group has vested interests in remaining separate from the remainder of the village, and the close tribal organization limited by descent provides the necessary mechanism.

421 651 This political dominance serves primarily to enforce certain privileges in the economic field. The Hamawands regard themselves as

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44 Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
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Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Irani Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

or windbreaks, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villager. 313 417 There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer. [656]

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. 241 231 Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the year "fat" or "lean," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. 731 Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the first World War when a Czarist army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and emergencies since that time have been few. For the surplus, 443 the foci of district marketing have some variation. It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at Rowanduz, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. [655] A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Erbil, others bought up in the town of Rowanduz, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rowanduz exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Dyana, and others a natural response to the requirements

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

intensity of village loyalty is produced that is rarely found in other tenant villages. 621 788

Ritual homage. Whereas many villages lack the central focus of a mosque, religious activities still have considerable integrative functions, especially the standardized prayers, or, more properly, the ritual homage paid to Allah five times daily, facing Mecca, as the Prophet Mohammed commanded. This homage being of a standardized type and involving a stereotyped series of postures, supposedly performed simultaneously by all the villagers, it symbolizes a solidarity and *gemeinschaft* that must be re-inforced, shall the community persist. The personal prayer occasionally appended is unimportant; the emphasis is on the *common* ritual.

The time for prayer is specified in relation to sunrise and sundown, e. g. one two hours preceeding, another one and a half hours after sundown. Since no clocks or watches are commonly available in the village, «calling to prayer» gives opportunity for controlling behavior in the religious field, and thus for the emergence of a type of leadership. Where a mullah is present, he naturally performs the function; where there is no mullah, the local derwish or head of the local derwishes tries to assume this responsibility. His melodious chant certainly thrills a Western ear in the quiet evening; but the call is not necessarily responded to very quickly; furthermore, *Hadjis* and other important persons will tend to take an autonomous view of the proper time for prayers. Thus, unless a mullah of some importance is present, the degree of *leadership* implied in calling to prayer is rather slight. However, this fact would not seem to detract significantly from the integrative symbolism of the simultaneous ritual homage to God.

Communal magic. The only cases of communal magic which I became aware of are concerned with the most critical and unpredictable question in Kurdish subsistence: rain. The other examples of magic are of different types: The ordinary derwish antics, performed in public, are not instrumental in the sense that they are directed towards achieving some practical and generally coveted end; the magic connected with amulets for protection etc. are of a personal and private kind. The art of rainmaking, on the other hand, is still 789 731 •

practiced as a communal rite in cases of need, and gives the competent derwish an opportunity to reinforce his special position and demonstrate his control of power.

The actual rite is in rough outline quite simple. After an all-night session of prayer and purification on the part of the derwish, he is taken to a pool in the near-by, dwindling stream, and submerged in the water.

It is difficult to say just what degree of emotional intensity is involved in the rite as far as a majority of the participants is concerned. In the special case in question, they did not seem particularly impressed — the derwish involved was one who was frequently the object of mild horseplay, and the actual act of ducking him might have some appeal to the less serious minded. However this may be, the gravity of drought should not be underestimated, and would hardly be condusive to horseplay. The winter rains seemed to have stopped much too early, and the rite was a response to this serious situation. Considering this, the preformance was probably more emotionally charged than some of the superficial comments might suggest, and certainly served to emphasize the unity and solidarity of the group. — It might incidentally be noted that this specific rite also was successful, in that fairly heavy rains followed shortly.

Thus, this ritual of rainmaking is concerned with a very critical communal problem, and enables the derwish to assume a momentary position of dominant importance in his community. An interesting deviation from the stated norm was also observed in this case: the young son of the village *Agha* was submerged alongside with the derwish[1]). This equivalence may be significant in several respects. From the point of view of the derwish, it indicates the considerable extent of his momentary prestige — from a normal status of laborer he is elevated to temporary equivalence with the heir apparent of the village *Agha*. It may also illustrate something in the Kurdish conception of power: there is no really clear distinction made between the

[1]) The fact that the son rather than the *Agha* himself was chosen is best understood in terms of the slightly ambivalent situation, and the rather undignified appearance of the actor following immersion.

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
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This division[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal

[1] [between nomadic and sedentary way of life.—Analyst]

* The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among 851
the townspeople. The ceremony for the first son is much
more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent
male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a 845
gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for
them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rowanduz. Deformed 732
infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and
their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal
children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying 853
length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy
requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then
"unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot
suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, [608]
as noticed previously, its foster-mother, dayan, and the
child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The
wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is sub-
sidized with money and food. In the event that a nurse
cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk
of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at
regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is
necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It 856
is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

postman, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy. 159
illustrates the personality of many of the dervishes, as well [463]
as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rowandux area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the dervish movement which offered the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with [792] other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [505] he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the bazar, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour [732] and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded 771
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practises. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 789
drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

ound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
f the government elite, not those of the town, but others
ncountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
as break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
he official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
ommoners or aristocrats of Rowandus, that alcoholism and [565]
uicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowandus at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowandus is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowandus, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowandus district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1908.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

539 Said the Hodja, "I have mounted a thousand steps to get up here—ask the man what he wants, and then tell me."

But the man insisted on the Hodja's coming down to him at once, so the good woman again went to call him. Finding the caller so persistent, the Hodja said to himself, "Perhaps he comes on some business matter. I had better go down."

Hurrying down the staircase, he fell and hurt himself, and, coming to the door out of temper, found there a beggar, who said:

535 "For Allah's sake, give me an *aspre!*"

"Come this way," replied the Hodja, and he led the man up the staircase. When they had mounted forty steps, the Hodja turned to the beggar and said, "Go, may Allah send thee one."[1]

"You might have said that to me downstairs," grumbled the beggar.

"Man," replied the Hodja, "thou didst bring me down a thousand steps to hear thee say, 'Give me an *aspre*,' and hast been the cause of my fall and my hurt. I bring thee up but forty steps to hear me say, 'May Allah give it thee.'"

Nasr-ed-Din Hodja and the Corpse.

539 764 One day, as the Hodja was at home washing his clothes, a man came to request him to perform the ablutionary rite for a corpse, so that it might be buried.

"I am busy," replied the Hodja; "I am washing my clothes. Go, bring the corpse here, lay it on this

[1] The usual Oriental formula when refusing a beggar's request for alms.

423 454 Because of this conviction, the legal ownership of land becomes an administrative matter of the gravest import, and the office of the director of tapu (registered land) in Rowanduz the scene of some of the most serious transactions in the area.

423 The laws of Iraq treating the tenure of land are somewhat complex, as both Quranic and Ottoman classifications are intermingled in the modern code, but only two categories need concern us here, tapu and amiriye. Tapu-land is that which has been registered and to which a title of private ownership is recognized. Amiriye-land is that belonging to the state, not only that in use for government installations, but almost all "unoccupied" land. Under certain conditions, such as occupancy over a period of 15 years, amiriye-land can become privately owned. Whenever there is a transaction in land, usually a sale, the parties concerned must have reference to the director of tapu in the area. An engineer from his office makes a survey of the land in question, which, in the form of a map, serves as a deed. One copy is given to the owner and another retained in the office.

423 735 429 A third category, which not only includes land, but also houses and other forms of property, is waqf, the religious donation. A man, for a variety of reasons, may leave his property to the Islamic faith and it becomes untaxable and inviolable. Such property is placed for the use, usually at extremely low rates, of poorer folk among

the faithful. There are in Rowanduz some 18 houses and lands which belong in this category. The administration of such property is placed under a Ministry of Awqaf, and there is a Mamur in Erbil from this ministry to supervise the use of such bequests. Locally, the supervision is not charged to the serai, but to the chief mulla (the religious leader of the community) who otherwise has no connection in government affairs.

Just as the legal ownership of land is important to the private citizen, its taxation is a primary concern of the government. Locally the collection is in the hands of the mudira, and the money transmitted through the qaimmaqam to Erbil. In taxation a distinction is made between agricultural lands and houses. Of the agricultural land, tapu-land is taxed a straight 15% of its value in terms of yearly yield. Amiriya-land which has been built upon and cultivated is subject to 30%, while that which has not been built upon, but cultivated, pays 10%. Houses, without reference to the land on which they stand, are taxed 15% of the assessed value of their yearly rent. Shopkeepers and merchants pay a series of taxes, usually in the form of licenses. Neither personal property, including gold, jewelry, or currency, nor income are taxed in the Rowanduz district. As has been mentioned, waqf or "church" property is not taxed. These revenues must be paid in money, never in kind, although property may be seized for taxes in arrears. However, the chieftains in the countryside try

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened clay, is a large beehive-shaped affair with its round, open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East, bread or nan is treated with almost religious reverence, and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Discovering this, some of the British troops stationed in Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about their messroom floor. In Rowanduz, it is customary when a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which was observed in the streets several times.

The hotel, khan or caravanserai, is reached through a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant. It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up

[1]Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, 'aysh, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

the like underneath the conventional outer garments. 177

Civil officials wear European clothing, discarding 291
the necktie during the summer. A number affect the black wool forage cap instituted by King Feisal I. to replace the red tarbush of Ottoman connotation, rather than the usual European headgear, and others go bareheaded. It is interesting that some Kurdish officials of higher rank prefer the European felt hat, rarely worn by Arab civil servants, and this is taken as a tacit sign of what may be termed the "Kurdish resistance" to Arab rule. For un- [668]
dress attire, the official divests himself of his outer garments and puts on pajamas or the dishdasha, the cassock, and replaces shoes and stockings with open-toed leather slippers of the Bedouin type, these last not generally used by the townsmen. Schoolboys wear a curious mixture, the characteristic garb consisting of a cloth European jacket, a shirt buttoned at the neck, and the baggy white cotton trousers worn by adults as underdrawers. It remains 291
to notice that most wardrobes in the town contain a great variety of second-hand clothing of all types, Arab, Kurdish, and European, and these appear according to the taste or resources of the wearer, particularly for indoor use. Many costumes thus seem to be motley in appearance, because almost any garment is passed through the family until finally worn out. Similarly, much is transmitted from the wealthy [431]
to the poor, for clothing is a favorite benefice at the [735]
time of a festival or great occasion, such as the birth of a son, aside from everyday bequests. The servant of an

story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short time, and the woman tore her garments and went into mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "God is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar rendition. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according to their status in this sense. The darwish, as a religious mendicant, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest status are initiated into the mysteries of the darwish orders. In Rowanduz one could find a darwish in a demented

beggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the shaykhanas, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community. 792 735

Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the 565 174 622 619 [648] 565 622 619 423

government, and no civic or charitable organizations, guilds, or clubs. The diwankhana of the aristocrat, as noted, is often used as a man's clubhouse and a sort of village center, but that of Isma'il Beg in the town is rarely so used, and the mosque or the chaykhanas offer little as substitutes. In Rowanduz there is thus an aggregate of separate households whose relationships with the government and with each other are largely on an individual basis, and for social life a man depends to a great extent on his relatives and friends. This should not be taken to mean that there is no force to public opinion or community interest. A mutual concern is much in evidence in the public conduct of individuals and in festivals, and a large part of this is furnished by the Muslim faith. In the summer of 1951 a collection was taken up among the townspeople as a pious work for a poor Arab, arrested by the police as a suspected deserter from the army and subsequently released penniless. The effect of public opinion in such matters as the wearing of the veil or smoking on the streets during Ramadan has already been noticed. The distribution of food and clothing to the poor of the town on certain occasions, and other examples of a similar nature, will be encountered in later sections. However, there is no structural bond or concrete rules of membership which cause the townspeople to act as a whole, although such behavior can often be observed.

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from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with naming the child, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the mu'azzin arranges minor matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employed a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for its cleanliness. The mulla himself, as noted in the section treating society, has a place in the highest ranks of the commoners, and is usually surrounded by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for their piety. Inasmuch as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim had a compelling personality, this following was an extensive and powerful segment of local society.

The mullas are responsible for religious education, because, although Islamic history is a part of the curriculum in the primary and intermediate schools, religion is not formally taught in any other place than the mosque. Some parents prefer this training to that of the government schools. The mullas hold classes throughout the year, but give particular emphasis to the summer when those children who have occupied other seasons with their secular education may, at the behest of their parents, take part. This course is almost solely concerned with reading and interpretation of the Quran, and thus entails, initially, the study of the Arabic language. The parents

At the noon
prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, 788
and between the second and third rak'as the mulla may deliver [537]
a short sermon, usually a stereotyped oration. The language
of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to [83]
say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the re-
quirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore
one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their
prayers entirely. The tazbih or rosary has been mentioned
in the section treating dress, and may be used in devotional
exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetition of
prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used to
occupy idle hands, however, the mind of the manipulator on
matters far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give 795
away part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early 779
days of Islam these contributions were of two types, zakat,
a fixed proportion of the income, and sadaqat, optional
gifts. The zakat have been absorbed into the government
system of taxation, and the townspeople of Rowandus are
thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to
enforced charity. Many free collections, sadaqat, however,
are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the
destitute Arab mentioned in the section treating society,
and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts
of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage 788
to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In
spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the
journey, a surprising number of persons in the Rowandus

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come. 773 776

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. Housewives make a sweet called Halaywat Khidir Elyas which is exchanged between households at this time. The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all. 785 782 [735] [262] [431] [183]

With the Sayran and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of 792 [778]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feebleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouse of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[11], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the *sūq* and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (say £200)[12].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sārpāl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his house, and, on the other, to his family. The Kurds do not use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Aziz Shakir Mujjrim (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Baba Nawzad," the father of Nawzad, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exogamous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between unrelated families.

596 736 596 [589] 596 551 596 596 582

Rowanduz a will is a legal instrument which must be formulated in the presence of the judge and registered with a katib al-'adil or government notary, either of the serai or the court. If a person dies intestate, as in the case of most persons of the lower classes, and a quarrel ensues over the disposition of his property, this must also be settled by court action. In general, however, each of the sons of the deceased is entitled to one share and each of the daughters to a half-share, after the widow has received a stipulated eighth of the total property. In the absence of some of these heirs, certain relatives in a fixed order may present claims for varying percentages, a subject too complicated to be examined in detail here. If the heir is an orphan, the property is administered by a department of the government, the Amwal al-Qasarin, until he reaches maturity. A woman usually disposes of her property, her dowry, jewelry, and household goods, as she pleases, although this too can be brought to the bar. Thus the quarrels and complications which can arise in inheritance are settled by action of the judge, and the townspeople themselves, unless they have been engaged in such a suit, know little of the intricacies.

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[736]
[429]

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Two of the most striking features of Islamic inheritance are that a woman, although she is protected by certain specified percentages, does not receive a sum equal to that of a man, and that the estate of the deceased is not transferred intact to any one person, as in primogeniture, but is parcelled out among the several heirs,

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uncle (mam) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is rich, he looks after his nephews and nieces, sending them clothing and money, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (khal) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's husband or her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (pilk) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the bosom of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the diwankhana

installations in Rowandux, the air of the communications office is heavy with tobacco smoke and its floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the qaimmaqam.

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the serai, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the qaimmaqam's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowandux district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time assures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowandux district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings.

outbuildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards 743
for the district, although much is lacking in modern equipment and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical officer, also subordinate to the mütesarrıf. There are 759
several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical 759
service in the district is in some disrepute, largely because of the character of the medical officer. Trained in Lebanon, he was characterized as having expensive cures for expensive patients, and none at all for others. A poor merchant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a rash, to this doctor was presumptorily told "to wash his baby more often," hardly a prescription of value as the child was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman with some complaint entered the doctor's office while the latter was in conference with a visitor to the district. When the countryman asked for the doctor, this person himself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not there, and would not be expected for several days." Such unfortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab physicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery as a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the 344
town are to be found the courthouse and residence of the [693]
judge (Arabic, hakim), the former a small, squarish mud-
brick building of a single storey. When court is in 695
session, there is usually a small number of villagers or townspeople squatting or leaning against its front wall, waiting to be called. The judge is the foremost of several 692

DEATH

Hospitals, naturally, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabja and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[175]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Topzawa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[176], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, re-appearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[177]. Broken arms and legs were ill-tended, grew together badly, resulting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Serkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Topzawa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[178].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the house.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirza Rustam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was lent out for three days to the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unsewn costume and wrapped in the cerements, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[179]. The same type is found in Arabia[180] and Egypt[181].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

was in reality that of a tribute empire, concerned with the collection of taxes and recruits. Even in those two last tasks there was a contest, often in good humor, between the governors and the governed, and the victories were divided. As long as money and men were in reasonably good evidence, the Turks left the Kurds to their own devices. They handed down justice of a sort, but most quarrels never reached their courts. They were not particularly concerned with homicide, insofar as the murdered party was not a Turk, and, above all, they did not tamper with the economic structure of society. The bulk of the taxes were collected, in the best way possible, from the chieftains and landowners, never from the farmers and shepherds. The Kurds regarded these taxes, when they were forced to pay them, as a sort of levy to some superior chieftain. Matters of education or public health received little attention. This does not mean that in certain other areas of the Ottoman Empire there was not a complex bureaucratic government, but in Kurdistan it may be summed up as little more than desultory control. The gentle character of this administration, compared with that of today, is indicated by the fact that many Kurds look back with nostalgia to the "freedom" of Ottoman times.

In ethnological theory the significant difference between primitive and civilized society is held to have its basis in economics. Membership in a primitive society is defined in terms of kinship relation, usually by "blood,"

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

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information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire. 342 [174] [562] [177]

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for [373] night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. [754] [777] [751]

Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by 342 782 [751] [777]

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ex post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshhold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

rarely wear stockings, for there is little need of them with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often use them, obtained from the local merchants or Erbil. 291

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the pacha or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their mothers, but most have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular youngster, however to all appearances European, one must note the piece of blue porcelain pinned on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the town wear [301] [751] [754]

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when undone in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and
is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a
reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being
purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some
houses, kuhl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony
moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of
the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most
of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their
lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna,
a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday
practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such
as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is
not found in this area, nor is the technique used to
prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial
infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstru- 841
tion clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual [833]
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths
are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is
possible to observe daily female residents of the lower
classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces.
These are either transient servants or migrants from the
villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, 854
can be carried about easily by this last. The child is [352]
laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps
of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece
of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the
urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin.
In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze
to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross- [751]
piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye,
verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces
of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded orna-
ments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple 291
dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a 854
little apron. No undergarments are in use. The
shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like
those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia,
much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, 533
an event which is not marked in Rowanduz by an elaborate 852
ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend,
and entertains them in the guest-room with light refresh-
ments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is
placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name
selected previously by one of the family. He holds the
child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear.
He gently intones what was described in Rowanduz as the isma
(Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

the Prophet's Tribe, or a holy man. The identities of 766
these two had been forgotten. In one there was the
conventional white rag tied to a pole leaning against the
wall, and in the other a tattered green banner hanging from
a flagpole whose ornament was a flat metal hand, the [751]
"Hand of Fatima" previously mentioned. Some graves had a 764
large quantity of broken blue porcelain scattered over them,
and it was said that this custom was followed if the
deceased was a young man, both to indicate the grave as
such and to avert further misfortune. There are indica-
tions, however, that breaking porcelain at death is a
cultural trait of some antiquity, and further study might
prove it an interesting index of historical connection. The
townspeople seem to take little care of their graveyard, [233]
and flocks customarily find pasture there, gathering under
the oak for shelter in the summer heat.

The mausoleum of Isma'il Beg might be mentioned 766
separately, because it is not found in the graveyard, but
beside the great house now ruled by Lali Khan, and differs
considerably from the typical Kurdish grave described above.
It is a small, square wooden building with a pitched roof
(itself a rarity in Kurdistan) entered by a door kept
locked during the night. The interior walls and ceiling
are plastered and painted with a light wash. To the
right of the door the sarcophagus stands, covered with
cloth so that identification of its material was not per-
mitted. Against the center of the wall facing the door,

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called mazu, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 ● 777 301 [439] 751. 777 [531]

children. That a blue porcelain plate or a pair of old shoes is often installed beside the door of a house has been noticed. An iron horseshoe, as in America, may also be nailed above a door or on a wall. A human hand cut out of metal, the "Hand of Fatima" spoken of previously, is often found in jewelry. Adults seem to require little protection against the evil eye, but younger children, particularly males, almost always have charms pinned to their garments and their cradles are hung with them. Houses and animals are similarly protected. There is some rationalization of these charms. Those derived from the Quran have a power within them. The others, apart from their intrinsic qualities, deflect the glance of the evil eye from the object in question to themselves, a sort of magnetic property, because of their bright colour, their design, or something else.

777 751 [301] [854]

Charms such as these have a variety of origins. Minature copies of the Quran, metal disks, beads, pieces of turquoise, and shells are imported by the merchants and sold in the bazar, not only to the townspeople, but to the villagers among whom they are always in great demand. Slips of paper on which appropriate Quranic verses have been written may be obtained from one of the mullas or some other literate specialist. Cloth from the tomb of a holy man is easily obtained. Most persons assemble their own combinations, stitching them in cloth bags which are worn about the neck or pinned to the garments. Many of these are not solely to ward off

the evil eye, but have other purposes. The bodyguard of a chieftain might carry one which protects him from gunfire, and a great number are used to cure bodily ills. One of the mullas makes a practice of writing charms of this type. Such pieces of paper are usually soaked in water and the liquid is then imbibed. Recently a poor woman with some complaint visited the medical officer and the latter wrote her a prescription which could have been filled in Erbil. Under the impression that the medical officer, who neglected to explain the matter to her, operated like the mulla, the woman took the piece of paper to her home, mixed it with water, and drank it off. It might be mentioned that she was cured, and, the doctor said, reappeared the next day to request an identical piece of paper as insurance against the illness in the future. There are many amateur practitioners of white magic in the town, darwishes, midwives, and others, some of whom demand fees and others not. The barber, Hajji Mustafa, has one panacea for all ills. He ties a piece of string about the patient's wrist and "prays" over it. The investigator was furnished with some almost classical rationalizations, of illnesses, for example, "if a man is bitten by a mad dog, he will be cured when the dog is killed."

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The darwish (from a Persian word meaning "poor" and adopted into Arabic in this sense) occupies a position of considerable importance in everyday life. It is unnecessary here to discuss the origins and the character of the darwish

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each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran: 789 [484]

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowanduz, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a headache." Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections. 777 302 [751] 787 [776]

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rowanduz as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith 771

[1] Browne, 1893, p. 174.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

of the back which gives an extraordinary radius of action. In the squatting position the body is suspended from the knee joints; in this posture also women have a big radius of action, and the flexibility of the knee joint is retained to a ripe age. I once saw a 70 year old woman whose body was as supple as that of a young girl.

Working positions on the floor with outstretched legs are only used exceptionally, when the feet are to be used to retain one end of a rope to be plaited or a tape for the waistband.

I saw the squatting working posture transferred to an ordinary chair when my interpreter sat on her haunches on the seat of the chair with her needle work resting on her drawn up knees.

The tailor posture is often used by men when resting in the large, clumsy sofas, the loose cotton covers of which furnish clear evidence of the many naked feet that have been placed on them. When sitting on the floor furniture is often used as a back rest instead of a wall.

The great suppleness of the hip joint or the loose ligaments are the reason why, when wearing European summer dresses, the Kurdish women in Sulaimani sitting on chairs in Western fashion often forget command of their legs, which fall out to the side in a straddle.

Pains in the back occur and attempts are made to get rid of it by massage, or, in bad cases, by treading on each other. The woman suffering from the complaint lies doubled-up on the floor and another steps onto her back. This complaint may be due to long hours of work, for example baking, in a tailor's posture.

It thus looks as though the back is strained on certain occasions by having to be kept upright in the tailor posture. On the other hand no case of stiff knees was seen as a result of a constant standing working position; nor did women suffer from thick legs, swollen or "difficult" feet.

The Kurds possess great plasticity of body. Resting positions are adopted in a completely relaxed manner and are of great static beauty.

Fig. 37. Working position.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, *nexwexa*, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabja and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[172]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Topzawa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[174], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, reappearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[175]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resulting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Serkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Topzawa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[176].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the house.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirza Rastam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was lent out for three days to the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unseen costume and wrapped in the ceremonial, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[177]. The same type is found in Arabia[178] and Egypt[179].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance. 854

Nursing. According to the Coran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sure 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to 853
wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ....". In Southern [183]
Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. [144]
Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick [177]
child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A [165]
certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[1].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period 848
permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on 872
several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 20, and two daughters aged 23 (my interpreter) and 22. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 13 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (19, 17, 16, 13 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 5 and 4 months).

Much was related that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to see sexes while his 753
wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get sperm all over its body[2]. After I had used a not 854
very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, then, is more desired than a girl, *viz.* Mohammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom 847
of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Coran that male children are 849
more desirable than females[3]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

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Fig. 101. Kurd with rags tied on, planted inside stone wall on the burial ground outside Kalateh.

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trees which have no rags at all. Fraser[6] also distinguishes between these two cases when writing about "heaps of stones" in Kurdistan, which most correspond to Pelliot's[7] saints' graves in Luristan; the matter is also referred to by Bishop[8]. Fraser says: "Those who have benefited tear shreds from their shirts or trousers and tie them to the bushes around", but he also speaks of other graves of great men marked with "... a pole with a flag to point out the place to utter a prayer". Minorsky[9] also distinguishes between the two things, but lets them be found at the same spot, saying: "... a low stonewall" (that surrounds a holy grave) "on which ... grow real white flags ... On the branches which overhang the shrine rags and scraps of clothing ...". It was said concerning the grave with the rag tree on the building site near Bebelanpul, that it was pregnant women and sick persons who had become ill that hung up the rags as votive offerings. This agrees with Pelliot's[10] report that the Lurs "servir les femmes pour qu'elles deviennent fécondes ..." to the holy graves.

Donaldson[11] refers to "desire giving trees", though without a grave, and goes on to say: "Perhaps at one time a holy man, or a descendant of the Prophet, sat under such a tree ... it came to be re-

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information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

...s sleeves and the skirt dropping to the ankles are put 291
..., although in the case of village women only one or two ...ier dresses, usually dark blue in colour, are used. For ...headdress, the peasant wife, and, to a certain extent, ...nswomen of the poorer houses, have a cap combined with ...turban for everyday use. The cap, mentioned above as ...nsidered on a loose piece of cloth and stitched together ... the purchaser, is of the "pill-box" rather than the ...misspherical shape. The turban, in contrast to that of ...e men, is permanently sewn to it, and is also a dark ...ue in colour, a single roll of cloth.

The matter of the veil requires some discussion, a 291 6:a
...striction which, of course, does not ... the ...men themselves and immature children. In general, Kurdish ...men of the upper class may only appear uncovered before ...e men of their family, and, if of sufficient age and ...gnity, to male friends of the house. On the other hand, ...men of the villages, faced with the exigencies of their ...ife, working in the fields and going to market, are always ...veiled and a trip to the bazar crowded with men affords ...em no discomfort. However, the appearance of a socially ...minent or alien person may cause them to hide their ...ces. Brazenness, deprecated by many of the men, disappears ...r a moment, perhaps in some fear of the evil eye. Save ...r the case of an older woman of aristocratic lineage, the ...ustained glance of a stranger will cause almost any rural ...rdish woman, no matter what her rank, to turn away or to ...n. The veil, associated with the upper classes, is also

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purely wear significance, for there is little need of them with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often wear them, obtained from the local merchants or Arbil. 291

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the yashmak or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their mothers, but must have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ellah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular youngster, however to all appearances European, one must note the piece of blue porcelain pinned on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the time wear [301] [751] [754]

invitation, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. In Rwanda this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the <u>seimaque</u>. The latter simply orders the attendance of those of his subordinates he wishes present at a gathering, and they are thus able to attend without inconvenience to their honor. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three cliques, those persons who can afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in these pastimes, those who have the means but are not interested, and those whose pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of teachers who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging meals. The <u>seimaque</u> and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the teachers, and do not include them in their invitations or "orders" for an evening's entertainment.

Two demands of etiquette, although they may occasionally be observed in all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behavior of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to admire too vociferously anything belonging to another. In the case of children or houses, the rationalization is that this will bring catastrophe to the admired object, because such remarks can unwittingly conceal the malice of the evil eye, or

kept God to bring destruction to the owner. In the case of smaller articles, it is more or less mandatory for the owner to present the item in question to the admirer as a gift. A large number of cigarette-lighters, rosaries, walking-sticks, and the like change hands in exactly this fashion. The second is much more marked, the exhibition of deference to a superior or an equal. This can be seen in two persons of equal standing who wish to enter a room, for they will stand before the door, bowing each other in, until one seizes the other by the arm and makes him precede by main force. The same is true of refreshments or tobacco. If one offering produces cigarettes, the second will bring out his own and a wrangle usually ensues until there is an exchange. An identical process is gone through in lighting the tobacco, often with grotesque attitudes as two men hold out lighted matches for each other's cigarettes. The Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners, are less punctilious in these matters than the officials, and suffer less inconvenience.

To this point the greater part of these remarks have been largely pertinent to masculine society alone, and the investigator confesses to some failing in treating that of women. There are, it seems, certain aspects of feminine society on which the townsmen themselves cannot speak with authority, a deficit of information which could easily be filled by an observer of the female sex. However, it is possible to make a number of valid observations which must

by himself or his paternal relatives. If, however, the children of two brothers who live under the same roof marry, the newly-wedded pair may remain at home. The people who might thus be expected to be found in the mal or "house" may include a man and his wife, his paternal grandparents, his paternal uncles and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunts, his parents, his brothers and their wives, his unmarried sisters, and the children of the males of this group, boys and unmarried girls. Strictly speaking, such a unit has little realization among the townspeople. There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, both male and female, and most girls leave their parental home for that of a husband soon after reaching maturity. When there is more than one son, it is commonplace for the younger, when he marries or soon afterward, to occupy a new establishment, provided either by his own labor or by a subsidy from his parents. For the lower classes, the size of the dwelling precludes too extensive a gathering. The household of Shakir Effendi is made up of Shakir Effendi, his wife, three sons, a daughter-in-law, a grandson, and a number of servants. Shakir Effendi's daughter is married and lives in the home of her husband. Ra'uf Effendi's son died in childhood, a victim of the "evil eye," and his mal thus contains only himself, his wife, his two unmarried daughters, and the servants. The aristocratic establishment of Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian is much like these, save that one of the sons has already been provided with a separate domicile.

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the mountainside, causing his death. The luckless lad then meets the father of the jinni in fact, for his soul descends to the inferno. The Kurds also speak of shaytan ("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivation of the Hebrew word for "adversary"), devilish beings like the jinni, but of a more congenial and ingenious character than the jinni. "When the first phonograph was heard in Rowandus," Ra'uf Effendi related, "the people said there was a shaytan in it." There are also tales of malicious men and women who are able to change themselves into animals, such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against jinni, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent to the rare discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, chavm zar, "the evil eye," is a subject of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy and malevolence she experiences, which is, in a way, the evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye. Further, it is believed that the individual who at one time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called mrrg, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 801 [439] 751. 777 [531]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

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756 women resort for the cure of every ailment, physical or moral.

756 Is a child ailing, it is carried by its anxious mother
● 755 to the most eminent Sheikh within reach, who cures it by imposition, not of hands, but of feet, by breathing on it with his holy breath, or by hanging some sacred
[777] charm around its little neck. The first-named remedy may sound startling, but is actually applied, as I can vouch from personal observation.[1] The baby is laid on its back, and the Sheikh, laying his hands on the shoulders of two of his disciples who stand on either side, places his feet and rests his entire weight for a few seconds on the child's body. The Dervishes also
787 expound dreams, read the future, and furnish every other species of occult information of which their clients may stand in need.

776 Some Christian saints belonging to the Armenian calendar are also highly revered by the Kûrdish tribesmen. Of these perhaps Surp Serkis, or St. Sergius, is the one whose aid is most frequently sought. Kûrdish warriors, when about to enter on a campaign, resort
[731 to his tomb, and seek to enlist his favour and pro-
779 tection by there sacrificing a ram and lighting wax tapers.

776 The strange and widespread Oriental myth of Khidhr-Elias, in his double character of sea and land deity, is also current among the Kûrds, with whom he is Khidhr on land and Elias on the sea, and by whom he is invoked as a kind of guardian angel.

[1] I witnessed this strange practice at Bekeiân, after a service in the zâwîah of the Merkezî, or "dancing" Dervishes, as they are commonly called by Europeans.

Shaykh Muhammad at Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shepherd used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammad each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammad wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shepherd fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faroff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammad learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shepherd's grave before his own. A merchant in Rowanduz, one 'Abd al-Qattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine.

Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been denuded of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowanduz were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or men who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power in the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed berkat

the evil eye, but have other purposes. The bodyguard of a chieftain might carry one which protects him from gunfire, and a great number are used to cure bodily ills. One of the mullas makes a practice of writing charms of this type. Such pieces of paper are usually soaked in water and the liquid is then imbibed. Recently a poor woman with some complaint visited the medical officer and the latter wrote her a prescription which could have been filled in Erbil. Under the impression that the medical officer, who neglected to explain the matter to her, operated like the mulla, the woman took the piece of paper to her home, mixed it with water, and drank it off. It might be mentioned that she was cured, and, the doctor said, reappeared the next day to request an identical piece of paper as insurance against the illness in the future. There are many amateur practitioners of white magic in the town, darvishes, midwives, and others, some of whom demand fees and others not. The barber, Hajji Mustafa, has one panacea for all ills. He ties a piece of string about the patient's wrist and "prays" over it. The investigator was furnished with some almost classical rationalizations of illnesses, for example, "if a man is bitten by a mad dog, he will be cured when the dog is killed."

The darvish (from a Persian word meaning "poor" and adopted into Arabic in this sense) occupies a position of considerable importance in everyday life. It is unnecessary here to discuss the origins and the character of the darvish

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultous meetings, the darvishes commonly practise white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The darvishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the mullas. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some darvishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's darvish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the darvish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." 159
"How much did they take?" the Cossack officer asked. 792
"Fifty tumans," he answered, and the officers ordered the other Jews to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowandus, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Amin. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Amin asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a sack and filled it with coloured sand. I went through [755] the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my sand on the face of the sick man, reciting from the Quran. I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks [727] marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named Hajji Hawres in Shaqlawa. There was a Major Hay in the district who spoke Kurdish, and, when he heard from Hajji Hawres what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowandus. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Rowandus I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [669] of the Kurds revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowandus, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an 443
Armenian merchant named Jagmur, and he entrusted me 159
with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages 792
around Rowandus. When I returned, I found I had 200 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmur, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmur, always profitable, but I found traveling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowandus to sell groceries. When

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

778 K9

Fig. 181. Bush with rags tied on, planted inside stone wall on the burial ground outside Kalavan.

trees which have no rags at all. Fraser[6] also distinguishes between these two cases when writing about "heaps of stones" in Kurdistan, which must correspond to Fellberg's[7] saints' graves in Luristan; the matter is also referred to by Bishop[8]. Fraser says: "Those who have breathed their shrine from their shirts or trousers and tie them to the bushes around", but he also speaks of other graves of great men marked with "... a pole with a flag to point out the place to utter a prayer". Maunsell[9] also distinguishes between the two things, but lets them be found at the same spot, saying: "... a low stone-wall" (that surrounds a holy grave) "on which ... green and white flags ... On the branches which overhang the shrine rags and scraps of clothing ...". It was said concerning the grave with the rag tree on the building site near Sehkmani, that it was pregnant women and sick persons who had become sick that hung up the rags as votive offerings. This agrees with Fellberg's[7] report that the Lurs "servir les femmes pour qu'elles deviennent fécondes ..." to the holy graves.

Donaldson[10] refers to "desire giving trees", though without a grave, and goes on to say: "Perhaps at one time a holy man, or a descendant of the Prophet, sat under such a tree ... it came to be re-

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1978 revered ... the evildoers ... tie rags and strips to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be removed voluntary, the rags must "first come common" is mentioned by Mansf[1].

1789 1978 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of shaikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[2] writes: "... tout qu'il vous faudra le, ce chiffon est gonflé des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Fahlborg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shrings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

[191] There can be little doubt that the rag tree / an old heathen survival. This view is espoused by Massoul[3], Ebersolt[4], Fahlborg[5] and Sumer[6], Isaiah[7], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom a dead crippled remnants of the ancient consecration ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

● 1955 1982 The sacrifice of animals as a means of procuring health was referred to by my informants. She intended to due course to sacrifice a sheep in view that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly to Baghdad.

[369] [384] [525]

	+	+		+
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10:Johnson G-S (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

778 On hills and knolls anywhere in Kurdistan may be found a pile of stones under a tree with pieces of cloth tied about it. It is called a shakko, and people who are sick come and sit beside it, perhaps leaving a lamb as a sacrificial offering, or a sum of money which can only be removed by someone really in need of it. By this means they are cured of many diseases.

778 Some say that a shakko is the grave of a descendant of an Imam. I once asked an old man sitting near a shakko about its origin.

"My father heard from his father, who learned from our ancestors", he said, "that it is very old. It was here in the days of Mohammed the Prophet, and some

[291] Shaykhan district. Johnson in Kurdish dress; Turkish trousers, cut very full from a single width of cuff; a wide, knitted cotton waistband; a loose shirt under a felt tunic, and a turban

[p. 384 (A)]

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1886) 1891
MA11 Kard MA11

Persians belong, appears to have a greater charm for the Kürdish mountaineers than the Semitic notion of an absolute and personal Allah, which is the dominant idea of the tenets held by the *Shiaí*, or "Orthodox" Osmanlis. The Dervish Orders, who constitute the mystics of Islam, are, consequently, extremely popular with the Kürds, and the veneration of the women for the Shaikhs, or *pirs*, as they are called, whether living or dead, exceeds, if possible, that entertained for them by the Turkish women. For, indifferent as the Kürds may be to the dogmas of Islam, they, like all highlanders, are exceedingly superstitious, and firmly believe in all the occult and spiritual powers laid claim to by the Dervish Shaikhs.

The saint whom the Kürds hold in the highest reverence is the deceased Shaikh, Khaled *el Sulei-maneh*, whom they consider equal to Abdul Kadr *el Ghilán*,[1] if not to the Prophet Mohammed himself, and deem it profanation to speak of by any other title than that *el Hazreti Mevlána*—"Our Lord the Prophet." This Kürdish *pir*, whose sayings his countrymen dignify by the name of *Ahdís*,[2] belonged to the Nakshibendi Dervishes, a "contemplative" Order famed for the deep mystic piety of its members, and which has produced many saints eminent in the Moslem world. To the tombs of dead, or the *takiehs*[3] of living, Dervishes, the Kürdish

[1] A famous Dervish who lived in the twelfth century, and founded the Order of the Kadiris. Wonderful stories are told of the supernatural powers possessed by this Shaikh, some of which may be found in *The Dervishes*, by J. P. Brown.

[2] The name given by Moslems to the sayings or "table talk" of Mohammed.

[3] The monasteries and temples in which the Dervishes reside and hold their services.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1991
MA11 Kurd MA11

778
● 354 women resort for the cure of every ailment, physical or moral.

356 In a child ailing, it is carried by its anxious mother
355 to the most eminent Sheikh within reach, who cures it by imposition, not of hands, but of feet, by breathing on it with his holy breath, or by hanging some sacred
777 charm around its little neck. The first-named remedy may sound startling, but is actually applied, as I can vouch from personal observation.' The baby is laid on its back, and the Sheikh, laying his hands on the shoulders of two of his disciples who stand on either side, places his feet and rests his entire weight for a few seconds on the child's body. The Dervishes also
781 expound dreams, read the future, and furnish every other species of occult information of which their clients may stand in need.

776 Some Christian saints belonging to the Armenian calendar are also highly revered by the Kizzilash tribesmen. Of these perhaps Surp Serkis, or St. Sergius, is the one whose aid is most frequently sought. Kizzilash warriors, when about to enter on a campaign, resort
781 to his tomb, and seek to enlist his favour and pro-
778 tection by there sacrificing a ram and lighting wax tapers.

776 The strange and widespread Oriental myth of Khidhr-Elias, in his double character of sea and land deity, is also current among the Kizzilash, with whom he is Khidhr on land and Elias on the sea, and by whom he is invoked as a kind of guardian angel.

[1] I witnessed this strange practice at Sebastia, after a service in the church of the Merkuri, or "dancing" Dervishes, as they are commonly called by Europeans.

ated for his piety, but it not only connotes chieftainship, in the sense of the Arabs, but also has a religious meaning. Certain Kurdish chieftains, shaykhs, were supposed to have an almost magical quality in their persons, and, for example, could cure ailments by the laying on of hands. In general, each son takes the title of his father, thus Kuhil Agha of Jiadian is the son of Muhammad 'Ali Agha, and all of his brothers have the same distinction. As far as hierarchy is concerned, beg, as in Mahmud Beg of the Baradost tribe, appears to have greater weight than agha, but there is no definite system. The investigator suspects, in view of some of the confusion in this regard, that titles are given very much as proper names at the time of birth. On the other hand, commoners never use them, even as names, and noblewomen have no such designations, although words such as amira, "princess," or khan, "chieftain," may appear in their appellations. [551]

The chieftain, to a large extent, is the symbol of his people's honor, tribesmen or tenants, and this is a matter of supreme importance to both Arab and Kurd. Honor has a large number of aspects of which the most important are the obligation of vengeance, safeguard and sanctuary, the integrity of women, and hospitality. If a man has been murdered, it is incumbent on his relatives to avenge his death, and this is the beginning of the vendetta or blood-feud. The peaceful solution is the payment of badalkhwin or blood-money, an amount calculated in goods or cash, but

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[756]
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this as a career simply starts to study with some mullā who already has a position, and, when judged to have shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad, Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an exchange of information of this type between the religious leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory. These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery can elicit the strongest emotional response in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the commoners, and no one in Rowandus could think of a case in which a member of the aristocracy had embraced such a career. A pious chieftain, as his age and reputation for sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh (Arabic, "old man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rwanda were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban wound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic ʾaḏḏana, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rwanda this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant.

the evil eye, but have other purposes. The bodyguard of a chieftain might carry one which protects him from gunfire, and a great number are used to cure bodily ills. One of the police makes a practice of writing charms of this type. Both pieces of paper are usually soaked in water and the liquid is then imbibed. Recently a poor woman with some complaint visited the medical officer and the latter wrote her a prescription which could have been filled in Rybil. Under the impression that the medical officer, who neglected to explain the matter to her, operated like the mullā, the woman took the piece of paper to her home, mixed it with water, and drank it off. It might be mentioned that she was cured, and, the doctor said, reappeared the next day to request an identical piece of paper as insurance against the illness in the future. There are many amateur practitioners of white magic in the town, barbers, shoemakers, and others, some of whom demand fees and others not. The barber, Hajji Mustafa, has one panacea for all ills. He ties a piece of string about the patient's wrist and "prays" over it. The investigator was furnished with some almost classical rationalizations of illnesses, for example, "If a man is bitten by a mad dog, he will be cured when the dog is killed."

The farrish (from a Persian word meaning "poor" and adopted into Arabic in this sense) occupies a position of considerable importance in everyday life. It is unnecessary here to discuss the origins and the character of the farrish

movement as it evolved in the Medieval Islamic world, a development which corresponds to the rise of monasticism in the Christian states of Europe. Men were attracted to it for a variety of motives, some great in wealth or learning who dabbled in its esoteric lore, others sincerely devoted to the service of their faith and mankind, clever charlatans who lived off the bounty of the gullible, egotics, revolutionaries, and a host of others. In short, it offered many things to many persons. There are two darvish disciplines in Kurdish Iraq, the Qadiriya order (founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani who died in 1166 and whose tomb in Baghdad is the foremost Sunnite shrine in Iraq) and the Naqshbandiya order (originally begun in Central Asia in the fourteenth century). To illustrate the contrasting types of darvish, it might first be noted that the chief mulla of Rowanduz, 'Abd al-Karim Affendi, is a member of the Naqshbandiya order. Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Affendi, in the judgment of the townspeople and the government elite, is an intelligent, realistic person whose interest seems to be purely intellectual. On the other hand, the most extravagant egotist in the lower ranks of the townspeople, Hajji Mustafa the barber, is a member of the Qadiriya order, and the reader will be able to appreciate something of his motives below.

In a district like that of Rowanduz, men can ascend in society only by dint of considerable personal ability along certain lines. It has been noticed how psychic,

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

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771 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms
773 the social position of the Mulla in his function as village priest, and
give some description of the mosque as the visible evidence of the
religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine
beliefs or ritual practices in detail.

The Mulla

773 Most of the larger villages have a resident Mulla. The
functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to
define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write
the Arabic language and an extensive knowledge of the Koran. This
mental equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a
student, during which time he is permitted upon the village in which he
lives, begging his keep and avoiding all ordinary manual labour. Most
Mullas have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They
are not usually members of the local kinship group, but individuals who
through some social misfortune have left their own group and are thus
without normal means of support. The student must I believe achieve a
certain standard before he 'graduates' as a Mulla, but how this is
defined is not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The
intellectual attainments of the Mulla vary very greatly. Some have a
real understanding of Arabic and Persian and of the written literature
of their own language; others merely learn the Koran by rote and recite
portions of it on suitable occasions without any clear understanding of
the meaning. Knowledge of the Koran does not even necessarily imply an
ability to read - the Mulla student in Egypt was quite blind but was
[3rd] gradually memorising the whole book. In general however the Mulla may
be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. Some of
the ordinary cultivators are literate; most of the Agha would claim the
distinction but I doubt their real ability - All Agha of Bapat for
instance called in the Mulla both to read and write his letters, and
Hamid Amin of Dergala though he could certainly read was scarcely a
fluent. In earlier times one of the Mulla's definite functions was to
be scribe and general secretary to the Agha; conditions in this respect
are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most Aghas sons are now
quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the Agha the
Mulla's services to the community are roughly those of village priest.
He leads the prayers in the mosque, and on the Sabbath [Friday]
supplements this with a brief sermon in Arabic, which is entirely
• [564] unintelligible to his audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals
and receives suitable rewards from the Koran. It was hinted further that
he is frequently called in to cure sickness - chiefly by means of
prayers and charms and exorcism. I have no information at all as to
the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and
charms charms, especially among the women and the smaller children
suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

In return for these services he receives from the Agha a

outbuildings. The hospital itself contains two free wards for the district, although much is lacking in modern equipment and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical officer, also subordinate to the qaimmaqam. There are several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical service in the district is in some disrepute, largely because of the character of the medical officer. Trained in Lebanon, he was characterized as having expensive cures for expensive patients, and none at all for others. A poor merchant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a rash, to this doctor was peremptorily told "to wash his baby more often," hardly a prescription of value as the child was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman with some complaint entered the doctor's office while the latter was in conference with a visitor to the district. When the countryman asked for the doctor, this person himself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not there, and would not be expected for several days." Such unfortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab physicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery as a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the town are to be found the courthouse and residence of the judge (arabic, hakim), the former a small, squarish mud-brick building of a single storey. When court is in session, there is usually a small number of villagers or townspeople squatting or leaning against its front wall, waiting to be called. The judge is the foremost of several

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 736
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognised. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
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their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
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fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
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at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ba'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re-
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of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
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would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

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4: Honeyo E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, ambulances, are to be found in provincial towns like Hadaliya and Sulaimaniyah and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Hadaliya I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[17]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimaniyah in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Tirqasra with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous embraced by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimaniyah were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[18], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, re-appearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[19]. Broken arms and legs were ill-tended, grew together badly, resulting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimaniyah and Berkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Tirqasra and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[20].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the home.

Burial. The deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but, outside the mosque at Mirza Rostam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was kept out for three days in the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this large wooden table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden cross with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unsewn shroud and wrapped in the ceremonial, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[21]. The same type is found in Arabia[22] and Egypt[23].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

4. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

1957
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Fig. 61. Preparation for Ramadan gaan. The daughter standing on the bank of her mother. Sulaimaniyah.

and placed on a rug or small mattress on the floor. The children were 3 years and 4 months old, respectively. The little girl lay covered with a towel. No doctor was summoned to issue a death certificate. It was said that this is unnecessary in the case of small children. The death is notified later to the authorities. As the funeral was to take place the same day, one of the men of the house was sent to the city for a suitable piece of white cotton material for the ornaments, while the women of the house heated water for washing the corpse. This most include both the small wash, performed prior to prayer: hands, forearms, feet and a light smoothing of the hair on the head with a damp hand, and the big wash, which includes the whole body, so that the deceased achieves complete ritual purity[58]. The little girl had died in the neighbouring house to my interpreter's house in Sulaimaniyah, where I lived. It had originally been an ordinary Kurdish man's house, but had now declined into a slum building inhabited by several families. In the centre of the courtyard there was a reservoir from which the several families on the property fetched water for household purposes. This water, the doubtful cleanliness of which was possibly the cause of the little girl's illness and death, was not used for washing the corpse. Many petrol cans of good municipal water were fetched from my interpreter's house, where water was laid in. A big cauldron was put over a fire in the courtyard. On the floor in one of the rooms on the side of the dead child sat the mother, grandmother and aunt, mingling the child and lamenting its death. This death lament, an old heathen custom, has been retained although

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when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt to the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[49]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[50].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the in- adoption of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seem to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as not to embody the child. At the various ages the child entered to definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social intercourse prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the home. All communication took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Gunnar has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[51]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many. Success life in the home and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the home which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. accomplished with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misery. I discovered that one boy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the fore equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more pleasant than one's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the fear of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently uncertain with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not exposed to aggression with subsequent punishment and the

4: Human E-5 (1957) [96] MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, ambulances, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabja and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the main ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[17]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cart to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Tuganova with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous swathed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[18], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, re-appearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[19]. Broken arms and legs were ill-tended, grew together badly, resulting in ski-shaped limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Sirkan. There was no snake venom in the villages. A harvester in Tuganova and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by lorry or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[20].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sick-room in the house.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirza Rostam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was kept out for three days in the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On into the body, clad in an unworn costume and wrapped in the ceremonial, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[21]. The same type is found in Arabia[22] and Egypt[23].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth.

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil.

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred.

The independent judiciary functions through the court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Nahia [sub-district magistrate] and then before the Qa'im Maqam [district magistrate] before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil.

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Rowanduz. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Sunnis and Turks and in time by general inclination Sunni-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Shaqi-kurds whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Sunni" can be taken for granted.

The Liwa is divided into several districts (Qazas) each presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Maqam). Area 4, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Qaza of Rowanduz. The Qa'im Maqam is responsible for the district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for the Liwa.

The Qazas in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Erbil table all results within the nahiya Erbil - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Inregale on the other hand is administered from Rowanduz.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the personality of these junior officials which is the most feature of the system, and which is the real source of

embellishage. The hospital itself contains two free wards for the district, although much is lacking in modern equipment and drugs, and is under the direction of a medical officer, also subordinate to the gricamong. There are several assistants, including a female nurse. Medical service in the district is in some disrepute, largely because of the character of the medical officer. Trained in Lebanon, he was characterized as having expensive cures for expensive patients, and none at all for others. A poor merchant who had taken his infant, afflicted with a rash, to this doctor was preemptorily told "to wash his baby more often," hardly a prescription of value as the child was bathed daily. In another case, a countryman with some complaint entered the doctor's office while the latter was in conference with a visitor to the district. When the countryman asked for the doctor, this person himself informed the sufferer that "the doctor was not there, and would not be expected for several days." Such unfortunate incidents, coupled with the fact that Arab physicians trained in the Middle East often use surgery as a panacea, have created a large body of adverse opinion.

Among a group of houses in the lower part of the town are to be found the courthouse and residence of the judge (Akwiki, Belgi). The former a small, squarish mud-brick building of a single storey. When court is in session, there is usually a small number of villagers or townspeople squatting or leaning against the front wall, waiting to be called. The judge is the foreman of several

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognised. In winter most of the pests disappear, and their manpower is greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of information in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. Infant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to replace the son who had died [at the age of eleven 'of the evil eye'], and Shukir Effendi led an extremely active life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep steps of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles almost everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that there have been a number of changes in household life since

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and idea of the Chinese marriage—also in Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the midwife wife of Tajuwar, Parturition takes place in a sitting posture. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor between-legs. Over this is laid a thin, padded mattress on which the woman to labour sees herself. Her assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Sarkan there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's house at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife, then the first to be trained in Sulaimaniyah. At the time I was there this woman was about 50 years of age.

While labor plans in one of the rooms of the house, I was told that the father was be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The Arab doctor at the Dokan Dam Site said on that in case of a sudden birth one of the mountains, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local midwife in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female Canadian gynaecologist at the hospital at Sulaimaniyah told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her internal functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimaniyah to seek medical attention. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynaecologist.

In another case a woman in Sarkan participated with fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimaniyah. The child, which was a few days old, could not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, naked, is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that acts as a nappy and is changed from time to day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches to the shoulders and is somewhat longer than the legs. The cloth is about 1.00 m. x 1.00 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are tied up around the feet. The two upper

DEATH

Hospitals, naturally, are to be found in provincial towns like Hoddija and Sukkisvuoni and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Hoddija I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargaiba, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[17]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by raft to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sukkisvuoni in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to work overtime and for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Tromsøysa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dikkan on the following day, was the day previous undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sukkisvuoni were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[18], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, reappearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the countryside, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[19]. Broken arms and legs were ill-treated, grew together badly, resulting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sukkisvuoni and Berlaus. There was no snake-arrow in the villages. A harvester in Tromsøysa and a boy in Bukkiba who were bitten by snakes were taken by reds and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kautokeino I visited. There leaves pasted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[20].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the home.

Burial. The deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kautokeino, but outside the mosque at Nikka Russian I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was kept out for three days in the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as to the cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On into the body, clad in an unsewn costume and wrapped in the ceremonial, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[21]. The same type is found in Arabia[22] and Egypt[23].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which fulfil their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

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by himself or his paternal relatives. If, however, the children of two brothers who live under the same roof marry, the newly-wedded pair may remain at home. The people who might thus be expected to be found in the mal or "house" may include a man and his wife, his paternal grandparents, his paternal uncles and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunts, his parents, his brothers and their wives, his unmarried sisters, and the children of the males of this group, boys and unmarried girls. Strictly speaking, such a unit has little realization among the townspeople. There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, both male and female, and most girls leave their parental home for that of a husband soon after reaching maturity. When there is more than one son, it is commonplace for the younger, when he marries or soon afterward, to occupy a new establishment, provided either by his own labor or by a subsidy from his parents. For the lower classes, the size of the dwelling precludes too extensive a gathering. The household of Shakir Affendi is made up of Shakir Effendi, his wife, three sons, a daughter-in-law, a grandson, and a number of servants. Shakir Effendi's daughter is married and lives in the home of her husband. Ra'uf Effendi's son died in childhood, a victim of the "evil eye," and his mal thus contains only himself, his wife, his two unmarried daughters, and the servants. The aristocratic establishment of Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian is much like these, save that one of the sons has already been provided with a separate domicile.

the mountainside, causing his death. The lonliness led 776
them mark the father of the jinni in fact, for his soul [775]
descends to the inferno. The Kurds also speak of shaytan
("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivation of
the Hebrew word for "adversary"), devilish beings like the
jinni, but of a more congenial and ingenious character
than the jinni. "When the first phonograph was heard in [216]
Rowanduz," Ra'uf Effendi related, "the people said there
was a shaytan in it." There are also tales of malicious [754]
men and women who are able to change themselves into animals,
such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from
demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against [521]
jinni, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent
to the rare discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, chesm zar, "the evil eye," is a subject 754
of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by 761
his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an
object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is
that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally
without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked
on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy
and malevolence she experiences, which is, in a way, the
evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in
question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and
he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye.
Further, it is believed that the individual who at one
time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iraq, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called nafir, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 801 [438] 751 777 [531]

bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
of the government elite, not those of the town, but others
encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
can break down, some rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
the official class, rather than among groups such as the [783]
commoners or aristocrats of Rowanduz, that alcoholism and [545]
suicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowanduz at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowanduz is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowanduz, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowanduz district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1908.

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the furthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat.

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Bekin who is also the corpse-washer, nirin nigr, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich,

I: Garnett D-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis 1892

K 515 rupture of the tie is simulated, though she is in reality purchased by the promise sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kizils are practically monogamists, and divorce, though permitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., will illustrate their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

K 517 583 586 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is made to divorce as with the Moslem Kizils. Their

K V 585 743 weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower

V [743] grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *faqeers*, perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâsir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 764 A Kûrdish funeral, although it forms a striking

In Current B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 191
MA11 Hand MA11
Yezidi MSS

contrast to the quiet solemnity which is characteristic of Moslems generally in the presence of death, is a most impressive sight. If the deceased has been a person of consequence, military standards are borne in the procession, and, in some places, Kawwalah for instance, the body is accompanied to the grave with music and singing. When the funeral leaves the house, men and women rush wildly out, uttering cries and shrieks, and tearing their hair and clothes. Some raise their hands to heaven, others bow themselves to the earth, and cast dust upon their heads, expressing both in sound and gesture the very abandonment of grief.

The funeral rites of the Yezidis are both peculiar and interesting. When a member of this sect is believed to be at the point of death, a *kawwal* is called in, who pours into the mouth of the moribund a quantity of water. If he should expire before this ceremony has been performed, it is deferred until his body is carried to the grave. The body is laid out with the arms crossed over the breast, and not, as with the Moslems, extended by the sides. In the coffin are placed a piece of bread, some coins, and a stick, for the use of the deceased when the "questioners" appear, for, like the Moslems, the Yezidis believe in post-mortem catechists. Should Mounkir, when he arrives, attended by his scribe Nakir, to interrogate him concerning his faith and the character of his life, pronounce him unworthy to cross the threshold of Paradise, the dead man tries to bribe him to alter his decision, first with the bread, then with the silver. If these are unavailing, he resorts

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MAIL Hand MAIL
Taxable Article

E 7 772 to exercise, and with the stick opens his own way to heaven.

E 7 ● 787 So long as the body remains in the house hymns are chanted by the deceased, who also accompany the body to the grave, carrying censers, which they swing as they go. For several successive days the friends of the deceased visit his resting-place, men and women in separate parties, every morning and evening, the latter to weep and wail and the former to sit in silence, burning incense the while.*

E 787 777 778 As water is one of the emblems of Yezd, the Life-giving Principle, the pouring of it into the mouth of the dying probably signifies, or it may be, is intended to confer, vitality after death, or metempsychosis in some form or other, this doctrine being believed to be held by the Yezidis.

E 787 782 The only change made in their costume by the Kizzilash women as a sign of mourning is the substitution of a black veil for that usually worn out of doors.

* Comp. Badger, The Nestorians, &c., p. 130.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Ward MA11

Said the Hodja, "I have mounted a thousand steps to get up here—ask the man what he wants, and then kill me."

But the man insisted on the Hodja's coming down to him at once, so the good woman again went to call him. Finding the caller so persistent, the Hodja said to himself, "Perhaps he comes on some business matter. I had better go down."

Hurrying down the staircase, he fell and hurt himself, and, coming to the door out of temper, found there a beggar, who said:

"For Allah's sake, give me an aspre!"

"Come this way," replied the Hodja, and he led the man up the staircase. When they had mounted forty steps, the Hodja turned to the beggar and said, "Go, may Allah send thee one."

"You might have said that to me downstairs," grumbled the beggar.

"Man," replied the Hodja, "thou didst bring me down a thousand steps to hear this say, 'Give me an aspre,' and hast learn the cause of my fall and my hurt. I bring thee up but forty steps to hear me say, 'May Allah give it thee.'"

Nasr-ed-Din Hodja and the Corpse.

One day, as the Hodja was at home washing his clothes, a man came to request him to perform the ablutionary rite for a corpse, so that it might be buried.

"I am busy," replied the Hodja; "I am washing my clothes. Go, bring the corpse here, lay it on this

* The usual Oriental formula when refusing a beggar's request for alms.

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1883) 1891
MA11 Hard MA11

table, and I will wash it here, as I have plenty of warm water,' and then you may take it and bury it."

"Very well," said the man, and he went to fetch the body.

The Hodja placed it on his table, and then said to the heaven, "Remain outside with my wife while I see to the corpse."

So the man went and sat down outside. The Hodja locked the door and fell a-thinking. Said he to himself, "I begrudge the warm water which I want for my clothes."

A small stream flowed past the house, and the Hodja finally decided to let it carry the dead man away unwashed. So, seizing the corpse by the legs, he threw it into the stream, which was swollen, and it was soon borne out of sight.

"I must now be wily with these men," said the Hodja to himself, and opening the door, he asked, "What has the life of the dead man been?"

"He was a rogue, a thief, and a cheat," was the general reply.

"So," said the Hodja, "that cannot be. You are mistaken. This man must have been a good man. When I had washed him on the table he opened his eyes and sat up. A silver chain then came down from heaven, angels came and took him up, and they said, 'This was indeed a man.'"

The simple villagers believed the words of the Hodja. "It was the will of Allah," they piously said, and returned to their homes. When, however, the corpse

[1] See Wisdom General view, p. 190.

Aside from this

work in building and repair, the only significant production 935
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 932
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 932
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of 95
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may [981]
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rwanda maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 402
carpenter's tools and equipment, mallets, hammers, planes, [419]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden bier, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [364]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are [854]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the henry, and the shoeing of a donkey

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Kuré," the furthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rwanda and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four religion, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat.

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Dakia who is also the corpse-washer, kirin niri, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich,

764
[767]

cooking and baking, and is also a midwife." The women, squatting in the courtyard or before the house, smear their faces with dirt as a sign of grief. Then the corpse-washer, normally a barber, arrives with his assistants. Two tins of hot water are prepared, and the deceased is stretched naked on a board which serves as a bier. The corpse-washer first cleanses the areas under the arms and between the legs, and presses the abdomen to force out any excrement. With the second tin of hot water the whole body is washed, and the nails and hair of the deceased are trimmed. The corpse is then wrapped in a white winding sheet, usually containing a dozen or more square yards of material. Only the wealthy can afford coffins of wood, manufactured by the local carpenters, and most of the dead are interred without them.

A procession now takes place, leading from the house of the deceased to the mosque and then to the cemetery. "Everyone in the town, rich or poor, follows the bier, and the body is carried by many men, continually changing place so that each may receive the blessing of God for this pious act." The relatives and friends of the dead man walk directly behind the bier, and with them are the mullas or priests of the town. The procession halts before the great mosque, and one of the mullas customarily recites from the Quran and gives a brief eulogy of the deceased. Arriving at the graveyard above the town, there are further recitations and the body is buried. A curious

usage is recorded in this connection. If a man dies at night or when it is raining, the body is carried immediately to the mosque and left inside. The mullaq read over it throughout the night, and tea is offered visitors on the porch of the building. The corpse-washer comes to the mosque and carries out his tasks there. It might be mentioned that ordinary burial is always performed on the day of death. The grave is prepared by laborers prior to the arrival of the procession, and is so oriented that when the corpse is laid within on its right side, the face will look in the general direction of Mecca, in Rowandus to the southwest. After the grave has been filled, the relatives and friends of the deceased return home, and refreshments are given to all callers. Gifts of food are sent to the house by friends and neighbors. Another interesting custom now appears. Three days after the burial, a barber is called to cut the hair of the new head of the family of the deceased, if the latter has occupied this position. The house itself is rarely abandoned, except in those cases, common in the Middle East, in which some accident connected with the death, for example, one of the family getting blood on his hands, leads people to believe that continued occupancy would cause bad fortune.

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visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes
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There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or
annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said
that these memorial parties of both men and women visited
the grave "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rowandux occupies the flat crest of 764
the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak
tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be [197]
encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel
lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are
oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot
above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab
of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some
cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the
next. Only a few have inscriptions, some etched and
others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus [211]
in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal
clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial
plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn.
Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble 766
wall, indicating the grave of a sayyid, a descendant of

the Prophet's Tribe, or a holy man. The identities of 766
these two had been forgotten. In one there was the
conventional white rag tied to a pole leaning against the
wall, and in the other a tattered green banner hanging from
a flagpole whose ornament was a flat metal hand, the [751]
"Hand of Fatima" previously mentioned. Some graves had a 764
large quantity of broken blue porcelain scattered over them,
and it was said that this custom was followed if the
deceased was a young man, both to indicate the grave as
such and to avert further misfortune. There are indica-
tions, however, that breaking porcelain at death is a
cultural trait of some antiquity, and further study might
prove it an interesting index of historical connection. The
townspeople seem to take little care of their graveyard, [233]
and flocks customarily find pasture there, gathering under
the oak for shelter in the summer heat.

The mausoleum of Isma'il Beg might be mentioned 766
separately, because it is not found in the graveyard, but
beside the great house now ruled by Lali Khan, and differs
considerably from the typical Kurdish grave described above.
It is a small, square wooden building with a pitched roof
(itself a rarity in Kurdistan) entered by a door kept
locked during the night. The interior walls and ceiling
are plastered and painted with a light wash. To the
right of the door the sarcophagus stands, covered with
cloth so that identification of its material was not per-
mitted. Against the center of the wall facing the door,

4: Hansen ES (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, naturally, are to be found in provincial towns like Hakkâri and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Hakkâri I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no clinic, only, for example in Sargale, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[17]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Topzawa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dohuk on the following day, was the day previously undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken a evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[18]. All sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, re-appearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on to clay roof and on the clay floor[19]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Sirtan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Topzawa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. The letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, his spraying is done annually in the villages[20].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the home.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Idrisa Rustam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was kept out for three days in the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, a oblong, wooden cross with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unsewn costume and wrapped in the customary, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[21]. The same type is found in Arabia[22] and Egypt[23].

Two children's deaths: a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

4: Hannen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

summoned from the mosque. He was assisted by the child's maternal uncle, *zal*. The washing was done, as had been the case with the little girl, women by the mother and close female relatives. In this house it was performed in the bath room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the antechamber of the room on a bench there. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ornaments and washing glove was torn into pieces by a man, the uncle, though the washing glove was also here sewn by one of the women (half-sister of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other woman of the house broke into lamentation, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child glided out of its mother's world from the moment the corpse washer had lifted it up and carried it into the bathroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped, as the little girl had been, in a prayer rug outside the ornaments. In the grave the body lies on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mekka. The dead are covered with stones, and then with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs—one at the head and one at the feet[90]—are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and provincial towns vary, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1934 Chirap[91] stressed the great difference between the dreary, naked burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab stones, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in respect of the children's deaths. After that the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning meal for friends and acquaintances referred to by Juynboll[92], customary in Islamic areas, was not given in the case of the two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and the only thing obtainable was bread and water melon. Nikitine mentions that among Kurds a special pastry[93] was issued three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death visits of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bathroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the cinema is not visited and picnics are not attended. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for two to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in cases of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man at Topzawa the day before a triple wedding resulted in the men's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq: They take place immediately after death. No death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The ornaments must be of new, white cotton material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the *sūq*, the owner of the booth being summoned for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men; in both

4. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

764 cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rôle is a completely passive one. The ornaments must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth. Neither knifes nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the home to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the ornaments. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother: *akl*), accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

[369] [765] 765 [515] [301]

Fig. 95. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Tepsawa.

764 342 361

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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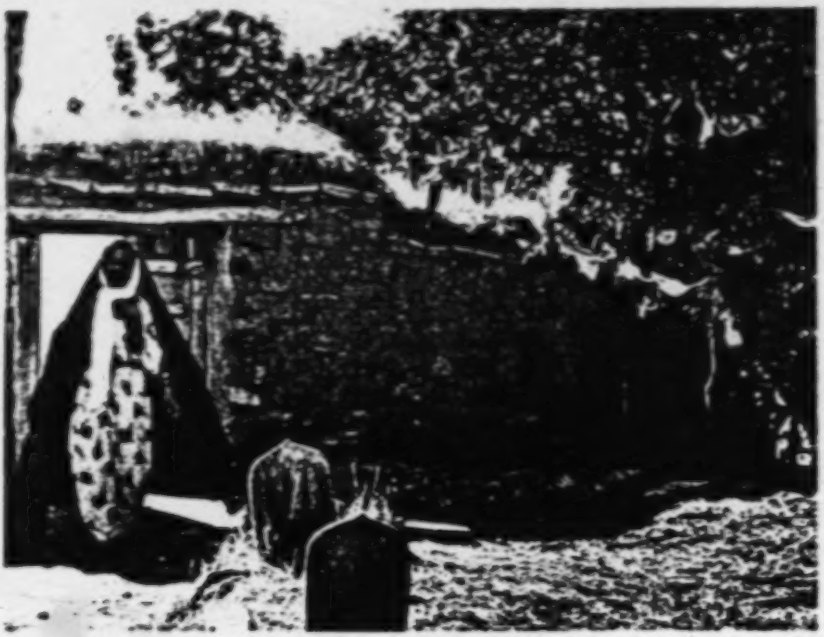
Rag trees, rag poles and sacrifices. Two different religious survivals could be seen in Kurdistan: The one, a tree hung with rags standing outside the chapel-like building that housed the saint's grave outside Halabja. A similar type of rag tree adorned not only by rags but also by a ram's-horn, with a holy hand set up beside it, stood inside the grating that protected a sacred grave. This lay in the middle of a newly-built section on the outskirts of Sulaimani. Gravestones sticking up here and there between houses showed that the quarter had been raised on what once had been a burial ground.

The other phenomenon: rods each of which bore a single rag like a flag. These rods were planted within a rampart at the burial ground at Topzawa; similar rods were placed within an earthworks at the burial ground of the twin village of Rakawa. No rags were hung on the branches of big trees in the burial ground. A group of rods with rags attached, also behind a low earthworks, marked a grave at the side of the Sulaimani-Chamchamal road in the vicinity of Sulaimani. (No rags on the trees near by.) It appeared to be a matter of two different phenomena: in the one case a tree with branches hung with rags; in the other, rods each bearing a single rag. These rods might be sited under large

Fig. 100. Tree hung with rags outside a saint's grave. Halabja. The woman wearing *abā* and headveil.



4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 101. Rods with rags tied on, planted inside stone wall on the burial ground outside Rakawa.

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trees which bore no rags at all. Fraser[36] also distinguishes between these two cases when writing about "heaps of stones" in Kurdistan, which must correspond to Feilberg's[37] saints' graves in Luristan; the matter is also referred to by Bishop[38]. Fraser says: "Those who have benefited tear shreds from their shirts or trousers and tie them to the bushes around", but he also speaks of other graves of great men marked with "... a pole with a flag to point out the place to utter a prayer". Maunsell[39] also distinguishes between the two things, but lets them be found at the same spot, saying: "... a low stonewall" (that surrounds a holy grave) "on which ... green and white flags ... On the branches which overhung the shrine rags and scraps of clothing ...". It was said concerning the grave with the rag tree on the building site near Sulaimani, that it was pregnant women and sick persons who had become hale that hung up the rags as votive offerings. This agrees with Feilberg's[40] report that the Lurs "envoie les femmes pour qu'elles deviennent fécondes ..." to the holy graves.

[753] [755]

Donaldson[41] refers to "desire giving trees", though without a grave, and goes on to say: "Perhaps at one time a holy man, or a descendant of the Prophet, sat under such a tree ... it came to be ve-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	} Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants	}
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expenses of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

263 Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
272 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
177 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
435 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
574 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 56 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MN10

K
Y
775

to coercion, and with the stick opens his own way to heaven.

K
Y
764

So long as the body remains in the house hymns are chanted by the *kawwals*, who also accompany the body to the grave, carrying censers, which they swing as they go. For several successive days the friends of the deceased visit his resting-place, men and women in separate parties, every morning and evening, the latter to weep and wail and the former to sit in silence, burning incense the while.[1]

Y
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771
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As water is one of the emblems of *Yezîl*, the Life-giving Principle, the pouring of it into the mouth of the dying probably signifies, or it may be, is intended to confer, vitality after death, or metempsychosis in some form or other, this doctrine being believed to be held by the Yezidis.

K
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292

The only change made in their costume by the Kûrdish women as a sign of mourning is the substitution of a black veil for that usually worn out of doors.

[1] Comp. Badger, *The Nestorians, &c.*, p. 131.

story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short time, and the woman tore her garments and went into mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "God is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar temerity. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according to their status in this sense. The darwish, as a religious mendicant, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest status are initiated into the mysteries of the darwish orders. In Rowanduz one could find a darwish in a demented

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect toward their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the mal, little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the furthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [823]

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764 [137] [211] 766

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

commenced from the cemetery. He was assisted by the child's maternal uncle, still. The washing was done, as had been the case with the little girl, women by the mother and close female relatives. In this house it was performed in the bath room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the antechamber of the room on a bench there. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ornaments and washing glove was torn into pieces by a man, the uncle, though the washing glove was also torn away by one of the women (half-sister of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other woman of the house broke into lamentation, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child glided out of its mother's world from the moment the corpse washer had lifted it up and carried it into the bathroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped, as the little girl had been, in a prayer rug outside the ornaments. In the grave the body lies on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mekka. The dead are covered with stones, and then with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs—one at the head and one at the feet[91]—are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and provincial towns were, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1894 Oberay[92] stressed the great difference between the dreary, naked burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab stones, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in respect of the children's deaths. After that the grave is forgotten.

The religious lead mourning meal for friends and acquaintances referred to by Jaynboll[93], customary in Islamic areas, was not given in the case of the two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and the only thing obtainable was bread and water melon. Nikitine mentions that among Kurds a special pastry[94] was issued three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death visits of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bedroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the cinema is not visited and picnics are not attended. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for two to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in cases of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man at Topzawa the day before a triple wedding resulted in the men's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq: They take place immediately after death. No death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The ornaments must be of new, white cotton material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the city, the owner of the booth being summoned for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men; in both

4. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

764 risen without using the washing board stored at and last out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her role is a completely passive one. The ceremonies used consist of an unequal amount of pieces of cloth. Neither knife nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the house to the mosque, and then the burial ground, overland in a prayer carpet over the ceremonies. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother, aff), accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

[364] [765] 765 [515] [301]

Fig. 95. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Tripoura.

764 342 321

152 leader, if he has a son who is being circumcised, to pay for the sons of poor people, and to give the feast. There is thus a tendency for the headman's sons to be circumcised in a common ritual with a large number of boys. This might be thought of as reminiscent of some form of age-grades, and may be vaguely symbolic of loyalty ties within such generations of village boys.

When a child loses his first *deciduous tooth*, a special dish is commonly prepared and given to the neighbors «because the parents are very proud that their child has become so big».

302 When a girl feels she is growing up, she may, with a few friends,
883 decide she wishes to be *tattooed*, usually only moderate small designs on face or hands. This is performed by an old woman specialist rarely a resident of the village, but is, everyone insisted, now going out of use as a practice. There is no formal rule as to the age at which this is done, but a girl presuming at too early and age would probably be ridiculed. The controls seem essentially the the same as those on the use of cosmetics in Western society, and the time of tattooing does not correspond to puberty in any one-to-one relation as a rite de passage.

585 *Marriage* is one of the most exciting festivals of the village, and usually takes place in the autumn after the harvest, to ensure plentiful supplies. The process of choosing a spouse has been discussed above (pp. 26 ff.) — the ceremony itself is most colorful in the case of marriages that connect two villages, since then the aspect of conspicuous exhibition of wealth is most stressed, and the bridal procession from the girl's to the husband's home most impressive. The celebrations should traditionally last three days, and involve all one would expect of eating, smoking, and dancing, offering opportunities for all kinds of informal social activities. Unless excessive factionalism interferes, the whole village takes part in the festivities.

• 765 *Death.* After a death, the members of the bereaved household remain at home for three days, and friends and relations come visiting, express their sympathy, and are served food and tea. After three days, the throats of two or three sheep are cut, in honor of the deceased, and the meat is «given to the poor» — that is, distributed

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

765 in the village as a whole[1]). Any conspicuous excesses in celebration are however tempered by pious ideals of moderation.

574 551 621 576 To summarize: the *feast*, in its various religious and personal applications, offers a forum for competition and rivalry between persons, especially in the field of wealth, but this aspect is somewhat tempered by ideals of moderation and control inherent in the other scales by which individuals are evaluated. Furthermore, these communal or semi-communal occasions formalize the relative prestige positions of individuals, as seen by other individuals, and by the group as a whole. These prestige hierarchies find expression especially in situations where a regular order of serving or acting is observed. When all the tea comes out of the host's one samovar, individuals must necessarily be served in a sequence. In Kurdish culture, as in most other cultures, the *first* position in a sequence, and in fact precedence in general, is regarded as symbolic of status. These occasions thus necessarily come to express a status hierarchy, and that in a familiar context where the symbolism is clear and rivalry for relative places conscious. In seating, in serving, and in any sequence of appearance, this rule is followed. In the fluid type of hierarchy found in the Kurdish villages, where status positions are not crystallized in a formal structure, but are constantly being re-evaluated in terms, in the final instance, of the common denominator of *power*, it is essential that some mechanism is found whereby relative status and power can be compared and made public by non-violent means. Characteristically, practically all the major communal occasions in the villages of Southern Kurdistan involve several instances where this hierarchy can become expressed.

RAIDING AND WARFARE

721 701 The final and most spectacular occasion for the emergence of leadership and the expression of a status hierarchy is offered by the

[1]) This ritual slaughter of animals has a general significance as a sign of respect — when an important visitor arrives, the throat of a sheep is cut just before the visitor approaches, so that the blood may flow across the road just as he passes over.

extent demands that her price should be a high one. It would need a very intimate knowledge of all concerned to find out what real transactions take place within the village on the occasion of a marriage. Where the marriage is to someone outside the village the position is more clear, especially in the case of the Aghas, though here again there is a tendency to exaggerate the figures involved. A point of some interest is the frequency with which Aghas or their sons marry the daughters of townspeople. For instance a son of Sheikh Mohammed of Balash was married to a daughter of Mustafa Effendi, the leading notable of Rowanduz, and one of the wives of Mir Emin Amin of Dergala was also a townswoman. Such marriages are socially approved of as it is considered that townswomen bring with them an air of culture and sophistication. The reciprocal marriage of Aghas daughter to townsman's son is however most unusual, mainly because the townsman considers the tribal girl raw and uncivilised. The one sided nature of the transaction thus represents a further periodic cash loss to the tribal group without any compensating return.* It is not to be supposed that the bride price payment is the only economic transaction taking place on the occasion of a marriage. Near relatives on both sides send presents to the bridegroom; these may be in kind or cash and in the case of marriages between important Agha families may amount to substantial sums.

Death. Compared with normal Kurdish usage the mourning ceremonies of the Hevis, at any rate for Aghas, are unusually prolonged. While I was staying at Balash the wife of Mustafa Agha, second son of Sheikh Mohammed, died. As Mustafa was the Agha of a neighbouring village I did not see the ceremonies involved. I was told that the proceedings consisted principally of the bereaved sitting at home in his Guest House and providing food and drink for all those friends and relatives who may think fit to come and condole with him. This would go on for a month. Moreover it was reckoned that as Mustafa had only a small Guest House all his less immediate kin would have to be accommodated at Balash. I gathered that the mourners would bring with them gifts which would at least approximately compensate for the cost of entertaining them, but the immediate economic strain occasioned by a death such as this may be considerable. As soon as Sheikh Mohammed heard the news he sent off riders to Rowanduz to fetch four casks of sugar (56 kilos each), two bags of rice and a big roll

* Formerly it appears it was quite customary for commoners to sell their unwanted girl children to townsfolk. The girls were known as Kuniya. During adolescence she was a slave servant of the purchaser but might be married off quite respectably when she grew up. The system appears to have much in common with the mui tsai system of South China.

765 of cigarette papers. The scale of entertainment naturally varies
574 greatly with the status of the deceased; moreover the death of a male is
401 in every case far more serious than the death of a female. So far as I am aware the ceremonial consideration is similar in the case of [illegible] families though on a smaller scale.*

The Mulla

793 The Mulla has his part to play in the ritual both on occasions
595 of marriage and death, and gains some appropriate reward. His interest
431 in the marriage ritual is on the decline. Government regulations now require that marriages must be registered with the police, and the marriage is legal without any religious ceremony. The tendency is therefore to give presents to the police rather than the Mulla.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to nomad tribes; I was told that among the Herki the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day. The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Moslem type.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MH10

contrast to the quiet solemnity which is characteristic of Moslems generally in the presence of death, is a most impressive sight. If the deceased has been a person of consequence, military standards are borne in the procession, and, in some places, Kermanshah for instance, the body is accompanied to the grave with music and singing. When the funeral leaves the house, men and women rush wildly out, uttering cries and shrieks, and tearing their hair and clothes. Some raise their hands to heaven, others bow themselves to the earth, and cast dust upon their heads, expressing both in sound and gesture the very abandonment of grief.

The funeral rites of the Yezidis are both peculiar and interesting. When a member of this sect is believed to be at the point of death, a *kawwal* is called in, who pours into the mouth of the moribund a quantity of water. If he should expire before this ceremony has been performed, it is deferred until his body is carried to the grave. The body is laid out with the arms crossed over the breast, and not, as with the Moslems, extended by the sides. In the coffin are placed a piece of bread, some coins, and a stick, for the use of the deceased when the "questioners" appear, for, like the Moslems, the Yezidis believe in *post-mortem* catechists. Should Mounkir, when he arrives, attended by his scribe Nekir, to interrogate him concerning his faith and the character of his life, pronounce him unworthy to cross the threshold of Paradise, the dead man tries to bribe him to alter his decision, first with the bread, then with the silver. If these are unavailing, he resorts

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required, and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh distributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes must often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals of women and children, depending on the status of their husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said that these memorial parties of both men and women visited the grave "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rowanduz occupies the flat crest of the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the next. Only a few have inscriptions, some etched and others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn. Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble wall, indicating the grave of a sayyid, a descendant of

the Prophet's Tribe, or a holy man. The identities of 766
these two had been forgotten. In one there was the
conventional white rag tied to a pole leaning against the
wall, and in the other a tattered green banner hanging from
a flagpole whose ornament was a flat metal hand, the [751]
"Hand of Fatima" previously mentioned. Some graves had a 764
large quantity of broken blue porcelain scattered over them,
and it was said that this custom was followed if the
deceased was a young man, both to indicate the grave as
such and to avert further misfortune. There are indica-
tions, however, that breaking porcelain at death is a
cultural trait of some antiquity, and further study might
prove it an interesting index of historical connection. The
townspeople seem to take little care of their graveyard, [233]
and flocks customarily find pasture there, gathering under
the oak for shelter in the summer heat.

The mausoleum of Isma'il Beg might be mentioned 766
separately, because it is not found in the graveyard, but
beside the great house now ruled by Lali Khan, and differs
considerably from the typical Kurdish grave described above.
It is a small, square wooden building with a pitched roof
(itself a rarity in Kurdistan) entered by a door kept
locked during the night. The interior walls and ceiling
are plastered and painted with a light wash. To the
right of the door the sarcophagus stands, covered with
cloth so that identification of its material was not per-
mitted. Against the center of the wall facing the door,

next to the sarcophagus, is a wooden stand on which are to be found bowls of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mausoleum, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Kurdistan, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East.

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to confine the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the familiya and in the size and splendor of its celebrations. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowanduz, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

DEATH

Hospitals, *xastaxâna*, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabja and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[173]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Topzawa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous undressed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[174], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, reappearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[175]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resulting in mis-shapen limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Serkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Topzawa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[176].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the house.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirza Rustam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was lent out for three days to the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unsewn costume and wrapped in the cerements, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[177]. The same type is found in Arabia[178] and Egypt[179].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 93. Treatment for rheumatic pains. The daughter standing on the back of her mother. Sulaimani.

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and placed on a rug or small mattress on the floor. The children were 5 years and 4 months old, respectively. The little girl lay covered with a towel. No doctor was summoned to issue a death certificate. It was said that this is unnecessary in the case of small children. The death is notified later to the authorities. As the funeral was to take place the same day, one of the men of the house was sent to the *sūq* for a suitable piece of white cotton material for the cerements, whilst the women of the house heated water for washing the corpse. This must include both the small wash, performed prior to prayer: hands, forearms, feet and a light smoothing of the hair on the head with a damp hand, and the big wash, which includes the whole body, so that the deceased achieves complete ritual purity[180]. The little girl had died in the neighbouring house to my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, where I lived. It had originally been an ordinary rich man's house, but had now declined into a slum building inhabited by several families. In the centre of the courtyard there was a watercourse from which the several families on the property fetched water for household purposes. This water, the doubtful cleanliness of which was possibly the cause of the little girl's illness and death, was not used for washing the corpse. Many petrol cans of good municipal water were fetched from my interpreter's home, where water was laid in. A big cauldron was put over a fire in the courtyard. On the floor in one of the rooms at the side of the dead child sat the mother, grandmother and aunt, eulogizing the child and bewailing its death. This death lament, an old heathen custom, has been retained although

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 198 MA11 Kurd MA11

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contrary to the precepts of Islam[181]. Other women sat around the three, but no men were present. By the gate at the far end of the courtyard stood the child's father and some other men waiting their turn in the ritual of the funeral. After some time the corpse washer made her appearance carrying some purchased white material in his arms. As the deceased was of female sex she had to be laid-out by a woman[182]. There was 3½ yds. of material for the child. The washer divided it into several pieces, each for a set purpose, without using either knife or scissors. First the selvages (the weaving edges) on the long sides were torn off. The length of the child from crown to feet was then measured with about 0.15 m. added to each end, and the material was torn across. The larger of the two pieces was laid aside. This was to constitute the outer wrapping. The remainder of the cloth was again torn asunder so that four pieces were obtained, two oblong and two square. Of these, one of the oblong pieces, with needle and thread, was handed to one of the women present—a friend of the house, not in the child's immediate circle. This piece of cloth was sewn together into a bag which was later to be used as a washing glove for the right hand of the corpse washer[183]. The cerements, called collectively *kafan*[184], must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth[185]. Whilst dividing the material this rule was respected in a very ingenious way. The original division of the material was into seven. As the piece, designed for the glove, dropped out, the torn piece of one selvage was divided in the middle making the number of the pieces seven again. The oblong piece of material bigger than the piece that had been sewn together for a washing glove was moistened in the middle with the mouth to make it easier to tear, and was given a longitudinal slit in the centre large enough for a child's head to pass through. The small, unsewn shirt, a poncho, was thus completed. The two square pieces were folded together in triangles, the one intended as a head covering, the other as a brow band. The material I saw used was white, unwashed cotton material. According to Lane, the colour most used is white or green, but any colour can be used except blue[186].

The washing of the little girl was done by the body washer in the courtyard, assisted by another woman, who poured water over the body with a scoop and rinsed the soap away. The mother, grandmother and aunt were not present. The child was undressed, laid first on its back and then on its stomach on a circular, inverted, metal service tray. The child was lathered three times[187] by the gloved hand, and rinsed. The washer cleaned the ears nose and genital opening, and pressed the stomach in order to clean the bowels. Ordinary white toilet soap was used, and the rinsing was done with hot water. Lying in the lap of the body washer, the child was then thoroughly dried in a big towel, *xawl*, and laid upon a couch of rugs, the uppermost of which was a woollen prayer rug with fringes, on which lay the shroud. The unsewn poncho was then put on the child, as was the head covering and the brow band. The child's arms were stretched out along its body, and the cerement folded around it. The two short pieces of the torn selvage were tied around the cerement, one at each end. The largest piece of selvage was tied around the child's body, half way down, outside the cerement.

When the small white parcel was ready for the prayer carpet it was folded around it—and the women's part was finished. One of the men, not the father, who had been waiting at the entrance to the courtyard, now went to the body, lifted it twice up into the prayer rug and down to the ground again. The third time he retained it in his arms and went with it through the gate to the father and other waiting men. From there it was carried to the mosque where a prayer would be said for and a

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 94. Diagram. Cerements made out of one length of material: a: the outer wrapping; b: the unsewn shirt; c–d: the two head coverings; e: washing glove; f: selvedges used for binding.

blessing given to the dead in accordance with *shāfi'i* rite[188]. Thereafter, still only accompanied by men[189], the little girl was borne out to the burial ground, a bare hill outside Sulaimani.

In addition to the lament for the dead, another heathen feature was retained at this funeral. Whilst the child was being dressed in the poncho and swathed in the cerements and prayer rug, which in this case acted as bier, a fowl was caught in the yard. It seemed to me it was a cock, but I may have been mistaken and it was a large hen. Blackman[190] relates concerning the *fellāhin* in Egypt that: "when a child dies, a hen is killed ...". The bird was decapitated, and it was said that the head was to be buried with the dead child in order to avert further deaths in the family, where, a fortnight earlier, the child's maternal uncle had died, for which reason the women in the house were wearing black and white chequered material in their costumes as a sign of mourning.

766 825 [191]

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The little boy died in my interpreter's home in Sulaimani between night and morning. He was immediately taken out of his cradle and placed on a mattress in the courtyard covered by his mother's black *abā*. The cradle was at once stowed away on a pile of firewood that bounded the cookhouse on the courtyard side. Despite the early hour a man was sent to the *sūq* for some white cotton material for cerements. It was said that in cases of death the owner of the booth can be called out even in the middle of the night, as it is essential that new, unwashed and unused material is used for the cerements. As the child was a boy, the washing had to be performed by a man—in this case a *mulla*

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

summoned from the mosque. He was assisted by the child's maternal uncle, *xāl*. The washing was done, as had been the case with the little girl, unseen by the mother and close female relatives. In this home it was performed in the bath room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the antechamber of the room on a bench there. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for cerements and washing glove was torn into pieces by a man, the uncle, though the washing glove was also here sewn by one of the women (half-sister of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other woman of the house broke into lamentation, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child glided out of its mother's world from the moment the corpse washer had lifted it up and carried it into the bathroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped, as the little girl had been, in a prayer rug outside the cerements. In the grave the body lies on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mekka. The dead are covered with stones, and then with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs—one at the head and one at the feet[191]—are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and provincial towns were, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1894 Ostrup[192] stressed the great difference between the dreary, naked burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab stones, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in respect of the children's deaths. After that the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning meal for friends and acquaintances referred to by Juynboll[193], customary in Islamic areas, was not given in the case of the two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and the only thing obtainable was bread and water melon. Nikitine mentions that among Kurds a special pastry[194] was issued three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death visits of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bathroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the cinema is not visited and picnics are not attended. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for two to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in cases of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man at Topzawa the day before a triple wedding resulted in the man's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq: They take place immediately after death. No death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The cerements must be of new, white cotton material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the *sūq*, the owner of the booth being summoned for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men; in both

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [823]

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Hakim who is also the corpse-washer, mirdu shor, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich, 763 [428] [788] [765] 764 767 [533]

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[767]

cooking and baking, and is also a midwife." The women, squatting in the courtyard or before the house, smear their faces with dirt as a sign of grief. Then the corpse-washer, normally a barber, arrives with his assistants. Two tins of hot water are prepared, and the deceased is stretched naked on a board which serves as a bier. The corpse-washer first cleanses the areas under the arms and between the legs, and presses the abdomen to force out any excrement. With the second tin of hot water the whole body is washed, and the nails and hair of the deceased are trimmed. The corpse is then wrapped in a white winding sheet, usually containing a dozen or more square yards of material. Only the wealthy can afford coffins of wood, manufactured by the local carpenters, and most of the dead are interred without them.

A procession now takes place, leading from the house of the deceased to the mosque and then to the cemetery. "Everyone in the town, rich or poor, follows the bier, and the body is carried by many men, continually changing place so that each may receive the blessing of God for this pious act." The relatives and friends of the dead man walk directly behind the bier, and with them are the mullas or priests of the town. The procession halts before the great mosque, and one of the mullas customarily recites from the Quran and gives a brief eulogy of the deceased. Arriving at the graveyard above the town, there are further recitations and the body is buried. A curious

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. 159 792 [443]

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Hesnai Effendi Barzinani. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ra'uf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ra'uf Effendi was given the post again. [622] [574]

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Aziz any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [624] [687] [964]

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a darwish and a khelifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [305] [785] [767]

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 159 792 [767]

Sayyid Hesani, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hesani was not directly concerned in the feud between Nuri Dawil Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hesani for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hesani was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, mukhtar, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop, 159 [628] [669] [205] [579] [651] 159 463

usage is recorded in this connection. If a man dies at night or when it is raining, the body is carried immediately to the mosque and left inside. The mullas read over it throughout the night, and tea is offered visitors on the porch of the building. The corpse-washer comes to the mosque and carries out his tasks there. It might be mentioned that ordinary burial is always performed on the day of death. The grave is prepared by laborers prior to the arrival of the procession, and is so oriented that when the corpse is laid within on its right side, the face will look in the general direction of Mecca, in Rowandus to the southwest. After the grave has been filled, the relatives and friends of the deceased return home, and refreshments are given to all callers. Gifts of food are sent to the house by friends and neighbors. Another interesting custom now appears. Three days after the burial, a barber is called to cut the hair of the new head of the family of the deceased, if the latter has occupied this position. The house itself is rarely abandoned, except in those cases, common in the Middle East, in which some accident connected with the death, for example, one of the family getting blood on his hands, leads people to believe that continued occupancy would cause bad fortune.

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There is no specific period of mourning, although it is usually several months before normal life is resumed. The men of the family wear no visible sign, but the women

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next to the sarcophagus, is a wooden stand on which are to be found bowls of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mausoleum, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Kurdistan, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East. 766 [788] [769]

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to confine the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the family and in the size and splendor of its celebrations. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowanduz, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance 565 593

G. Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the door to the haggis he greeted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad.

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, traded for flour and sugar, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to carry among the women of Sheikh Talib's house in Tegawra. When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the waistband of the one, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice.

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Hitchen[1], who says: "Les Kurdes aiment beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("bext"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial en persane .... on l'ouvre à l'aveuglette, on regarde la sentence qui s'y trouve la première et on consulte l'indication que porte en haut chaque page ("bext" ou "rast") ....". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1275). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book, opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sargala, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[2]. We visited a saint's grave outside Halabja. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the elegant superstructure from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her menses (cf. p. 153) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a nag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall at the side of the grating. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not.

Saints' graves were found in a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Tawella near to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *tekyeh*[3], was apparently a Sufi religious house[4]. The superstructures over the saints' graves inside were like houses and were hung with silken rugs[5]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[6] respectfully, and scraped some soil scraped together and handed her[7] by the mullá who accompanied us. Over that part of the building, the architecture of which evinced considerable Persian influence in the decorative scales, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was surmounted by a hand with outstretched fingers.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER III.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kûrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kûrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by *imâms* of their own race, Kûrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kûrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kûrds. To the latter they are,

771 183 785 276 262 344 793 871 793 522

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

539 The Kûrds also relate the following allegorical story with reference to the same subject:

The Prophet and the Angel.[1]

[776] When the Prophet—blessings upon him!—ascended to Paradise, the archangel Gabriel accompanied him in order to show him all the wonders of the heavens. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—observed an angel of majestic stature, who stood in an expectant attitude, bearing on his shoulders an enormous drum, and holding in his hand a long drumstick. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked who he was, and what was his occupation. The angel replied, "O messenger of Allah, my duty is, when a Mollah confers a benefit or bestows an alms, even were it but some broken food to a beggar, to beat the drum, and thus announce to all the angels of the heavens the benefit or the almsdeed of the theologian."

Upon this, the Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked the angel, "How many times hast thou beaten the drum since thou hast held this office?"

"I am still waiting," replied the angel; "and up to this hour I have not once beaten it."

Will it be always thus? Allah knows. The clergy of all religions perform for the most part but few acts of benevolence or charity, for they require of the people almsdeeds and benefits, and themselves give nothing to the poor.

771 795 The vague mysticism which is so closely interwoven with the doctrines of the Shia sect, to which the

[1] Jaba, *Recueil, &c.*, p. 15.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Persians belong, appears to have a greater charm for the Kūrdish mountaineers than the Semitic notion of an absolute and personal Allah, which is the dominant idea of the tenets held by the *Sūni*, or "Orthodox" Osmanlis. The Dervish Orders, who constitute the mystics of Islam, are, consequently, extremely popular with the Kūrds, and the veneration of the women for the Sheikhs, or *pīrs*, as they are called, whether living or dead, exceeds, if possible, that entertained for them by the Turkish women. For, indifferent as the Kūrds may be to the dogmas of Islam, they, like all highlanders, are exceedingly superstitious, and firmly believe in all the occult and spiritual powers laid claim to by the Dervish Sheikhs.

The saint whom the Kūrds hold in the highest reverence is the deceased Sheikh, Khaled of Sulie-manieh, whom they consider equal to Abdul Kadr of Ghilān,[1] if not to the Prophet Mohammed himself, and deem it profanation to speak of by any other title than that of *Hazreti Mevlāna*—"Our Lord the Prophet." This Kūrdish *pīr*, whose sayings his countrymen dignify by the name of *hādis*,[2] belonged to the Nakshibendī Dervishes, a "contemplative" Order famed for the deep mystic piety of its members, and which has produced many saints eminent in the Moslem world. To the tombs of dead, or the *tekkehs*[3] of living, Dervishes, the Kūrdish

[1] A famous dervish who lived in the twelfth century, and founded the Order of the Kadiris. Wonderful stories are told of the supernatural powers possessed by this Sheikh, some of which may be found in *The Dervishes*, by J. P. Brown.

[2] The name given by Moslems to the sayings or "table talk," of Mohammed.

[3] The monasteries and temples in which the Dervishes reside and hold their services.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yazidis MH10

groves and alleys, and celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. The women in their gayest and richest dresses, their necks and heads hung with strings of silver coins, and with either a scarlet feather or a posy of roses or anemones in their turbans, dance with the men in rings, sometimes to the number of two hundred. The young girls make the most of their holiday, dancing to their hearts' content with their admirers or affianced lovers.

The large Kûrdish tribe of the Doudjiks, which is composed of several *thâifés*, forms another heretical sect, called Kizilbakhs. They regard Ali, the first Khalif, as the personified Deity, thus attributing to him, as do the Ali Ilahîs of Persia, a much higher position than to the Prophet of Islam. And there is yet a third description of sectarians, called Baliki, who regard Ali as the latest manifestation of the Deity in human form. The more mystical among Moslems hold that all the great Prophets who have appeared from the creation of the world—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, Christ, and Mohammed—were successive incarnations of the Divine Spirit, and that the founder of Islam, because the last, was the greatest. But the Balikis ignore Mohammed entirely. According to their saying, "He (the Deity) has showed Himself in a thousand ways, and many are in doubt; if he would show Himself in one way, many would believe." Warlike and unruly as are the members of this sect, the American missionaries have been very successful among them. Such, indeed, is the influence of this handful of men from the New World that they

considerable social intercourse between the two groups. 186 563 571
Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing two Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Rowanduz area, at Batas, Dara Harir and Dyana, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, [167] the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native [582] group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Muslims are toward them. One can find Muslims in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. 627 837 548
Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of [553] them assume Christian names, often of a cinema favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam 771 commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a 578 "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

but must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the curse in the name of religion, of which the full form is la'anatu Ullahi 'ela dinek, "the damnation of God on your faith," is an invitation to certain catastrophe. K 771 578

There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, the Yezidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Mandaeans of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yezidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslims and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druze women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups. Y 186 241 Y [142] Y [582]

The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("Custom") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), and today includes, in one form, the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural population of southern Iraq. In central and northern K 795 779 175

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the preceding pages a number of instances have been encountered in which religious belief and practice enter into the routine of the town, and it now remains to add to them those which, albeit inextricably bound up in everyday life, can be treated of themselves. Primarily, the "official" faith of the townspeople will be spoken of, in the sense that it has been defined by Islamic priests themselves, to which may be subtended a secondary body of credences and observances, not necessarily "religious" in the usual sense of the term, conveniently dealt with in this connection. The faith of the townsman is undifferentiated from that of the aristocrat, but is not necessarily identical with that of the government official or officer, several of whom, as has been seen, are Shiite Arabs from southern Iraq or Christians.

It is necessary to place the people of Rowandus, as well as the Kurds of northern Iraq, in some perspective with the rest of the believing world. First, their faith is that of Islam ("submission" to God or Allah) preached by the Arab prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and carried by his heirs into the Kurdish mountains as it was elsewhere in the world. This is a religion which, according to a generality

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Something of the dirisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows. 795

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowanduz district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose 771 121 173 554 792 [292]

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To the right of the porch, on the street leading up through the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques

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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the woman's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowandus serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowandus have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowandus in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen

[1] Zwemer, 1946.

The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [773
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [212]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 805
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

postman, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy. 159
illustrates the personality of many of the darwishes, as well [463]
as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rowandus area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the darwish movement which offered [792]
the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [305]
he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the bazar, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour [732]
and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded 771
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 789
drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water 789
over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of
water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. [484]
Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran:

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowanduz, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky 777
day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business
transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, 302
the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to
be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used
in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in
a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice.
A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of [751]
the house, "in order that no one will get a headache."
Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic 787
significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, [776]
"and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of
the other superstitions, for example, the significance
attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not 771
impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of
Rowanduz as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who
do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a
large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

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[1]Browne, 1893, p. 174.

lightly. There are, to be sure, a number of purists, old men or youthful fanatics, centered around the mullas who insist on the strict observance of the demands of the Quran and condemn those things which have grown up beyond its scope, such as the shrines of holy men or the use of charms. Those who seem to pay the least attention to religion are members of the government elite, but even they are hardly unbelievers. What is perhaps most important is the fact that Islam is a part of the daily round rather than something specially relegated to a single day of the week. Unlike the perfectionism or Christianity of the New Testament, it is a practical faith which makes few demands upon its worshippers which are incongruous with the way of the world. It is thus that one rarely, if ever, finds a person in Rowanduz who is having difficulties with his religion. Those who neglect their daily prayers or fast are assumed to make amends for this failing sooner or later and it is thought that all will be well with them. It cannot be legitimately said that the townspeople, as provincials, are closer to their religion than those of the cities, for, insofar as one has been able to observe, the urban populations of the Arab Middle East are just as rigorous, if not fanatic, in their worship as those in the country. The religious complex of Rowanduz, in its multiplicity of aspects, contributes much to daily life. It does not constitute a logically consistent whole, but is rather a loose aggregate of many beliefs and practices whose origins, whether they are Islamic or

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pagan; have largely been forgotten and whose harmony is unimportant. 771

If the account of contemporary religion is related to that of Ottoman times, little can be found which indicates that this is an area of change. The chief complaint of the amateur theologians was not of increasing impiety, but rather of unorthodox practices, and this conflict of puritan with popular religion is centuries old. One striking omission may be denoted, the lack of condemnation of the government elite for gambling or drinking, two diversions prohibited by the faith, in which the townspeople find no interest. In seeking to define those places in which the collision of the modern state with Kurdish life has evoked conflict, it is curious to find that the forbidden amusements of the officials and officers are not used in the criticism of the new order which they represent. However, alcoholic beverages are not retailed openly in the town and the government elite amuses itself in private. It is possible that the exclusive atmosphere of these parties, together with the new and unfamiliar prestige of the officials and officers, overrides possible defamation. Similarly, the most articulate demagogues of Kurdish independence are drawn from the official class and, insofar as they think of themselves as "progressive" like their Arab colleagues, they remain silent about such matters. It was not possible to determine whether or not the revolts of the past were partially phrased in religious terms, but it

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. By religion they are Sunnis of the *shafi'i* rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do to day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Senna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakks and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day this area, which is inhabited by about 5 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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the deed is drawn up at the judge's residence and not in a mosque, which is a place of prayer and (like Christian churches) a form of registration office. The same view is to be found in Blackman who says that among Muslims no religious ceremony takes place—marriage is not a sacrament. La also states that "in Islām marriage is a secular contract and not a religious rite"[107]. This is not accord with Kurdish conditions. That the drawing up of a marriage settlement here seems to covered by religious precepts seems to be indicated by, for example, the presence of the *mulla*.

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cording to Juynboll[108] matrimonial law and the rights of inheritance are generally considered m or less connected with religion, and within the dual legal system, spiritual and temporal, matrimon and family rights fall to the spiritual judge. Islām is more than a religion, it is a whole system co prising all aspects of human life[109]. It would be highly remarkable if the drawing up of the marri settlement should be a temporal act in view of the fact that the justification for the paying of a br price is found in the Coran[110]. Rather can it be said that the drawing up of a marriage settlem within the *shāfi'i* rite of Islām, which the Kurds follow, is an act connected with religion. What the other hand is distinct from the drawing up of the marriage settlement is the consummation of marriage, which failing a better expression, what can be termed "the wedding". It has nothing to either with the secular or spiritual authorities, being a purely private affair that sooner or later, of years after the drawing up of the marriage settlement, takes place in the form of a family festi with friends. This occasion, as opposed to the drawing up of the marriage settlement, can be said be a secular, and particularly a quite private, action.

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The social intercourse of engaged couples in the event of prospective spouses knowing each oth In the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani I met one example of a couple who knew each other bef marriage and had themselves chosen each other. This, of course, is the exception and was entirely to their milieu.

The girl in the case was the 23 year old sister of my interpreter. Both she and the young man question were primary schoolteachers who had met as colleagues and fallen in love. When the you man realised his interest in the girl he had applied to my interpreter, also a schoolteacher, as family lived outside in one of the village areas from which no woman, mother or sister, was abl act as go-between. He told her that "he would like to be admitted to her family", and asked if would act as his advocate and place the matter before her father. This had been done and the marri settlement had been drawn up a year before my stay in Kurdistan. The wedding festival was immin and took place whilst I lived with the family. In the months prior to the wedding I was able to st the pattern of behaviour applying to former colleagues now engaged, and the position of the pe pective groom in the family he was to enter.

By the marriage settlement the young man became a member of the family to such an extent he was able, with her 13 year old half-brother, to accompany my interpreter to the village of Toper where she was to live with me in the sheikh's house. The night he spent there in order to act a important escort and to investigate whether conditions there were sufficiently re-assuring, he was to sleep in the same room as her half-brother and herself. My interpreter explained that she m

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Admal*, (E. 2254)-of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60×1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the a

[P. 145]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hand MA11

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'id-l-qurbán* or *qurbán bairám*, that is spent in Mina on the return from 'Arafát to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safá* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Mina where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's outing: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Mina. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mina* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last sacrificial animal the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish women:

When requested, as in the case among unsophisticated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of orientation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 330 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

in common with them. One great saving on religious anxiety symptoms may arise as unconscious area deviation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3-4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others forming God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself to the month of ramadân to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialized community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of explanation to anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Bitlis, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily on the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

Embroidery. During reconnaissance the women in the educated and cosmopolitan milieu in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

word a witness of hideousness and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Nuqpa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sanqalo, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "members", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Baghdad for interrogation.

It may seem that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

Superstition and witchcraft. Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and unseen varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the body hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

Amulets. In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the modernized urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

Amulets are supposed to protect against jinns, devils created by Eve[29], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and concealed. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Barkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Tapawra); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influences. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[30].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2297a), 0.30 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[31], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2297b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[32] and a scorpion (E. 2293d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[33]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[43] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sure 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[44]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and released to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the city, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 148). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dramatics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyer band system outside the home, religion- and the peace of mind that goes with it- will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

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If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the woman's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children— there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even to-day in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[42], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

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The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—in this case in Egypt—is stressed by Granqvist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the fellahin women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small tenant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
tenant farmers (incl. one mullah)	25	123
laborers	5	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Derwish, *Shaikh*, *Sayyid*, Mullah, and *Hadji*.

Derwishes. The derwish religious fraternities illustrate, in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

771 The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem
181 ideals of scholarly sanctity, of meekness towards God, and the importance of good acts — ideals to which indeed all Kurds pay lipservice, and which certainly also have some influence upon Kurdish thinking and action. Where a world religion of foreign ethnic origin has been adopted, such discrepancies between the «ethos» of the religion and of the local culture would seem to be unavoidable, especially in the case of a religion as specifically concerned with social conditions and legislation as Islam. Certainly, the Kurdish villager attempts to the best of his ability to follow Islam, and these discrepancies are largely unexpressed and unrealized. Only among the more sophisticated tradesmen of the towns can one hear in part quite explicit statements such as: «Islam is a desert religion, belonging to the Arabs, and does not suit us Kurds of the mountains.»

It is in the local trend of interpretation of a world religion, in the aspects of the religion that are over-stressed, that local sentiments exert their pressure. The main expression of un-orthodox religiosity 792 among Kurdish villagers is found in the development of the derwish sects or religious brotherhoods, widely spread in the rural districts, and generally characteristic of the less privileged sections of the population.

Such derwish brotherhoods are probably found in all Moslem countries, but seem to vary greatly in content between different ethnic groups. Everywhere, however, their basic dogmatic position in relation to the orthodox church of Islam is the same, and apparently reflects a need among the less educated classes. Islam, as propounded in the Mosque, is a formal, coldly intellectualized doctrine of the complete separation of God and Man, of God's supreme wisdom and power and Man's knowledge of it only through the Koran, accompanied by a scholarly legal and ritualistic interpretation of this basic text. Fundamental is the complete separate nature of God and Man, and man's inability to bridge this gap. The whole heterodox gamut from Sufi mystics to essentially shamanistic spirit-medium cults represent attempts at direct communication with God — at bridging this very un-bridgeable gap. The Kurdish derwish sects occupy a position towards the shamanistic pole of this continuum. Awareness of, or communication with God, is obtained by

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

771 793 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms the social position of the Mulla in his function as village priest, and give some description of the mosque as the visible evidence of the religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine beliefs or ritual practices in detail.

The Mulla

793 Most of the larger villages have a resident Mulla. The functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write the Arabic language and an extensive knowledge of the Koran. This mental equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a student, during which time he is parasitic upon the village in which he lives, begging his keep and avoiding all serious manual labour. Most Mullas have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They are not usually members of the local kinship group, but individuals who through some social maladjustment have left their own group and are thus without normal means of support. The student must I believe achieve a certain standard before he 'graduates' as a Mulla, but how this is defined is not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The intellectual attainments of the Mulla vary very greatly. Some have a real understanding of Arabic and Persian and of the written literature of their own language; others merely learn the Koran by rote and recite portions of it on suitable occasions without any clear understanding of the meaning. Knowledge of the Koran does not even necessarily imply an ability to read - the Mulla student in Rayat was quite blind but was [342] gradually memorising the whole book. In general however the Mulla may be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. None of the ordinary commoners are literate; most of the Aghas would claim the distinction but I doubt their real ability - Ali Agha of Rayat for instance called in the Mulla both to read and write his letters, and Hamid Amin of Dergala though he could certainly read was scarcely fluent. In earlier times one of the Mulla's definite functions was to be scribe and general secretary to the Agha; conditions in this respect are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most Aghas sons are now quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the Agha the Mulla's services to the community are roughly those of village priest. He leads the prayers in the mosque, and on the Sabbath (Friday) supplements this with a brief sermon in Arabic, which is entirely unintelligible to his audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals [156] and recites suitable verses from the Koran. It was hinted further that he is frequently called in to cure sickness - chiefly by means of prayers and charms and exorcism. I have no information at all as to the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and Koranic charms, especially among the women and the smaller children suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

In return for these services he receives from the Agha's

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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778 his shoes before stepping onto the stone. Here the Mulla recites
771 prayers five times a day and those who feel like it join in. The
622 average commoner is very casual about his prayers; many do not pray at
782 all, those who do mostly pray only at sunset. The Aghas on the other hand are frequently excessively sanctimonious; of my acquaintances Hamid Amin of Dergala in particular made a tremendous fuss about his prayers and ritual washings. It was interesting to note that he would often break off in the middle, give orders to his servants, and then go on again where he left off. While one can have no insight into his
[554] real religious feelings, I got the impression that it was largely done for show. There is a definite prestige value attached to being a devout Mohammedan - it is the characteristic of a gentleman. In the same way the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual.

782 A man need not of course go to the mosque to pray. Each man's prayer mat is in effect his own mosque. The actual practice varies in different villages depending I fancy upon the example set by the Agha. Anyway I noticed that there was always a much higher attendance at prayers when the Agha was there in person. The conventions seem to be analogous to those of English churchgoing, there is a much bigger attendance on the Sabbath. The devout Hamid Amin of Dergala for instance said his prayers at home all the week but on Fridays attended at the mosque, and most of the village went too.

778 Some villages have a supplementary roofed building which is
346 used as a mosque during the winter, but this is not invariable. In the foothills area and on the plain the mosque is normally a roofed building with minaret attached. In this case prayers are held either within the covered courtyard or on the roof.

175 in the Persian plains, lost through contact
178 with the outside world. By the time recorded history begins, Kurds and Persians were already recognized as distinct
[101] peoples, the former being known as Medes.
792 Some 600 years before the birth of Christ and 1200 before the spread of
•771 Islam, a Kurdish prophet, Zerdusht (Zoroaster), grew up among the mountains of the Azerbaijan district near the Caspian Sea. The gospel that he preached, in its primitive and simple form, is to a greater extent the basis of Christianity and Islam than the adherents of those world religions usually admit. The Kurd of today, however, knows nothing of this. He is nominally a Mohammedan, and has even on occasions been stirred by the call of "*Jihad*"—the holy war—in the name of Islam. But beneath the surface there lurk some curious remnants of Zoroastrian tradition.

[p. 383 (e)]

778 say it was here long before then. It is called the *Shakhs-i-Kani Ba* 'The Spring of the Wind'; in the time of my father's father a great plane-tree stood over it which was blown down by the wind. But then, as always before, when the tree is destroyed another springs up in its place —and that is the one you see there now."

778 In the religion of Zoroaster fire was
• 771 considered to be the agent which cauterizes and purifies all things, and was regarded as the visible symbol of the God of Purity. Hence it was but a step to endow wood (as the producer of fire), and certain trees, with an atmosphere of sanctity. Thus certain large and solitary trees came to be regarded much as is the shakhs of today. The Zoroastrians even hung pieces of cloth on the branches.

231 Zoroaster commanded that the dog
771 should be protected and cared for by man even as one of his family; the shepherd looks to his dog for defence against wolves and other marauders. The Kurdish nomad of today, although prevented by his creed from sanctifying the dog, still regards it as a useful ally, and almost a friend. In fact the *tanjiy* (a kind of saluki used for hunting) still remains a member of the household. The Kurd saves his Mohammedan conscience by saying that the tanjiy is not a dog, and nowadays to call a man's tanjiy his 'dog' is almost an insult.

231 The Kurds dislike killing dogs. Soon after the Great War stray dogs in Sulaimaniya became such a nuisance that the Political Agent ordered them to be shot; it almost created a riot in the town, and police had to be called out!

197 Travelling among the tribes of Kurdistan one finds a great variety of dialects, but they have a common basic form throughout, especially in the grammar. There is also an affinity between Pushtu (spoken in Afghanistan) and Kurdish—too strong to be classed as a coincidence. By the casual, or politically-biased, philologist. Pushtu and Kurdish are desig-

[p. 384(B)]
[text continued on p. 386(B)]

The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [773
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [212]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 805
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

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doors at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baykhal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Jayjani Qurban, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding.

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Elyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulla has nothing to say about Khidir Elyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Elyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Elyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Elyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowanduz:

> Khidir Elyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowanduz by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Elyas, I have

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come. 773 776

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. [735] Housewives make a sweet called Halaywat Khidir Elyas [262] which is exchanged between households at this time. The [431] exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting [183] custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all. 785 782

With the Sayran and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of [778] 792

Shaykh Muhammad at Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shepherd used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammad each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammad wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shepherd fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faroff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammad learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shepherd's grave before his own. A merchant in Rowanduz, one 'Abd al-Sattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine. 778 792 [773] [755]

Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been denuded of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowanduz were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or men who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power in the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed baraka 778 824 [137] 778

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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contrast to the quiet solemnity which is characteristic of Moslems generally in the presence of death, is a most impressive sight. If the deceased has been a person of consequence, military standards are borne in the procession, and, in some places, Kermanshah for instance, the body is accompanied to the grave with music and singing. When the funeral leaves the house, men and women rush wildly out, uttering cries and shrieks, and tearing their hair and clothes. Some raise their hands to heaven, others bow themselves to the earth, and cast dust upon their heads, expressing both in sound and gesture the very abandonment of grief.

The funeral rites of the Yezidis are both peculiar and interesting. When a member of this sect is believed to be at the point of death, a *kawwal* is called in, who pours into the mouth of the moribund a quantity of water. If he should expire before this ceremony has been performed, it is deferred until his body is carried to the grave. The body is laid out with the arms crossed over the breast, and not, as with the Moslems, extended by the sides. In the coffin are placed a piece of bread, some coins, and a stick, for the use of the deceased when the "questioners" appear, for, like the Moslems, the Yezidis believe in *post-mortem* catechists. Should Mounkir, when he arrives, attended by his scribe Nekir, to interrogate him concerning his faith and the character of his life, pronounce him unworthy to cross the threshold of Paradise, the dead man tries to bribe him to alter his decision, first with the bread, then with the silver. If these are unavailing, he resorts

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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to coercion, and with the stick opens his own way to heaven.

So long as the body remains in the house hymns are chanted by the *kawwals*, who also accompany the body to the grave, carrying censers, which they swing as they go. For several successive days the friends of the deceased visit his resting-place, men and women in separate parties, every morning and evening, the latter to weep and wail and the former to sit in silence, burning incense the while.[1]

As water is one of the emblems of *Yezd*, the Life-giving Principle, the pouring of it into the mouth of the dying probably signifies, or it may be, is intended to confer, vitality after death, or metempsychosis in some form or other, this doctrine being believed to be held by the Yezidis.

The only change made in their costume by the Kūrdish women as a sign of mourning is the substitution of a black veil for that usually worn out of doors.

[1] Comp. Badger, *The Nestorians, &c.*, p. 131.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yazidis MH10

Besides the *djins* and other magical beings, in whose existence the Kūrds, in common with their neighbours of other races, implicitly believe, another class of uncanny visitants, called *sheyts*, excites the awe and dread of these mountain people. These are the apparitions—I will not say ghosts, for, like all Oriental *revenants*, they rise in the body—of martyrs, *i.e.*, Moslems who have died fighting for Islam, and at whose tombs, as at those of Dervish Sheikhs, miracles are believed to be wrought. When they rise from their graves and appear to mortals, which they are said occasionally to do in crowds, it is looked upon as a sign of some important coming event. The Kūrds appear, too, to credit them with habits similar to their own, and look upon them as a kind of fluctuating population, as nomadic as themselves.

The Yezidis, or "Devil-worshippers," whom I have already mentioned as observing marriage and funeral rites differing from those of the Moslem Kūrds, form eight or nine separate tribes, some nomad, some sedentary. The execration in which they are held by Moslems has led to the identification of the supposed founder of the sect with Yezd, the slayer of Hassan and Hussein, the grandsons of the Prophet and martyrs *par excellence* of Islam. This name they, however, no doubt bore long anterior to the seventh century, *Yezd* being one of the titles applied by the ancient Persians to the Supreme Being. The name of Sheikh Adi, a mythical saint, to whom their chief temple is nominally dedicated, is derived, by Mr. Badger,[1] from the Hebrew *Adi* or *Ad*, the two

[1] The Nestorians, &c.

(Arabic, "blessing"), and provides a good example of 778
what is classified as mana in most standard works on
primitive religion, an amorphous supernatural power which
has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it
may be transmitted.

The power of these holy men, unless they themselves
are disturbed in some way, is wholly benevolent. The 776
people of Rowanduz also believe in jinni (the same noun as
in Arabic), spirits who, in contrast, characteristically
cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought [775]
about ghosts. No one in Rowanduz knew of a house "haunted"
by the spirit of a dead man, and equated the European
notion of "ghost" with that of the jinni. The jinni, for
example, might take possession of a building and drive its
inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who
constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or
the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind.
At night one must never pour hot water out of the door [782]
without first saying, "in the name of God." Although [825]
there are no cats in Rowanduz, it was said that one must
never kill such an animal, because "the jinni is born in a
cat and might harm one." When a boy is out walking in the
wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls
out to him, "asking him to come and meet the father,"
that is, the parent of the jinni who is the Fallen Angel
Eblis of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and
leaves his path as directed, the jinni throws him from

the mountainside, causing his death. The lesbians led 776
them meets the father of the jinni in fact, for his soul [775]
descends to the inferno. The Kurds also speak of shaytan
("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivations of
the Hebrew word for "adversary"), devilish beings like the
jinni, but of a more congenial and ingenious character
than the jinni. "When the first phonograph was heard in [216]
Rowanduz," Ra'uf Effendi related, "the people said there
was a shaytan in it." There are also tales of malicious [759]
men and women who are able to change themselves into animals,
such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from
demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against [521]
jinni, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent
to the rare discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, chesm bad, "the evil eye," is a subject 759
of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by 761
his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an
object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is
that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally
without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked
on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy
and malevolence she experiences, which is, in a way, the
evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in
question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and
he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye.
Further, it is believed that the individual who at one
time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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contrast to the quiet solemnity which is characteristic of Moslems generally in the presence of death, is a most impressive sight. If the deceased has been a person of consequence, military standards are borne in the procession, and, in some places, Kermanshah for instance, the body is accompanied to the grave with music and singing. When the funeral leaves the house, men and women rush wildly out, uttering cries and shrieks, and tearing their hair and clothes. Some raise their hands to heaven, others bow themselves to the earth, and cast dust upon their heads, expressing both in sound and gesture the very abandonment of grief.

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1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 The Kürds also relate the following allegorical story with reference to the same subject:

The Prophet and the Angel.[1]

When the Prophet—blessings upon him!—ascended [771] to Paradise, the archangel Gabriel accompanied him in order to show him all the wonders of the heavens. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—observed an angel of majestic stature, who stood in an expectant attitude, bearing on his shoulders an enormous drum, and holding in his hand a long drumstick. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked who he was, and what was his occupation. The angel replied, "O messenger of Allah, my duty is, when a Mollah confers a benefit or bestows an alms, even were it but some broken food to a beggar, to beat the drum, and thus announce to all the angels of the heavens the benefit or the almsdeed of the theologian."

Upon this, the Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked the angel, "How many times hast thou beaten the drum since thou hast held this office?"

"I am still waiting," replied the angel; "and up to this hour I have not once beaten it."

Will it be always thus? Allah knows. The clergy of all religions perform for the most part but few acts of benevolence or charity, for they require of the people almsdeeds and benefits, and themselves give nothing to the poor.

771 795 The vague mysticism which is so closely interwoven with the doctrines of the Shia sect, to which the

[1] Jaba, *Recueil*, &c., p. 15.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Persians belong, appears to have a greater charm for the Kûrdish mountaineers than the Semitic notion of an absolute and personal Allah, which is the dominant idea of the tenets held by the *Sûnni*, or "Orthodox" Osmanlis. The Dervish Orders, who constitute the mystics of Islam, are, consequently, extremely popular with the Kûrds, and the veneration of the women for the Sheikhs, or *pîrs*, as they are called, whether living or dead, exceeds, if possible, that entertained for them by the Turkish women. For, indifferent as the Kûrds may be to the dogmas of Islam, they, like all highlanders, are exceedingly superstitious, and firmly believe in all the occult and spiritual powers laid claim to by the Dervish Sheikhs.

The saint whom the Kûrds hold in the highest reverence is the deceased Sheikh, Khaled of Sulimaniah, whom they consider equal to Abdul Kadr of Ghilân,[1] if not to the Prophet Mohammed himself, and deem it profanation to speak of by any other title than that of *Hazreti Mevlâna*—"Our Lord the Prophet." This Kûrdish *pîr*, whose sayings his countrymen dignify by the name of *hâdîs*,[2] belonged to the Nakshibendî Dervishes, a "contemplative" Order famed for the deep mystic piety of its members, and which has produced many saints eminent in the Moslem world. To the tombs of dead, or the *tekkehs*[3] of living, Dervishes, the Kûrdish

[1] A Persian dervish who lived in the twelfth century, and founded the Order of the Kadiris. Wonderful stories are told of the supernatural powers possessed by this Sheikh, some of which may be found in *The Dervishes*, by J. P. Brown.

[2] The name given by Moslems to the sayings or "table talk" of Mohammed.

[3] The monasteries and temples in which the Dervishes reside and hold their services.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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756 women resort for the cure of every ailment, physical or moral.

756 Is a child ailing, it is carried by its anxious mother
755 to the most eminent Sheikh within reach, who cures it by imposition, not of hands, but of feet, by breathing on it with his holy breath, or by hanging some sacred
[777] charm around its little neck. The first-named remedy may sound startling, but is actually applied, as I can vouch from personal observation.[1] The baby is laid on its back, and the Sheikh, laying his hands on the shoulders of two of his disciples who stand on either side, places his feet and rests his entire weight for a few seconds on the child's body. The Dervishes also
787 expound dreams, read the future, and furnish every other species of occult information of which their clients may stand in need.

776 Some Christian saints belonging to the Armenian calendar are also highly revered by the Kûrdish tribesmen. Of these perhaps Surp Serkís, or St. Sergius, is the one whose aid is most frequently sought. Kûrdish warriors, when about to enter on a campaign, resort
[731 to his tomb, and seek to enlist his favour and pro-
778] tection by there sacrificing a ram and lighting wax tapers.

776 The strange and widespread Oriental myth of Khidhr-Elias, in his double character of sea and land deity, is also current among the Kûrds, with whom he is Khidhr on land and Elias on the sea, and by whom he is invoked as a kind of guardian angel.

[1] I witnessed this strange practice at Bahsinan, after a service in the cabinet of the Merkeet, or "dancing" Dervishes, as they are commonly called by Europeans.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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[1] The *Nestorians*, &c.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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groves and alleys, and celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. The women in their gayest and richest dresses, their necks and heads hung with strings of silver coins, and with either a scarlet feather or a posy of roses or anemones in their turbans, dance with the men in rings, sometimes to the number of two hundred. The young girls make the most of their holiday, dancing to their hearts' content with their admirers or affianced lovers.

The large Kûrdish tribe of the Doudjiks, which is composed of several *thâïfés*, forms another heretical sect, called Kizilbakhs. They regard Ali, the first Khalif, as the personified Deity, thus attributing to him, as do the Ali Ilahîs of Persia, a much higher position than to the Prophet of Islam. And there is yet a third description of sectarians, called Baliki, who regard Ali as the latest manifestation of the Deity in human form. The more mystical among Moslems hold that all the great Prophets who have appeared from the creation of the world—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, Christ, and Mohammed—were successive incarnations of the Divine Spirit, and that the founder of Islam, because the last, was the greatest. But the Balikis ignore Mohammed entirely. According to their saying, "He (the Deity) has showed Himself in a thousand ways, and many are in doubt; if he would show Himself in one way, many would believe." Warlike and unruly as are the members of this sect, the American missionaries have been very successful among them. Such, indeed, is the influence of this handful of men from the New World that they

doors at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baykhal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Jayjani Qurban, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding. 527 [53] [302]

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Elyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulla has nothing to say about Khidir Elyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Elyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Elyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Elyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowanduz: [183] 773 776

> Khidir Elyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowanduz by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Elyas, I have [492]

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come. 773 776

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. Housewives make a sweet called Helaywat Khidir Elyas which is exchanged between households at this time. The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all. 785 792 [735] [262] [431] [183]

With the Sayran and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of 792 [778]

(Arabic, "blessing"), and provides a good example of what is classified as mana in most standard works on primitive religion, an amorphous supernatural power which has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it may be transmitted. 778

The power of these holy men, unless they themselves are disturbed in some way, is wholly benevolent. The people of Rowanduz also believe in jinni (the same noun as in Arabic), spirits who, in contrast, characteristically cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought about ghosts. No one in Rowanduz knew of a house "haunted" by the spirit of a dead man, and equated the European notion of "ghost" with that of the jinni. The jinni, for example, might take possession of a building and drive its inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind. At night one must never pour hot water out of the door without first saying, "in the name of God." Although there are no cats in Rowanduz, it was said that one must never kill such an animal, because "the jinni is born in a cat and might harm one." When a boy is out walking in the wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls out to him, "asking him to come and meet the father," that is, the parent of the jinni who is the Fallen Angel Eblis of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and leaves his path as directed, the jinni throws him from 776 [775] [782] [825]

the mountainside, causing his death. The luckless lad then meets the father of the jinni in fact, for his soul descends to the inferno. The Kurds also speak of shaytan ("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivation of the Hebrew word for "adversary"), devilish beings like the jinni, but of a more congenial and ingenious character than the jinni. "When the first phonograph was heard in Rowandus," Ra'uf Effendi related, "the people said there was a shaytan in it." There are also tales of malicious men and women who are able to change themselves into animals, such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against jinni, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent to the rare discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, chawn sar, "the evil eye," is a subject of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy and malevolence she experiences, which is, in a way, the evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye. Further, it is believed that the individual who at one time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran:

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowandux, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a headache." Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rowandux as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

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[1]Browne, 1893, p. 174.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new home with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Sulaimani, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[146]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was partaken of by the women. This was carried in on large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

The women's rôle in the village milieu thus comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the fowl released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let is loose. In this connexion it may be of interest that Granqvist reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[147] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's house.

Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, *jinns* and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[148]. In regard to Islamised Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Krohn calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the precautionary measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grenard, Krohn writes: "Es handelt sich sich danach nur um Massnahmen, die Frau aus ihrem Sippenkultverband auszulösen und in einen neuen, den der Sippe des Mannes, aufzunehmen"[149]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[150]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy stick.

The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost seriousness, an act that to the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull but which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Krohn's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Granqvist refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the hand which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Granqvist quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolic act that are to ensure

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Mohammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their barrths, or at their place of business[4]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *kbrmal*, (E. 2254) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the s

[P. 145]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

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756 women resort for the cure of every ailment, physical or moral.

756 Is a child ailing, it is carried by its anxious mother
755 to the most eminent Sheikh within reach, who cures it by imposition, not of hands, but of feet, by breathing on it with his holy breath, or by hanging some sacred
● [777] charm around its little neck. The first-named remedy may sound startling, but is actually applied, as I can vouch from personal observation.[1] The baby is laid on its back, and the Sheikh, laying his hands on the shoulders of two of his disciples who stand on either side, places his feet and rests his entire weight for a few seconds on the child's body. The Dervishes also
787 expound dreams, read the future, and furnish every other species of occult information of which their clients may stand in need.

776 Some Christian saints belonging to the Armenian calendar are also highly revered by the Kûrdish tribesmen. Of these perhaps Surp Serkis, or St. Sergius, is the one whose aid is most frequently sought. Kûrdish warriors, when about to enter on a campaign, resort
[731 to his tomb, and seek to enlist his favour and pro-
778] tection by there sacrificing a ram and lighting wax tapers.

776 The strange and widespread Oriental myth of Khidhr-Elias, in his double character of sea and land deity, is also current among the Kûrds, with whom he is Khidhr on land and Elias on the sea, and by whom he is invoked as a kind of guardian angel.

[1] I witnessed this strange practice at Sulaimâni, after a service in the zâwiah of the Merkeri, or "dancing" Dervishes, as they are commonly called by Europeans.

information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the women is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his head in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ex post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

these graves become shrines in time, and the object of pilgrimage from nearby villages. The typical indication of a shrine is either a low, quadrilateral, rubble wall about the grave or a cairn of stones. Those who visit the shrine with some purpose characteristically tie a piece of white rag on the end of a pole and lean the pole against the inner surface of the wall. Some shrines have bundles of these crude banners standing in them. The meaning of the rag is variable. In some cases the visitor will return and reclaim it, incorporating it in a charm, while in others it is simply the sign of a vow that the suppliant, if the shaykh buried there will bring about the desired favor, will sacrifice so many animals or give so much money to the poor. The most auspicious days, it might be noted, to visit a shrine are Wednesdays and Thursdays. The six most noted shrines near the town of Rowandus are as follows:

1. Shaykh Piri Mawili near the village of Kani Kah. Shaykh Piri Mawili is said to have lived about two hundred years ago, "in the time of Kor Pasha."
2. Shaykh Se'idi Celikarak near the village of Karak. The shrine is said to be very old, dating perhaps from the time of the Islamic conquest.
3. Shaykh Saran in the village of Saran itself. Shaykh Saran is said to have died about fifty years ago.
4. Shaykh Uss Shaykhan on the road to Kawlak. "No one knows how old it is, but it is very ancient."
5. Shaykh Muhammad or Shaykh Malik, the second most famous shrine in the district, at Majji Saran.
6. Shwanai Shaykh Muhammad or Shwanai Mala, "The Shepherd of Shaykh Muhammad," near the shrine of

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called <u>mazy</u>, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 301 [439] 751. 777 [531]

children. That a blue porcelain plate or a pair of old shoes is often installed beside the door of a house has been noticed. An iron horseshoe, as in America, may also be nailed above a door or on a wall. A human hand cut out of metal, the "Hand of Fatima" spoken of previously, is often found in jewelry. Adults seem to require little protection against the evil eye, but younger children, particularly males, almost always have charms pinned to their garments and their cradles are hung with them. Houses and animals are similarly protected. There is some rationalization of these charms. Those derived from the Quran have a power within them. The others, apart from their intrinsic qualities, deflect the glance of the evil eye from the object in question to themselves, a sort of magnetic property, because of their bright colour, their design, or something else.

Charms such as these have a variety of origins. Miniature copies of the Quran, metal disks, beads, pieces of turquoise, and shells are imported by the merchants and sold in the bazar, not only to the townspeople, but to the villagers among whom they are always in great demand. Slips of paper on which appropriate Quranic verses have been written may be obtained from one of the mullas or some other literate specialist. Cloth from the tomb of a holy man is easily obtained. Most persons assemble their own combinations, stitching them in cloth bags which are worn about the neck or pinned to the garments. Many of these are not solely to ward off

the evil eye, but have other purposes. The bodyguard of a chieftain might carry one which protects him from gunfire, and a great number are used to cure bodily ills. One of the mullah writes a practice of writing charms of this type. Such pieces of paper are usually soaked in water and the liquid is then imbibed. Recently a poor woman with some complaint visited the medical officer and the latter wrote her a prescription which could have been filled in Kabil. Under the impression that the medical officer, who neglected to explain the matter to her, operated like the mullah, the woman took the piece of paper to her home, mixed it with water, and drank it off. It might be mentioned that she was cured, and, the doctor said, reappeared the next day to request an identical piece of paper as insurance against the illness in the future. There are many amateur practitioners of white magic in the town, darvishes, midwives, and others, some of whom demand fees and others not. The barber, Hajji Khatafa, has one panacea for all ills. He ties a piece of string about the patient's wrist and "prays" over it. The investigator was furnished with some almost classical rationalizations of illnesses, for example, "If a man is bitten by a mad dog, he will be cured when the dog is killed."

The darvish (from a Persian word meaning "poor" and adopted into Arabic in this sense) occupies a position of considerable importance in everyday life. It is unnecessary here to discuss the origins and the character of the darvish

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. Brown noticed this as he was leaving Tabora:

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rwanda, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a headache." Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rwanda as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

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[1]Brown, 1893, p. 174.

does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lists the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "jahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[135], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

Bedding preparations. Of the bride's wedding the satin quilt and the quilted covers are made by male craftsmen in the town. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cut out trousers, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, satin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, then a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was crushed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English greys the skirts of genuine Kurdish form and the dresses given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple visit back in the boy's bathroom. Whereas we converted Kurdish girls, as with [illegible] from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[137]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[138] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "Gháir ahmar", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[139]. In another place Lane[140] refers to a depilatory, "rusmát", composed of quicklime mixed with about one eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred to water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

The removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Crawpire about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[141]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[142].

In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connexion with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. They were so far that six men of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat cross-legged in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish women's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a tight jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurds

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Persians belong, appears to have a greater charm for the Kúrdish mountaineers than the feminine notion of an absolute and personal Allah, which is the dominant idea of the tenets held by the *Sheni*, or "Orthodox" Osmanlis. The Dervish Orders, who constitute the mystics of Islam, are, consequently, extremely popular with the Kúrds, and the veneration of the women for the Sheikhs, or *pirs*, as they are called, whether living or dead, exceeds, if possible, that entertained for them by the Turkish women. For, indifferent as the Kúrds may be to the dogmas of Islam, they, like all highlanders, are exceedingly superstitious, and firmly believe in all the occult and spiritual powers laid claim to by the Dervish Sheikhs.

The saint whom the Kúrds hold in the highest reverence is the deceased Sheikh, Khaled *el* Sulimaniah, whom they consider equal to Abdul Kadr *el* Ghilán,[1] if not to the Prophet Mohammed himself, and deem it profanation to speak of by any other title than that of *Hazreti Mevlána*—"Our Lord the Prophet." This Kúrdish *pir*, whose sayings his countrymen dignify by the name of *hikáis*,[2] belonged to the Nakshibendi Dervishes, a "contemplative" Order famed for the deep mystic piety of its members, and which has produced many saints eminent in the Moslem world. To the tombs of dead, or the *tekkés*[3] of living, Dervishes, the Kúrdish

[1] A famous dervish who lived in the twelfth century, and founded the Order of the Kadris. Wonderful stories are told of the supernatural powers possessed by this Sheikh, some of which may be found in *The Dervishes*, by J. P. Brown.

[2] The name given by Moslems to the sayings or "table talk" of Mohammed.

[3] The monasteries and temples in which the Dervishes recite and hold their services.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

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756 women resort for the cure of every ailment, physical or moral.

754 Is a child ailing, it is carried by its anxious mother
755 to the most eminent Sheikh within reach, who cures it by imposition, not of hands, but of feet, by breathing on it with his holy breath, or by hanging some sacred
[777] charm around its little neck. The first-named remedy may sound startling, but is actually applied, as I can vouch from personal observation.[1] The baby is laid on its back, and the Sheikh, laying his hands on the shoulders of two of his disciples who stand on either side, places his feet and rests his entire weight for a few seconds on the child's body. The Dervishes also
757 expound dreams, read the future, and furnish every other species of occult information of which their clients may stand in need.

776 Some Christian saints belonging to the Armenian calendar are also highly revered by the Kürdish tribesmen. Of these perhaps Surp Serkis, or St. Sergius, is the one whose aid is most frequently sought. Kürdish warriors, when about to enter on a campaign, resort
[781] to his tomb, and seek to enlist his favour and pro-
778 tection by there sacrificing a ram and lighting wax tapers.

776 The strange and widespread Oriental myth of Khidhr-Elias, in his double character of sea and land deity, is also current among the Kürds, with whom he is Khidhr on land and Elias on the sea, and by whom he is invoked as a kind of guardian angel.

[1] I witnessed this strange practice at Sulaimán, after a service in the záwiah of the Merkeel, or "dancing" Dervishes, as they are commonly called by Europeans.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The affair got wind, and it was everywhere reported that Sittir of Begirtv had found a treasure. The news finally reached the ears of the Pasha of Van, who sent for him and shut him up in the city prison, where he lay some time. He confessed the truth, and obtained his liberty only at the price of a quantity of gold, which he gave to the Pasha of Van. In short, Sittir had to scatter his gold in all directions. 539

Sensible folks will, perhaps, doubt the truth of this story. It is, however, firmly believed in these districts, and often related, and, what is more, the descendants of Sittir still live at Begirtv in great prosperity. They have lands, mills, many a yoke of oxen and fine flocks, and they keep open house. One might say that it is a *teklid*,[1] for every one receives hospitality in this Armenian house; Moslems even are never repulsed, but welcomed with every mark of attention. From that time Sittir became well known among the Kürds, who made great friends with him, and brought him presents of sheep. It sometimes happens that they are at feud with the inhabitants of Begirtv, and commit robberies and depredations in that town, but they always spare the house of Sittir, saying that it is as sacred as a *teklid*, and that not even an indiscreet glance must enter it. [579 628 778]

The following curious story has been preserved by the late Mr. Rich,[2] who took it down literally from the lips of the narrator, a tribesman of the Bebbeha of Dariahmana, without, as he says, adding to or 538 114

[1] Turkish monastery, where hospitality is generally exercised.
[2] *Narrative, &c.*, vol. i. p. 290.

that the number of times the name of the deity is enumerated indicates the piety of the population. With the Prophet it is quite different, for one never hears him spoken of irreverently or in a secular context. It is not customary to call him by name, but rather al-Rasul, "the Apostle," or al-Nabi, "the Prophet," and either the speaker or someone else present adds, Sala Ellahu 'alaihi wa salam, "the prayer (blessing) of God upon him and the peace," whenever he is mentioned. The Quran is held in similar respect. The volume must never be handled with levity, or left uncovered when not in use. An official told how his servant removed his copy of the Quran from the room in which he was drinking arrack, in some way personifying the book, in which the use of alcoholic beverages is forbidden, as God himself. Metal cases or cloth envelopes, usually green in color, are used to enclose it, or else it is tied up in a scarf or handkerchief.

The great mosque, Jame'a al-Kabir, in Rowandus is a large, square building of rubble on the central square of the bazar or mercantile area, its rear wall facing the qibla, the direction of Mecca, to which prayer is addressed. The building on its front is raised about six feet above the square and one reaches its porch by a series of roughly cut stone stairs. The roof is of mud rolled on bundles of poles and twigs, and covers the porch as well as the main room and the annex. This is to the right of the main door, a small door of the room opening on the porch and large unglassed windows overlooking the square. It is used for

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

fasted for you and you should come to my help." 773
Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my 776
difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his
feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking
along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered
I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God
gave him such power to do good that he disappeared.
This is why people ask his help while he is gone.
When Jesus will come again with Ahmed the Mahdi,
Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they
cannot come.

Persons in Rowandus who choose to do so fast "for Khidir 785
Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and 782
sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco.
Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. [735]
Housewives make a sweet called Helarest Khidir Elyas [262]
which is exchanged between households at this time. [431]
exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save
that it "came just before winter." This interesting [183]
custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the
priests in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the Serrag and Khidir Elyas observances, the 792
"official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the
next subject of popular religion which requires considera-
tion is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally,
this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line,
but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of
their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy,
have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be
powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most
humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to
effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power
continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of [778]

these graves become shrines in time, and the object of pilgrimage from nearby villages. The typical indication of a shrine is either a low, quadrilateral, rubble wall about the grave or a cairn of stones. Those who visit the shrine with some purpose characteristically tie a piece of white rag on the end of a pole and lean the pole against the inner surface of the wall. Some shrines have bundles of these crude banners standing in them. The meaning of the rag is variable. In some cases the visitor will return and reclaim it, incorporating it in a charm, while in others it is simply the sign of a vow that the supplicant, if the shaykh buried there will bring about the desired favor, will sacrifice so many animals or give so much money to the poor. The most auspicious days, it might be noted, to visit a shrine are Wednesdays and Thursdays. The six most noted shrines near the town of Rowandus are as follows:

1. Shaykh Piri Mewlli near the village of Hesi Kah. Shaykh Piri Mewlli is said to have lived about two hundred years ago, "in the time of Mir Pasha."

2. Shaykh Se'idi Galkarak near the village of Karak. The shrine is said to be very old, dating perhaps from the time of the Islamic conquest.

3. Shaykh Saran in the village of Saran itself. Shaykh Saran is said to have died about fifty years ago.

4. Shaykh Wes Shaykhan on the road to Kawlak. "No one knows how old it is, but it is very ancient."

5. Shaykh Mohammed or Shaykh Malik, the second most famous shrine in the district, at Majji Saran.

6. Shaweal Shaykh Mohammed or Shaweal Mala, "The shepherd of Shaykh Mohammed," near the shrine of

Shaykh Muhammdi at Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shepherd used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammd each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammad wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shepherd fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faroff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammad learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shepherd's grave before his own. A merchant in Rowanduz, one 'Abd al-Qattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine.

Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been denuded of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowanduz were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or men who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power is the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed berakh

(Arabic, "blessing"), and provides a good example of what is classified as mana in most standard works on primitive religion, an amorphous supernatural power which has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it may be transmitted. 778

The power of these holy men, unless they themselves are disturbed in some way, is wholly benevolent. The people of Rowanduz also believe in jinni (the same noun as in Arabic), spirits who, in contrast, characteristically cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought about ghosts. No one in Rowanduz knew of a house "haunted" by the spirit of a dead man, and equated the European notion of "ghost" with that of the jinni. The jinni, for example, might take possession of a building and drive its inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind. At night one must never pour hot water out of the door without first saying, "In the name of God." Although there are no cats in Rowanduz, it was said that one must never kill such an animal, because "the jinni is born in a cat and might harm one." When a boy is out walking in the wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls out to him, "asking him to come and meet the father," that is, the parent of the jinni who is the fallen Angel Eblis of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and leaves his path as directed, the jinni throws him from 776 [775] [782] [825]

4 Hansen E-5 (1997) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily salutes of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, complied with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the synopsis of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appeared at the beginning of Mohammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's cross-topped, canopied, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only on the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their families, or at their place of business[4]. Kurdish women would found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is enveloped within the home.

Among the women of the village schoolmaster in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in common—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and her up to nine hour later. The prayer rug, *Jahnamâ*, (L. 220cm of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.40 x 1.10 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The woman that the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MAII Hard MAII

722
531
771
256

Fig. 56.
Prayer rug of ass's wool in natural colours. (E. 5295. Tripoli).

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down on the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the ha es to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet cool on the bare of hair long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves (the wrist-bar wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so thatthey fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and commenced or intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then read her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outsidher ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand gaging the left wrist, recited the opening Sura of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, rak, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Jaynboll[1], the prayer can be divided to nine positions, the positions 3-8, that is to say six positions, constituting a rak'a, whereas Gibb[2] sees seven position to each rak'a, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each rak'a.

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four rak'a, was usually said on the flat roof about 4 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three rak'a, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four rak'a at 9-10 p.m.

normally the ones where the hand-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The three women in question had brought back with them coloured photographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relatives.

Whereas it was to the embittered effect rather than I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sukkinami an opportunity to follow in a quiet, reverential and sentimental effect the final days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst preparations are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th dz-l-Hijja namely 9-12, which in 1997 were Monday 6th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1997), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two unstitched draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Ehrlund[1] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[2].

On this day the Meccan pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the sanctuary-shrine, called "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrim now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismail when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safa* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the command of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at Marwa, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had an opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the Sunna in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home, other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1997) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-lane paved ride on the planets' middle which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sukkinami, as in other homes, a special kind of rice cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when meals have ended. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dried, wooden moulds, greased inside. The dough was pressed into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1997) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that, if not, he observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kandidan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sukkinami in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 3-4 up to 11 years of age. Beings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main pilgrims, for which they had been given packet money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

the door to the bagde he greeted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad.

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, rituals for love and magic, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to carry among the women of Sheikh Taalbi's house in Tuqtamia. When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the waistband of the one, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice.

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Hütteroth[1], who says: "Les Kurdes aiment beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("bêt"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial ou persane ..... ou l'ouvre à l'evangéliste, en regarde la personne qui s'y trouve le premier et on consulte l'indication que porte un tout chaque page ("bêt" ou "mal") .....". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1270). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book, opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sergelu, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[2]. We visited a saint's grave outside Halabja. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the chapel-hung superstructure from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her menses (cf. p. 133) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a sag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall on the side of the grave. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not.

Saints' graves were found as a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Tawella east to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *takyah*[3], was apparently a Sufi religious house[4]. The superstructure over the saints' graves inside were like boxes and were hung with silken rugs[5]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[6] respectfully, and accepted some salt wrapped together and handed her[7] by the monk who accompanied us. Over this part of the building, the architecture of which evinced considerable Persian influence in the decorative motifs, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was ornamented by a hand with outstretched fingers.

Rag trees, rag poles and sacrifices. Two different religious survivals could be seen in Eastlatmi. The one, a tree hung with rags standing outside the chapel-like building that housed the saint's grave outside Halalpa. A similar type of rag tree adorned not only by rags but also by a cow's horn, with a holy hand set up beside it, stood inside the grating that protected a sacred grave. This lay in the middle of a newly-built section on the outskirts of Sukiaassi. Gravestones sticking up here and there between houses showed that the quarter had been raised on what once had been a burial ground.

The other phenomenon: rods each of which bore a single rag like a flag. These rods were planted within a rampart at the burial ground at Tupiaweq, similar rods were placed within an earthworks at the burial ground of the twin village of Kakarsa. No rags were hung on the branches of big trees in the burial ground. A group of rods with rags attached, also behind a low earthworks, marked a grave at the side of the Sukiaassi-Claushavnsal road in the vicinity of Sukiaassi. (No rags on the trees near by.) It appeared to be a matter of two different phenomena: in the one case a tree with branches hung with rags; in the other, rods each bearing a single rag. These rods might be sited under large

Fig. 100. Tree hung with rags outside a saint's grave, Halalpa. The woman wearing sled seal headwork.

Fig. 101. Bush with rags tied on, planted inside stone wall on the burial ground outside Kalema.

trees which have no rags at all. Fraser[36] also distinguishes between these two cases when writing about "bangs of stones" in Kavirondo, which most correspond to Felberg's[37] saints' graves in Loriana; the matter is also referred to by Bishop[38]. Fraser says: "Those who have benefited tear shreds from their shirts or trousers and tie them to the bushes around", but he also speaks of other graves of great men marked with "... a pole with a flag to point out the place to offer a prayer". Maxwell[39] also distinguishes between the two things, but has them be found at the same spot, saying: "... a low stonewall" (that surrounds a holy grave) "on which ... grass and white flags ... On the branches which overhang the shrine rags and scraps of clothing ...". It was said concerning the grave with the rag tree on the building site near Sakalemwi, that it was pregnant women and sick persons who had become ill that hung up the rags as votive offerings. This agrees with Felberg's[40] report that the Lozi "servais les femmes pour qu'elles deviennent fécondes ..." to the holy graves.

Dundas[41] refers to "desire giving trees", though without a grave, and goes on to say: "Perhaps at one time a holy man, or a descendant of the Prophet, sat under such a tree ... it came to be re-

1178 revered .... the crutches .... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "first seem contrary" is mentioned by Hasselquist.

1189 1178 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Niebuhr[1] writes: "... tout qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Fellberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

[191] There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunsell[2], Ehrenpreis[3], Fellberg[4] and Sonne[5], Ehrenpreis[6], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

1155 1182 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended to due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

[369] [189] [525]

Visible omphalos	+	+		+
Encased omphalos	+	+		+
Holy head	+	+		
Saints' graves			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

free house and cultivation and from the commoners gifts in accordance with particular services rendered. He usually marries into the community concerned and his heirs will become ordinary members of the village.

It is difficult to assess what, in the mass, is his social position vis-a-vis the chief. He is one of those who has the run of the Agha's Guest House, a right otherwise reserved for strangers and near relatives (khesm), and he is always greeted with formal respect. But beyond that it is difficult to generalize. Ideally no doubt he should use his religious influence to back up the prestige and authority of his patron the Agha, but the facts seem at variance. The Mulla in Bayat was clearly the close confidant and right hand man of the Agha, he dined every evening in the Guest House and was present at all discussions. In Walash on the other hand the Mulla though frequently in the Guest House was treated as a person of small importance and I never saw him in conversation with the Agha. In Dergala again, the Mulla though admittedly a person of importance never came to the Guest House at all during the week of my stay and considerable precautions seemed to be taken that I should not meet him myself independently. In this case there was some definite source of friction between the Agha and the Mulla, though I do not know its nature.

To sum up then it is clear that though the Mulla holds his land and his position as a direct fief from the Agha, his functions are such that he may yet gain considerable independent wealth and influence. In the old days it must have been necessary for the efficient working of the gund that the Mulla and the Agha should be in harmony and work in close collaboration. Under present conditions the attitude of the Mulla appears to be of less significance for the community as a whole

On the other hand it may well be that in the plains where the Agha is frequently an absentee landlord, the social influence of the Mulla is much greater than is at present the case among the hills. May for instance attaches much greater weight to the Mulla's influence than seems justifiable on my own evidence.

The Mosque

In Arabic the word masjid simply signifies a place of prayer. The essential constituents are an open courtyard where the faithful may assemble and a place for ritual ablutions. Historically the covered courtyards, the domes and the minarets are later accretions to the simpler form. In the cool of the hills the open courtyard has been maintained. In most of the villages the mosque is simply paved courtyard of slatestone, surrounded by stone seats with a spring or a fountain in the middle. The slatestone courtyard has the same sanctity as the floor of an ordinary mosque and the visitor must remove his shoes before stepping onto the stone.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

778 his shoes before stepping onto the stone. Here the Bills recite
771 prayers five times a day and those who feel like it join in. The
612 average commoner is very casual about his prayers; many do not pray at
781 all, those who do usually pray only at sunset. The Agha on the other
hand are frequently excessively ostentatious of my acquaintances
Hamid Agha of Dergala in particular made a tremendous fuss about his
prayers and ritual washings. It was interesting to note that he would
often break off in the middle, give orders to his servants, and then go
on again where he left off. While one was here on tonight into his
[891] real religious feelings, I got the impression that it was largely done
for show. There is a definite prestige value attached to being a
devout Mohammedan - it is the characteristic of a gentleman. In the
same way the Agha consistently make a show of being very strict about
the ostentation and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present
while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual.

782 A new comer sort of comes go to the mosque to pray. Each man's
prayers are to be offered his own mosque. The actual practice varies in
different villages depending I fancy upon the example set by the Agha.
Anyway I noticed that there was always a much higher attendance at
prayers when the Agha was there to pray. The conditions seem to be
analogous to those of English churchgoing, there is a much higher
attendance on the Sabbath. The devout Hamid Agha of Dergala for
instance said his prayers at home all the week but on Fridays attended
at the mosque, and most of the village went too.

779 Some villages have a supplementary roofed building which is
36 used as a mosque during the winter, but this is not invariable. In
the Pembilla area and on the plain the mosque is normally a roofed
building with adjacent attendant. In this case prayers are held either
within the covered courtyard or on the roof.

Hogkinson G-3 (no date) [1940] MSS.11 Kurd MSS.11
Kurd

On hills and knolls everywhere in Kurdistan may be found a pile of stones under a tree with pieces of cloth tied about it. It is called a shekhe, and people who are sick come and sit beside it, perhaps leaving a lamb as a sacrificial offering, or a sum of money which can only be removed by someone really in need of it. By this means they are cured of many diseases.

Some say that a shekhe is the grave of a descendant of an Imam. I once asked an old man sitting near a shekhe about its origin.

"My father heard from his father, who learned from our ancestors", he said, "that it is very old. It was here in the days of Mohammed the Prophet, and some

[191] Kurdish Lady. Taken in Kurdish dress. Turkish trousers, cut very full from a single width of cloth, a veil, knotted coins worn round a loose shirt under a fur coat, and a turban

[p. 9b (A)]

778 ...ere it was here long before then. It is called the *Stakke-i-Lori Ba* 'The Spring of the Wind'; in the time of my father's father a great plane-tree stood over it which was blown down by the wind. But then, as always before, when the tree is destroyed another springs up in its place —and that is the one you see there now."

778 In the religion of Zoroaster fire was
779 considered to be the agent which cleanses and purifies all things, and was regarded as the visible symbol of the God of Purity. Hence it was but a step to endow wood, as the producer of fire, and certain trees, with an atmosphere of sanctity. Thus certain large and solitary trees came to be regarded much as is the shrine of today. The Zoroastrians even hung pieces of cloth on the branches.

Zoroaster commanded that the dog
779 should be preserved and cared for by man even as one of his family; the shepherd looks to his dog for defence against wolves and other marauders. The Kurdish contempt of today, although prevented by his creed from ascribing the dog, still regards it as a useful ally, and almost a friend. In fact the *sanjy* a kind of shield used for hunting will remain a member of the household. The Kurd saves his Mohammedan conscience by saying that the *sanjy* is not a dog, and nowadays to call a man's *sanjy* his 'dog' is almost an insult.

781 The Kurds dislike killing dogs. Soon after the Great War army dogs in Sulaimaniya became such a nuisance that the Political Agent ordered them to be shot; it almost created a riot in the town, and police had to be called out!

137 Travelling among the tribes of Kurdistan one finds a great variety of dialects, but they have a common basic form throughout, especially in the grammar. There is also an affinity between Pushtu (spoken in Afghanistan) and Kurdish—too strong to be classed as a coincidence. Of the casual, or politically-biased, philologist, Pushtu and Kurdish are deep-

[p. 384(B)]
[illegible] continued on p 384(B)]

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inches, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the hunting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, villagers going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a muttering of lackeys with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of rock-cut stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the rural Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French ormolu-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed one to one. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A note or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

L 779 582 K 156 563 779 [167]

enforced. Of the non-Muslims, the Jews might be mentioned first, and their own custom of marriage is like that of Islam. By long tradition, heightened by the recent Israeli war, the Jews are greatly despised, but most of them have already migrated to their new country. The departure of the Jewish craftsmen and shopkeepers from Rowandus has already been noticed. Of the Christians, an unconscious distinction is made in the Muslim mind between those who come from the Western world, and those who are native to the area of the Eastern Mediterranean. The military prowess and advanced culture of Europe or America are recognized, and almost any male from these countries is long term as effendi or gentleman. The Briton, because of the part of his country's imperialism in the Middle East, may be disliked, but he is usually respected. On the other hand, Christians such as the Armenians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Nestorians, who have been Islamic subjects in the past, are looked upon with some contempt. The Armenians and Greeks are largely urban minorities, engaged in commerce, and are generally vilified, as are Jews and certain Syrians in the cities, as cheats and thieves. The Chaldeans and the Nestorians, most of the latter displaced from their homeland in Turkey after the First World War, were once exclusively engaged in agriculture, and, as a peaceful folk, were not considered particularly different from Muslim peasants. Turkish chieftains and their men have been invited to Nestorian festivals and there has been

K 156 563 [571]

2: Masters E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandiz
Yezidis MH10

K
771
578

wā must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the curse in the name of religion, of which the full form is Ja'nnatu Rīkhā 'ala dīnak, "the damnation of God on your faith," is an invitation to certain catastrophe.

Y
186
241

There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, the Yezidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Mandaeans of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yezidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslims and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druze women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups.

Y
[142]
Y
[582]

K
775
779
175

The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("Custom") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shī'ah ("party," from Shī'at 'Alī, "the party of 'Alī"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid shahs (1501-1736), and today includes, in one form, the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural populations of southern Iraq. In southern and northern

Iraq the former is represented by most of the Arab groups, the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict between the two, often with violent political expressions, is much the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the discussion is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as shaving the beard with knife, are condemned by the Kurds alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they despise circumcision, in the Middle East purely Arabic and Sagrudi, as *Farsi*, "Persian," despite the fact that the practice seems to have no record in that country. One might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a gathering in Rowandus the investigator, on being informed by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces, incautiously inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Even on the highest levels of society, there are few marriages between Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, or both, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the preceding pages a number of instances have been encountered in which religious belief and practice enter into the routine of the town, and it now remains to add to these those which, albeit inextricably bound up in everyday life, can be treated of themselves. Primarily, the "official" faith of the townspeople will be spoken of, in the sense that it has been defined by Islamic priests themselves, to which may be subtained a secondary body of credences and observances, not necessarily "religious" in the usual sense of the term, conveniently dealt with in this connection. The faith of the townsmen is undifferentiated from that of the aristocrat, but is not necessarily identical with that of the government official or officer, several of whom, as has been seen, are Shiite Arabs from southern Iraq or Christians.

It is necessary to place the people of Rowanduz, as well as the Kurds of northern Iraq, in some perspective with the rest of the believing world. First, their faith is that of Islam ("submission" to God or Allah) preached by the Arab prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and carried by his heirs into the Kurdish mountains as it was elsewhere in the world. This is a religion which, according to a generally

of modern scholarly opinion, constitutes a synopsis of ancient Arabic, Judaic, and Christian beliefs, together with whatever elements of originality the Prophet himself had added. The sacred book of the Muslim ("one who submits"), the adherent of Islam, is the Quran ("recitation" from the command of its messenger to Muhammad, iqra, "recite!"), the revelation of God vouchsafed through the Angel Gabriel to Muhammad in suras (a word originally meaning a course of stones or brickwork, or chapters, of a varying number of verses, a total of 114 such chapters making up the entire volume. The commandments are now, without exception, Muslim, and the everyday import of this faith shall form the basis of the discussions to follow.

With the death of the Prophet, the Islamic world, from that day to this, has been torn by the continual divergences of schools and sects, most of them political in origin, many ephemeral, and a few achieving a dignity of a state religion. Until the greater divisions of Islam, the people of Rowanduz belong to the party of the Sunna ("custom"), or orthodoxy, of which recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic. With other Kurdish peoples of northern Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, the Sunnis are in sharp sectarian opposition to the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali") of southern Iraq and Iran, a state religion in the latter country from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1500-1736), which insists on the primacy of

At the noon
prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, 787
and between the second and third rek'as the mulla may deliver (577)
a short sermon, usually a stereotyped oration. The language
of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to (65)
say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the re-
quirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore
one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their
prayers entirely. The tasbih or rosary has been mentioned
in the section treating dress, and may be used in devotional
exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetition of
prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used to
occupy idle hands, however, the mind of the manipulator on
matters far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give 785
some part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early 779
days of Islam these contributions were of two types, zakat,
a fixed proportion of the income, and sadaqat, optional
gifts. The zakat have been absorbed into the government
system of taxation, and the townspeople of Rowanduz are
thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to
enforced charity. Many free collections, sadaqat, however,
are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the
destitute Ayah mentioned in the section treating society,
and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts
of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage 787
to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In
spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the
journey, a surprising number of persons in the Rowanduz

district here made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1954, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Mohammed Aala, who have completed the task here been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rwanda, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kwibuka below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate even in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many nobles or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Mohammed 'Ali Agha of Findiko made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocracy or officials in Rwanda itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Hajj or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages,

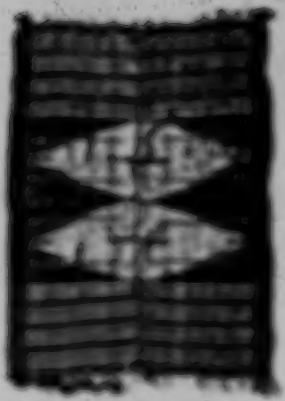

Fig. 15.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in several colours. (E. 4294). Yapurara.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet rested on the toes of their long boots, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either rested round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of greeting God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the area of the birds and they then outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening lines of the Koran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then turned forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the entire prayer comprises four sets, viz. ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Seydlitz, the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 1-5, that is to say six positions, constituting a rak'a, whereas CANT allows seven positions to each rak'a, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each rak'a.

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four rak'a, was usually said on the flat roof about 4 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three rak'a, took place down in the stone-walled central room at about 5 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four rak'a at 6-10 p.m.

The morning prayer with its two rak'a took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic feature of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually, never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the one might be doing cleaning himself, with the only prayers being in the room placid as one of the compared smoking rooms, the room could be full of talking, non-thinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin of interrupting the worshipper.

Lane[4] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Cairo there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 41. Woman praying in the home on a straw mat in the inner room. Arabia

given ourselves, which is the evenings afterwards with those of the men within the periods of the women and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I was engaged in prayer was 17 years old, the 5-12 years old I did not see girls. The humble village women said her prayers at the place where the finished water, where there has an opportunity to perform the small ablutions. The sentiment of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing dirt clothes, the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has on a veil, two over the water hands, or the outflow of the spring from the retaining place, on a barrier with subsequent washing of the garment parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can enter into the large flat cross, usually to be found in retaining places, provided as a substitute for the proper ring wall of stones like ones.

The women on the observed urban outflow of Nsibidoumi did not pray. I only came across one exception to this, my interpreter's youngest sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the mentioned outflow, though the coming husband, like herself, was a modern school teacher, prayed indeterminately as all events to the time preceding her wedding.

Among the mentioned women of Nsibidoumi was also pray and personal religious observance, as all except in regard to the afternoons, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer ring could be lost to guests, opportunity provided for ablutions, and then prayer recorded to the direction of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village environment or Tripoints were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an huge engineer living in one of the houses in the Ombon Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden taps at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day served as dining, living and reading and room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest rooms by the men. The story to give alms, I was practised in the environment village home at Tripoints. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by the hand being placed on the shoulder of the elder, both had eaten and then passed into their hearing bags, which they carried either on the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were [illegible] entities from the family's empty vessels before continuing on another their wandering from village to village. The women in the chief's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not obligated to any restrictions in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the latter's hand gifts, even though the men of the home, the chief's and his younger brother, who also lived in the home, were away.

The mode of this obligatory giving of alms in Nsibidoumi is that permanently established beggars persons to exist on the charity of the men in the street. When a child lying in her bag a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black man or the women in the recess in the bags of benefiting from the acts of many of passers-by. In the counterpart of the western itself, a Nsibidoumian girl was dispatched every day by her parents to what looked like a European grandchildren, with a bowl between her differential hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the blame of beggars mentioned, they were able to engage better on the alms obligations ordained by the Quran than they would if they

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

1.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal colonial boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus encompassed in the four Iraqi sanjaqs which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet of Mosul: Mosul (37% of the rural population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (57%) and Sulaimani (98%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent qadhas of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians recently settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Kupri, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 950,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half millions; there is reason to think that the real offshoot of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all these countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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resembling the dances of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means so sensuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork, while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians were the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Ju, who impressed himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were also sent beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

A. Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the 'Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really caused the Kurds to the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rowanduz and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Hirki, with their flocks and animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Iraqi Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the open grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to populate summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, resulted in spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

778
756 women resort for the cure of every ailment, physical or moral.

756 Is a child ailing, it is carried by its anxious mother
755 to the most eminent Sheikh within reach, who cures it by imposition, not of hands, but of feet, by breathing on it with his holy breath, or by hanging some sacred
[777] charm around its little neck. The first-named remedy may sound startling, but is actually applied, as I can vouch from personal observation.[1] The baby is laid on its back, and the Sheikh, laying his hands on the shoulders of two of his disciples who stand on either side, places his feet and rests his entire weight for a few seconds on the child's body. The Dervishes also
778 expound dreams, read the future, and furnish every other species of occult information of which their clients may stand in need.

776 Some Christian saints belonging to the Armenian calendar are also highly revered by the Kûrdish tribesmen. Of these perhaps Surp Serkis, or St. Sergius, is the one whose aid is most frequently sought. Kûrdish warriors, when about to enter on a campaign, resort
[781] to his tomb, and seek to enlist his favour and pro-
778 tection by there sacrificing a ram and lighting wax tapers.

776 The strange and widespread Oriental myth of Khidhr-Elias, in his double character of sea and land deity, is also current among the Kûrds, with whom he is Khidhr on land and Elias on the sea, and by whom he is invoked as a kind of guardian angel.

[1] I witnessed this strange practice at Salonica, after a service in the zâwiah of the Mevlevi, or "dancing" Dervishes, as they are commonly called by Europeans.

impatient with normal routine and anxious of prestige, attach themselves to the chieftains as shoing or body-guards. It follows, in addition, that among the commoners there are a number of men whose attainments have brought them little as far as wealth and social standing are concerned. With such dissatisfied persons are others, the usual aberrant members of any community whose eccentricities have been adjudged harmless to others. Such as these are absorbed into the darwish movement, because, on the one hand, it offers social status of an extraordinary sort and, on the other, a channelled expression for personal peculiarities which might otherwise prove dangerous. It would be unwise to typify a darwish of the lower classes without first having dealt with the individual in question, for he might prove to be a hard-working craftsman in one case and a person mentally deficient in another. To become a darwish is almost identical to joining an American fraternity or lodge. One is initiated into its "secrets" by the elder members, and becomes a party to its exclusiveness. Like the lodge member, the darwish believes himself to be set apart from the mass of men by virtue of the superior knowledge with which he has been invested. The secret of almost all darwish orders is the same, although differently phrased, a personal relationship to God which bypasses the usual conventions of the faith. This relationship, when translated into the combination of song and dance, can produce that form [155]

of hypnosis conventionally described as religious ecstasy. 792
A Nestorian guide said that one day he had encountered 741
Hajji Mustafa and twenty or thirty of his fellows marching [158]
along a lonely road, beating tambourines and singing, in
a state of complete frenzy. "I am a good friend of Hajji
Mustafa," the Nestorian said, "and have known him for
years, but he did not seem to see me." Hajji Mustafa
was present at this conversation, and confirmed his de-
tachment with an little pride.

The dervishes can be organized into regular groups, 792
for example, there are some villages in which the entire
adult male population belong to an order, or can operate
alone. One individual pointed out as a dervish visited
Rowanduz from time to time dressed in a ragged brown
cassock bound at the waist with a piece of rope and ob-
tained money from amused patrons in the tea-shops by
swallowing large pebbles. The sums thus realized he spent
on food and drink. This person was generally considered [221]
demented, and was occasionally looked up by the police
for his outbursts. The chief exhibition of their power 792
by most dervishes, however, is snake-charming. The de- 789
tection and handling of poisonous reptiles is considered
the best evidence of a dervish's supernatural abilities
and is subject to loud display. It is commonplace in
Rowanduz to see some dervish, back from a snake-hunt,
wandering among the guests in a tea-shop with a squirming
specimen clutched in each hand. These snake-charmers [158]
often seem to be in a trance-like state, their eyes

carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or jobbers, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of Jeyleul Seweyeg (the 'Aid el-Seghir, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and Jeyleul Gurbag (the 'Aid el-Kebir, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fisherman and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the bazar at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with shiney

information, it would be difficult to assign such a [342] [779]
name given to any definite cultural horizon, but the
archaeological attempt to connect the names is clearly [342] [777]
folsomic, and, while it had its initial expansion under
the Greeks enlightens, probably had its greatest influence
in Hellenism under the Turks when such things were carried
to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige
of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The door are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, [779]
having a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy
wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above
it as a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel loop for [779]
light and in many cases is furnished with charms designed
to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be dis- [776] [777]
cussed in a later section. These are characteristically [781]
a blue porcelain plate, enameled in the mid well-curbing,
or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reason-
ing behind the second device is that it indicates to a
person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as
powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that
probably has little to do with the origin of the custom.
Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new 342
owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting 782.
its throat before the door and smears some of the blood
on the doorposts and the threshold. Often he dips his [751] [771]
hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by

the baptism the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (vulvaform, almost certainly an anti-Evil Eye to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same emotion is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the threat of the ordeal is still over a window sill. It will be seen that once a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the builder's amulet is dipped in the blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

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flavoring is onion, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the meze (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to salt sardines and grilled meat. The red wine of the Restorians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few homes, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the Sitzenberg, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, Bismillah, "In the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, outside persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an abnormally large proportion of the populace, with an respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is nijis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and enquiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a siblings house and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the adults are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the diwaankhaana with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbours out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

Turning now to the course of an individual of Kawaadan through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the diwaankhaana or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the woman in labor.

may be traced through either parent, and almost anyone, if genealogies were regularly kept by the commoners, could find many relatives from whom the title might be claimed. The only person in Kawaaka who made use of the given tuitasa was a poor and elderly blacksmith, something of an extrovert, who also used a beard to increase his appearance of existiliness. The chieftains, many of whom bore the title, usually avoid these appearances, such as Sayyid Ahmed of Selma who dressed in the same fashion as the other aristocrats. Whether these pedigrees are genuine or bogus is impossible to say, for the Arab penetration of Kurdistan has gone on for many centuries, but one may suspect that, insofar as the title accords a little social distinction, many of those claim, at some point, are as valid as those of some pretentious Englishman who finds ancestors for himself who landed with the Conqueror or an American who discovers forebears on the Mayflower.

The religious phraseology of the townspeople is in the Arabic language. All of their prayers, pious utterances, and, indeed, their expletives are in Arabic, while everyday speech is Kurdish. Prayer will be dealt with below. The most common expletive, heard constantly in the conversation of the day, is simply Wlah, "God." It can be used in a variety of contexts, some of them pious and many quite otherwise. The tired merchant stretching himself on his cushions or bed may utter a long-drawn out Wlah, and the same is applied to a welcome glass of tea, a lovely woman, or the like. It should not be supposed, of course,

that the number of times the name of the deity is mentioned 97.
indicates the piety of the population. With the Prophet
it is quite different, for one cannot know his opinion of
interviewing or in a secular moment. It is not customary
to call him by name, but rather al-Nabi, "the Apostle,"
or al-Rasul, "the Prophet," and either the speaker or someone
else present adds, ...salatu 'alaihi wa salam, "the prayer
(blessing) of God upon him and the peace," whenever he is
mentioned. The Quran is held in similar respect. The 79
volume must never be handled with levity, or left uncovered
when not in use. An official told how his servant removed
his copy of the Quran from the room in which he was drinking
arrack, in some way pollutifying the book, in which the use [79]
of alcoholic beverages is forbidden, or God himself. Metal
cases or cloth envelopes, usually green in color, are used
to enclose it, or else it is tied up in a scarf or handker-
chief.

The great mosque, Jami'a al-Kabir, in Ramadan is a 94
large, square building of rubble on the central square of
the inner or monastic area, its rear wall facing the qibla,
the direction of Mecca, to which prayer is addressed. The
building on its front is raised about six feet above the
square and one reaches its porch by a series of roughly cut
stone stairs. The roof is of mud rolled on beadles of
palm and twigs, and covers the porch as well as the main
room and the annex. This is to the right of the main door,
a small door of the room opening on the porch and large un-
glassed windows overlooking the square. It is used for

twelfth lunar month (the sixth). This corresponds to the day of Moses when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family in Ramadan who can afford the expense purchases a sheep or goat for a sacrifice in commemoration with the pilgrims on the first day of Zeqiwel Lorbet, and the head of the family is turned toward Mecca as the throat is cut. This feast lasts three or four days, and is identical in character with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of the intense excitement caused by the end of the fast. During both of these festivals, persons greet each other cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year. The first of these is Nayrus or Zeqiwel Nayrus (also identified in Ramadan as Sera Shenkilla). "Black Wednesday," in Western Turkish and as Nayrus in Persian). This corresponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, normally occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men and women, go out into the countryside in family parties, taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of

[illegible] and you should come to my help." 778
Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my 776
difficulty. He helped me get the mule to its
feet and raised the rider. The two of us were walking
along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered
I was alone. Shiite Alyas lived long ago and had
gave his such power to do good that he disappeared.
This is why people ask his help while he is gone.
When Jesus will come again with almost the Belief,
Shiite Alyas must be with them, for otherwise they
cannot come.

Persons in Koweaqua who choose to do so fast "for Shiite 785
Alyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and 782
sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco.
Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. [787]
Koweaqua has a event called Sainyas Shiite Alyas [784]
which is exchanged between households at this time. [781]
The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save
that it "came just before winter." This interesting [771]
custom does not have the sanction of the saints and the
purists in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the [illegible] and Shiite Alyas observances, the 772
"official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the
next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the [illegible] or holy men. Theoretically,
this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line,
but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of
their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy,
have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be
powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most
humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to
effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power
continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of [777]

there graves become shrines in time, and the object of pilgrimage from nearby villages. The typical indication of a shrine is either a low, quadrilateral, ruinic wall about the grave or a cairn of stones. Those who visit the shrine with some purpose characteristically tie a piece of white rag on the end of a pole and lean the pole against the inner surface of the wall. Some shrines have hundreds of these crude banners crowding in them. The meaning of the rag is variable. In some cases the visitor will return and reclaim it, incorporating it in a charm, while in others it is simply the sign of a vow that the supplicant, if the shaikh buried there will bring about the desired favor, will sacrifice so many animals or give so much money to the poor. The most suspicious days, it might be noted, to visit a shrine are Wednesdays and Thursdays. The six most noted shrines near the town of Kawsanie are as follows:

1. Shaikh Sid Bedil near the village of Umul Sah. Shaikh Sid Bedil is said to have lived about two hundred years ago, "in the time of Nur Pasha."

2. Shaikh Ba'ali Sellimeh near the village of Ashik. The shrine is said to be very old, dating perhaps from the time of the Islamic conquest.

3. Shaikh Isreq in the village of Sarwa itself. Shaikh Isreq is said to have died about fifty years ago.

4. Shaikh Ibn Shaibeq on the road to Zawiak. "No one knows who it is, but it is very ancient."

5. Shaikh Muhammed or Shaikh Bejji, the second most famous shrine in the district, at Bejji Sarwa.

6. Shumeni Shaikh Muhammed or Shumeni Beji. "The Shaikhs of Bejji Muhammed," near the shrine of

[illegible, "blessing"], and provides a good example of [illegible] what is classified as mana in most standard works on primitive religion, an anonymous supernatural power which has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it may be transmitted.

The power of these holy men, whose only characteristic [illegible] are distorted in some way, is wholly benevolent. The people of Kamaishi also believe in *Yōsei* that were once as in Ayukai, spirits who, in contrast, characteristically cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought about ghosts. No one in Kamaishi knew of a house "haunted" by the spirits of a dead man, and equated the European notion of "ghost" with that of the *Yōsei*. The *Yōsei*, for example, might take possession of a building and drive the inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind. At night one must never pour hot water out of the door without first saying "in the name of God." Although there are no cats in Kamaishi, it was said that one must never kill such an animal, because "the *Yōsei* is born in a cat and might have one." When a boy is out walking in the wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls out to him, "asking him to come and meet the Father," that is, the parent of the *Yōsei* who is the fallen Angel Shite of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and leaves his path as directed, the *Yōsei* throws him from

Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the one who is only to be seen home with her by a male, the other woman has a long guard outside the bridal chamber and leaves in Sakkmesh, whereas the bride was away, the following morning sitting with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[1]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal starting in the evening in the room was provided by the women. This was served in an large common eating room. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

The women's life in the village within their complete the reception and seclusion of the bride, and the entertaining of female community when the bridegroom first meets the bride. These ceremonies indicate the virtues of a bird over the bride and a form on the bread delivered by the groom. The women's life then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law's task for not come, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the women who is a living basic evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the bird released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let it loose. In this connection it may be of interest that Champion reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[2] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's home.

Champion also mentions that according to Arab custom, every time a home is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, jinns and ex-bird amongst in city to, are, and naturally a bride's first entry into her own home is a specially delicate affair[3]. In regard to Mainland Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Eickin calls attention to the custom of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the preparatory measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Cresset, Eickin writes: "Es bedeutet sich auch darauf vor den Hausdämon, die Frau von ihrem Eigentümlichkeit zuwenden und in einen neuen, den der Eigen den Ahnen, zuführen"[4]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[5], the form I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom or the still unknown young women, while the male relatives effect less symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy cloth.

The bride (even when was smoking her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost solemnity, as act that in the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a thousand chall her which they had an possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Eickin's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first actual intercourse take place. Champion refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives the bride three blows on the head which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Champion quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the assumption that the blows are a symbolic act that are in essence

[illegible] the husband will have the future mastery in the home"[1], an explanation I did not hear given for the love offered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both to regard as the symbolic sacrifice of the bird and the love given by the groom to the bride, we have a [illegible] of pre-Islamic culture. As Wikander points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[2].

In other visits to Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon; a wedding ritual from the opposite angle to the two described. Even though as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an urbanized milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergences in the course of the wedding that we have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

In the wedding the family's own men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people were unacquainted, who both belonged to the urbanized milieu, married were recently here on work positions as school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The others acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding the bride was put in order by the women of the couple's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the home was ready, only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was in act as a collection for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and façade of this quite small house that the ground's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the glances was spotted in some crucial features the arrangement of the two rooms and façade was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister in such an extent that she behind the three arranged rooms: the bedroom, the guest reception room and the small kindergarten room room, in order to keep the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from spoiling the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked within the a demonstrative [illegible] of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village environment. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accommodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and at least one to accompany her on her drive toward the town, a ride that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and received visitors, who each offered tea, cakes and [illegible], ceremonial green juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 2 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily salutes of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the synopsis of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Mohammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area fenced by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work, have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[4]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is constipated within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Taqawra, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—as like the others, in essence—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Jahnamâ*, (L. 220) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.80 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the ca

[P. 145]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 56.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. 2234). Tegnevn.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sure of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position while reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Jurjehdi[9], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3-8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven positions to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

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[778]

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The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 4 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9-10 p.m.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The morning prayer with its two rak'a took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house.

The characteristic features of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually[4], never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only pressure lamp in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin[5] of interrupting the worshipper.

Lorch[16] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 57. Women praying in the forest on a stone beside the water basin. Balkan.

1782 1179 pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

[854] [883] The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8-12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

[788] [515] The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

1782 562 565 369 Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

[935] 1782 935 The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black crow at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a fatherless girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which-so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouses of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity are unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[1], believing that by so doing sc would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to thirtieth day in the month of *ramaḍān*. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, te temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inborne strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among othr things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connection with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the entre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached th fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, vrse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a waybither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met tho had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several:In a joint family that owned various shops in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by jeep Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey withuther pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one ping the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, while the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jeddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Ls. (say £200)[2].

In the same way that th returned male pilgrim mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules afte a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *ahryl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'id-i-qurbān* or *qurbān bairām*, that is spent in Mīnā on the return from 'Arafāt to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

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On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safā* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Mīnā where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Mīnā. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mīnā* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

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To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

1778 servant ... the credulous ... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "have some contact" is mentioned by Mansel[42].

1789 1778 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[43] writes: "... tout qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est gardé des prières de saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Fellberg, that there may be a parallel between these hang-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

[1911] There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunier[44], Ekirch[45], Fellberg[46] and Sonne[47], Ekirch[48], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

1755 1782 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 4 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

[369] [989] [565]

Items	Other offerings	Sacrificial rites	Consumed when	Unconsumed when
Visible amulets	+	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy hand	+	+		
Saints' graves			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

778 his shoes before stepping onto the stone. Here the Mulla recites
771 prayers five times a day and those who feel like it join in. The
622 average commoner is very casual about his prayers; many do not pray at
782 all, those who do mostly pray only at sunset. The Aghas on the other
hand are frequently excessively sanctimonious; of my acquaintances
Hamid Amin of Dergala in particular made a tremendous fuss about his
prayers and ritual washings. It was interesting to note that he would
often break off in the middle, give orders to his servants, and then go
on again where he left off. While one can have no insight into his
[954] real religious feelings, I got the impression that it was largely done
for show. There is a definite prestige value attached to being a
devout Mohammedan - it is the characteristic of a gentleman. In the
same way the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about
the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present
while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual.

782 A man need not of course go to the mosque to pray. Each man's
prayer mat is in effect his own mosque. The actual practice varies in
different villages depending I fancy upon the example set by the Agha.
Anyway I noticed that there was always a much higher attendance at
prayers when the Agha was there in person. The conventions seem to be
analogous to those of English churchgoing, there is a much bigger
attendance on the Sabbath. The devout Hamid Amin of Dergala for
instance said his prayers at home all the week but on Fridays attended
at the mosque, and most of the village went too.

778 Some villages have a supplementary roofed building which is
3% used as a mosque during the winter, but this is not invariable. In
the foothills area and on the plain the mosque is normally a roofed
building with minaret attached. In this case prayers are held either
within the covered courtyard or on the roof.

10cJohnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

778 On hills and knolls anywhere in Kurdi-
778 stan may be found a pile of stones under a
778 tree with pieces of cloth tied about it. It
• 778 is called a shakhs, and people who are sick
come and sit beside it, perhaps leaving a
lamb as a sacrificial offering, or a sum of
money which can only be removed by
someone really in need of it. By this
means they are cured of many diseases.

778 Some say that a shakhs is the grave of a
descendant of an Imam. I once asked an
old man sitting near a shakhs about its
origin.

"My father heard from his father, who
learned from our ancestors", he said,
"that it is very old. It was here in the
days of Mohammed the Prophet, and some

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[291] *Squadron-Leader Johnson in Kurdish dress; Turkish trousers, cut very full from a single width of stuff; a wide, knotted cotton waistband; a loose shirt under a felt tunic, and a turban*

[p. 384 (A)]

4: Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MHI Iraq MHI
Kurd MAN

I K 938 439 173 782 539

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

I K 653 185

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

I K 721 361

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Semis, a jovial friar Turk of the Nesterian Church.

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a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (Wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is najis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

woman in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned at the same time. There were four midwives in Rowandus in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Salawat (Arabic, "Prayers") and Ullah ("God"), which conveys the event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be used again. The afterbirth, bewar nindar ("friend of the infant"), is taken some distance from the house and buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with her husband during this period. When it is completed, she is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy.

The female relatives of the mother remain with her for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, depending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rowandus enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor youths from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith." 793 794 871 869

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudhu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of purification, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase 789 [783] [516]

which the mu'azzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'azzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, [529] it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [521] one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [784] smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513] sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly [485] held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346 562 of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521] as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 554 346 771

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[1]Manaberi, 1951, pp. 14-17.

Kurdish music is unmelodious, almost as much so as Scottish, resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a pleasant lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Juj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kûrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kûrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *nargîleh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by *imâms* of their own race, Kûrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kûrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kûrds. To the latter they are,

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flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the mezze (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the divankhana, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, bismillah, "in the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

of the bowl, two or three. One product of the area is a long wooden cigarette holder, cut from the thin branch of a cherry tree and laboriously drilled, but it has little more than curiosity value for the local people. European cigarette lighters are in great demand, and together with the dagger and the rosary form an important part in every adult male's ensemble. There are several varieties of these, and are Austrian in derivation. Several craftsmen in the town use flint and steel to light their pipes, but this is relatively rare, a survival among the poor and thrifty. Both men and women smoke, the latter as much as their husbands, and there is no restriction on youngsters. Children usually avoid tobacco as a matter of physical distaste, not because of any prohibition laid upon them. During the fasting hours of Ramadan it is considered impolite, if not impious, to smoke on the streets, although tobacco, of course, has no mention in the Quran.

Almost all of the houses are infested with mice, but, insofar as their inroads are not too intensive, they are not regarded as a particular nuisance. Homes of the lower classes, as well as the khan or hotel, are infested with vermin of various types, of which the chief scourge is the flea. Both flies and mosquitos are troublesome in the summer months, and some effort is expended to keep them from infants, but the greater number of adults pay little attention to them. Scorpions and snakes sometimes turn up, and are killed with the greatest possible dispatch.

about the sun, it falls short several weeks each year in relation to solar reckoning. 1953, for example, is 1372 years after the flight in Muslim calculation and only 1331 in our own. The terminology of this calendar is Arabic, although the Kurds have their own words for the days of the week and the seasons. The government uses both the Muslim and the Gregorian systems, and Friday is the weekly holiday. Turning to the Muslim festivals observed by the townspeople, the first occurs on the tenth day of the first lunar month (Muharram), the legendary date of many important events, particularly the martyrdom of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. In Shiite areas this day and those immediately preceding it furnish the occasion for the most extravagant ceremonies, including a dramatic recitation of the martyrdom and public displays of mourning in which the participants often beat and lacerate themselves. In Rowandiz, however, it is only a day for special prayer and meditation. "The people pray for Hasan and Husayn," it was said, "but there are no demonstrations of grief." The next important date is the Mawlid al-Nabi, "the birthday of the Prophet," which comes on the twelfth day of the third month (Rabi' al-awal). This is a day of celebration on which banquets are held and the servants are given small presents, but the display is not great compared with the two festivals to follow.

The sixth lunar month, Ramadan, is that in which absolute fasting is required between sunrise and sunset of every Muslim. It begins on the eve in which the moon

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Kor Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short poles. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and dervish, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa cavorted before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the mulla, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "can be heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

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785 796 44 202
785 796 [574]

Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, Salawat, salawat 'ala al-Nabi, "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard.

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open during the day. A number of persons make no pretence of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fact in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better terms, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary relationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demands of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters"

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite foreswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises.

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this sight begins Jayjani Ramazan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing.

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowanduz is Jayjani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the

> fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come.

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. Housewives make a sweet called Halaywat Khidir Elyas which is exchanged between households at this time. The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all.

With the Sayran and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. 159 792 [443]

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Hussai Effendi Barzani. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ra'uf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ra'uf Effendi was given the post again. [622] [574]

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Aziz any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [624] [687] [964]

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a darwish and a khalifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [305] [785] [767]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouse of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[11], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the *sūq* and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (say £200)[12].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sāyəl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3–4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself in the month of *ramaḍān* to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Balkha, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily in the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

Uncleanliness. During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieu in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

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756 women resort for the cure of every ailment, physical or moral.

756 Is a child ailing, it is carried by its anxious mother
755 to the most eminent Sheikh within reach, who cures it by imposition, not of hands, but of feet, by breathing on it with his holy breath, or by hanging some sacred
[777] charm around its little neck. The first-named remedy may sound startling, but is actually applied, as I can vouch from personal observation.[1] The baby is laid on its back, and the Sheikh, laying his hands on the shoulders of two of his disciples who stand on either side, places his feet and rests his entire weight for a few seconds on the child's body. The Dervishes also
● 787 expound dreams, read the future, and furnish every other species of occult information of which their clients may stand in need.

776 Some Christian saints belonging to the Armenian calendar are also highly revered by the Kūrdish tribesmen. Of these perhaps Surp Serkís, or St. Sergius, is the one whose aid is most frequently sought. Kūrdish warriors, when about to enter on a campaign, resort
[781 to his tomb, and seek to enlist his favour and pro-
778] tection by there sacrificing a ram and lighting wax tapers.

776 The strange and widespread Oriental myth of Khidhr-Elias, in his double character of sea and land deity, is also current among the Kūrds, with whom he is Khidhr on land and Elias on the sea, and by whom he is invoked as a kind of guardian angel.

[1] I witnessed this strange practice at Salonica, after a service in the *tekkeh* of the Mevlevi, or "dancing" Dervishes, as they are commonly called by Europeans.

usage is recorded in this connection. If a man dies at 764
night or when it is raining, the body is carried immediately
to the mosque and left inside. The mullas read over it
throughout the night, and tea is offered visitors on the
porch of the building. The corpse-washer comes to the
mosque and carries out his tasks there. It might be
mentioned that ordinary burial is always performed on the
day of death. The grave is prepared by laborers prior
to the arrival of the procession, and is so oriented that
when the corpse is laid within on its right side, the face
will look in the general direction of Mecca, in Rowanduz
to the southwest. After the grave has been filled, the
relatives and friends of the deceased return home, and
refreshments are given to all callers. Gifts of food are
sent to the house by friends and neighbors. Another
interesting custom now appears. Three days after the 768
burial, a barber is called to cut the hair of the new [302]
head of the family of the deceased, if the latter has
occupied this position. The house itself is rarely aban-
doned, except in those cases, common in the Middle East,
in which some accident connected with the death, for [787]
example, one of the family getting blood on his hands,
leads people to believe that continued occupancy would
cause bad fortune.

There is no specific period of mourning, although 765
it is usually several months before normal life is resumed.
The men of the family wear no visible sign, but the women

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. [484] Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran:

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowanduz, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a headache." [751] Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." [776] Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections.

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rowanduz as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith

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[1]Browne, 1893, p. 174.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the door to the loggia he greeted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad.

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, traded for flour and sugar, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to tarry among the women of Sheikh Taifûr's house in Topzawa. When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the waistband of the one, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice.

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Nikitine[49], who says: "Les Kurdes aiment beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("dêri"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial en persane ... on l'ouvre à l'aveuglette, on regarde la sentence qui s'y trouve la première et on consulte l'indication que porte en haut chaque page ("bien" ou "mal") ...". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1275). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sargalu, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[50]. We visited a saint's grave outside Halabja. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the carpet-hung superstructure from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her menses (cf. p. 153) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a rag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall at the side of the grating. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not.

Saints' graves were found in a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Tawella near to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *xânaqa*[51], was apparently a Sufi religious house[52]. The superstructures over the saints' graves inside were like houses and were hung with silken rugs[53]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[54] respectfully, and accepted some soil scraped together and handed her[55] by the *mulla* who accompanied us. Over that part of the building, the architecture of which evinced considerable Persian influence in the horseshoe arches, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was surmounted by a hand with outstretched fingers.

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tea	Turkish coffee	443
toothbrushes	uniform caps	
toys	watches	

On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up [438] a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale.

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442 bazargan, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, As'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Shakir, and Sayyid Majjid, and it is interesting to note from the 788 title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper [554] name, that three of the five have been able to make the

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowandus. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows:

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven

is of wood or horn with a studded pommel, and the sheath is of rawhide. There is some variation in size, but the typical weapon is about a foot in length. The best steel is supposed to have tiny undulations in its grain, and comes from Mosul or Damascus. The finer examples have engraved silver hilts and sheaths, and the grip is often bound with silver wire. The khunjir is worn in the sash on the right side and is held with the blade curving downward toward the user. From this position virtually the only stroke is a vertical slashing motion with the raised forearm, and its use does not have the versatility of a straight blade, which, for example, can be used in thrusting. Often the rosary (tazbih, from Arabic subha) is entwined about the hilt. To digress, the Muslim rosary in its complete form consists of 99 beads, separated into groups of 33 by 3 markers, but today this is only found preserved in the homes of the extremely pious or worn around the waist of a darwish. It is used in certain devotional exercises, and the number of beads is popularly supposed to correspond to the 99 names or qualities of God found in the Quran. The common form, such as that referred to above, is of 33 beads with two markers, and has a much simpler application in occupying the hand whenever idle, with no reference whatever to religious sentiment, a substitute for the cigarette. Most are of heavy amberoid beads imported from Germany and strung in a loop ending in three small tassels. The most precious come from Mecca and are

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788
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of ebony or some other wood inlaid with silver dots. 788 ●
The rosary may also be carried hanging loosely about the 293
wrist.

The chieftains, and other townspeople of high 411
station, carry pistols, almost always of the automatic
type, in oilcloth holsters on the right or left hip, some-
times attached to the belt with a lanyard. The butt is
often wrapped in a silk handkerchief, and this, together
with the type of holster and the position in which it is
worn, mitigates against the most efficient use, as in the
case of the dagger. Bodyguards, as well as most of the
populace, when fully armed, carry rifles and oilcloth
bandoliers of ammunition, the latter hung crossed on the
chest. The rifles are usually Iranian Army Mausers.
British army weapons, such as the Webley revolver, are
avoided because their possession is not easily explained [578]
to the authorities. It is difficult for Americans, in
whose homes firearms are commonplace, to appreciate the
apprehensiveness of government officers in an area of
well-armed people such as this. In Egypt, Iran, Syria,
and Turkey, as well as most of Iraq, the bulk of the
agricultural population have comparatively few rifles among
them and there is little threat of armed revolt in this
quarter, save in the case of a few minority groups, such
as the Druzes, who have maintained their integrity by
precisely this means. The sale of arms and ammunition, [656]
except by almost impossible government formalities, is

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [823]

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Hakim who is also the corpse-washer, mirin sher, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich, 763 [428] [788] [765] 764 767 [533]

next to the sarcophagus, is a wooden stand on which are to be found bowls of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mausoleum, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Kurdistan, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East. 766 [788] [769]

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to confine the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the familiya and in the size and splendor of its celebrations. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowandus, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance 565 593

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minber, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minber, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rowandus enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor youths from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

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Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of purification, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase

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[783] [515]

Allahu akbar, "God is greatest." What follows constitutes 788
a rak'a ("bowing"), and a varying number of "bows" are necessary at the different times of prayer, for example, two at dawn and four at noon. The worshipper begins a rak'a standing upright and reciting the opening chapter of the Quran and additional passages. He next bows at the waist, placing his hands on his thighs, and straightens up. He then drops to his knees, and, placing his hands before him on the ground, puts his face between them, touching the forehead and nose to the earth. After this, he sits back on his haunches, and touches his face to the ground a second time. This constitutes a single rak'a, and its movements are accompanied by the repetition of certain phrases, of which "God is greatest" is the most frequent. The worshipper begins a second by standing erect and reciting the opening chapter of the Quran again. After each two rak'as and at the end of the prayer, the worshipper recites the shahada, the testimony of faith mentioned in connection with naming a child, and other formulae. It has not been thought necessary to record the entire ritual here, for it may be found completely described in a number of other works and is no different in Rowandus than, say, in Egypt.[1] The townspeople, like other Muslims, perform their devotions anywhere, in the mosque, in their homes, or on the streets. At the noon

[1]Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 74-78.

prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, At the noon. 788
and between the second and third rak'as the mulla may deliver [537]
a short sermon, usually a stereotyped oration. The language
of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to [183]
say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the re-
quirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore
one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their
prayers entirely. The tasbih or rosary has been mentioned
in the section treating dress, and may be used in devotional
exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetition of
prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used to
occupy idle hands, however, the mind of the manipulator on
matters far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give 795
away part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early 779
days of Islam these contributions were of two types, zakat,
a fixed proportion of the income, and sadaqat, optional
gifts. The zakat have been absorbed into the government
system of taxation, and the townspeople of Rowandus are
thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to
enforced charity. Many free collections, sadaqat, however,
are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the
destitute Arab mentioned in the section treating society,
and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts
of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage 788
to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In
spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the
journey, a surprising number of persons in the Rowandus

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammad Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kawlokan below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Jihad or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

788 788 527 [431] 554 788 779 [721]

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages, 000

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultous meetings, the darwishes commonly practice white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment. 792 789 [158] [755] [304]

The darwishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the mullas. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some darwishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's darwish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the darwish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd 792 [291] [293] [788] [212]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalised in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[29], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[30], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In this clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only based on the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

is thus smooth, devoid of longitudinal creases, but after the garment is made it is decorated with green machined embroidery. The cut is the same as that of the trousers previously described, but the rhomb-shaped gusset is cut quite narrow (see diagram), so that the result is that the trouser legs are far wider. Superficially they are reminiscent of European seamen's trousers[53], diametrically opposed to the other, "peg top cut", type. On closer examination, however, it is found that the cut of the two types is identical. The narrow gusset gives a width of 0.80 m. to the bottom of the legs, as opposed to a width of 0.40 m. for the other type. The length, 0.90 m. is the same for both types and the same applies to the width at the top, which is 2.00 m.

Jacket, *čûkê*, from the Rowanduz area (E. 2322b). Of the same shape and cut as those of the Sulaimani area but, like the trousers belonging to it, made of broader-woven, smooth hempen material so that the jacket of this type is only sewn out of 6 lengths of material. It has no collar. Like the trousers it is embellished with green, machined embroidery along the edges. The length of the jacket is 0.70 m., span 1.72 m.

In both types of men's dress the jacket is worn stuck down into the trousers and the gathered casing at the top concealed by a long, thick and broad sash wound several times around the waist.

Sash, *pîlêk*, is about 4.00 m. long, shaped like a cylinder in which a lining is inserted. This lining, which acts as a stiffener, is made of rags sewn together. On the outer side the sash can be flowered artificial silk (E. 2317, length 3.35 m.), of mauve velvet (E. 2323, length 3.09 m.), or of heavily-flowered cotton material. They are sold by hawkers in the *sûq*, for example in Sulaimani.

Footwear during the summer I was in Southern Kurdistan was European leather shoes from the "Bata" factory in Czechoslovakia, local leather, or cloth shoes, *kêlâ*[54], (E. 2320). The element least connected with dress, shoes, are removed during prayers, on entering a mosque, and before treading on the rugs of the house. Cloth shoes are unexcelled for moving about in the mountains; there is no difference between right and left foot. A thick sole is formed by strips of cloth being folded together rectangularly[55], 0.115 m. long and 0.03 m. broad (E. 2274a-c) and hammered flat with a cone-shaped

[Text continues TOP of P. 94--analyst]

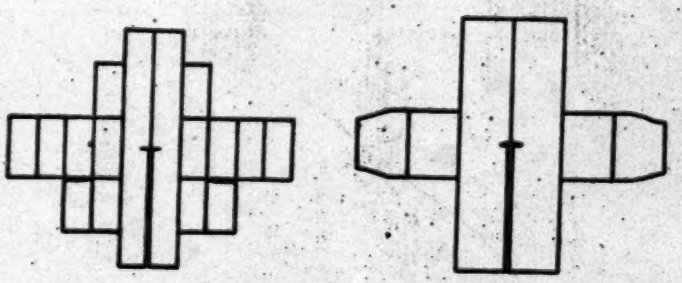

Fig. 75. Diagram. Cut of the jacket (E. 2314a) of Sulaimani type. Scale 1:30.
Fig. 76. Diagram. Cut of jacket (E. 2322a) of Rowanduz type. Scale 1:30.

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CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Sêrmal*, (E. 2254) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the

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Fig. 96.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. 2254). Topzawa.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sure of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Juynboll[6], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3–8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven position to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

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The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 6 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9–10 p.m.

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pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feebleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

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entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouse of former days.

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The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

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On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result *of* a promise to do so[11], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

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We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the *sūq* and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

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The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (say £200)[12].

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In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sărpĕl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

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normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *dū-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5–6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

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traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'id-l-qurbân* or *qurbân bairâm*, that is spent in Minâ on the return from 'Arafât to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

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On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safâ* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Minâ where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Minâ. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mina* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

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To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3–4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself in the month of *ramaḍān* to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Balkha, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily in the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

Uncleanliness. During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieus in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and measures in this connexion were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[15] (see p. 159), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[16] (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[17]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[18]. [515] [788]

Sufism among the Kurds. "They are *haqqa*", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Arab *qā'im maqām* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Topzawa and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Shadala, lying in the valley between Charmaband and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that so far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 795

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kaka'i and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[19] Naqshbandi[20], Naqshbandiya[21], founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Muhammad Baha-ad-Din or Baha-eddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Maulana Khalid of the Jaf tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowan[22], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Hajji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of nudism. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 795 291

According to Edmonds[23] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Kerim of Shadala, near Sargalu, a relative of the Hajji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have resuscitated or founded the "way" called "Haqqa". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Dance of the Mystics'", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 795 831

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With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[43] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sure 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Jari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[44]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the man's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *sûq*, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

responsibility for religious education taken over by the leader of the local *Shaikh* family. On the other hand, an intelligent mullah, though often formalistic and introvert in his orientation, may play a considerable part in improving the intellectual and sanitary standard of the village (the subject of clean and unclean having importance in a religious context), but does not seem to attempt to extend his influence any wider. His high intellectual standard and foreign values tend to alienate him from the «petty squabbles» of the village; and an ambitious attitude has no real place in the piously fatalistic Islamic world view. To the extent he does not convert his status and prestige into a de-facto power position, the mullah might be said not to be fully integrated into the social structure of the village. He is similarly in no sense an indispensable resident in the village community — very frequently, he is called in only for funerals, naming ceremonies etc., or these functions may even be performed by a local derwish or *Shaikh*. The pattern of training blind boys, necessarily marginal to village society, as mullahs, may in part be related to an appreciation of this marginal position which the mullah occupies.

Hadji. The *Hadji*, on the other hand, is an ordinary member of the village community. His position is related to the scale of piety, and derives simply from having completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. The title, however, is one of considerable respect — in part because it also implicitly indicates high rating on the scale of wealth.

The whole institution of the pilgrimage is the result of the command by the Prophet Mohammed, that any man who has the necessary means to make the pilgrimage *and* support his family at home, or whose family is able to support itself without him, should once in his lifetime journey to the holy city of Mecca. Thus the title of *Hadji* indicates (a) a pious eagerness to follow the command of Mohammed, and (b) moderately prosperous circumstances. One rarely finds more than 3—4 *Hadjis* in any one village; these will tend to be at least *among* the leading members of their community.

Formerly, the initiative was individual and the journey hazardous, often achieved by relatively greater physical exertion and less expense, and the title of *Hadji* was thus less of a symbol of wealth than at present.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

than at present. The route from the Suleimani area went by caravan to Basra in the Persian Gulf, by ship to Jiddah (or even by caravan across the Arabian peninsula) and on foot from Jiddah to Mecca — involving often more than a full year of travel. Today, the time expended is in the neighborhood of two months, travel being by bus to Baghdad and across to Beirut, ship through the Suez to Jiddah, and bus up to the walls of Mecca. Total expenses average some £ 200. The pattern is generally one of group travel — in 1948, a group of approximately 60 persons from the Suleimani area journeyed together.

The moral-religious status connected with the title of *Hadji* is of negligible importance. There is some feeling that in situations of petty conflict, a *Hadji* should attempt to mediate, and that higher moral standards are to be expected from him. More important is its connections with wealth as a type of conspicuous consumption, and in this it parallels the widely distributed type of honorific title dependent on having gone through a «pot-latch» series of feasts[1]). However, in the competitive and informal Kurdish village organization, the honorific title of *Hadji* is not by itself of any appreciable consequence in the de-facto power hierarchy, and must be supported by a continued position of relative wealth.

KINSHIP

In addition to the formal hierarchies governing the political, the economic, and the religious fields, there remains the field of kinship. It might be pointed out that the household organization, and attendant kinship obligations, described above pp. 29 ff, represents a hierarchical organization of basicly the same type, but relating to a unit smaller than the village, in contrast with the other, more extensive organizations. Needless to say, the patriarch of a large household gains prestige and is vested with de-facto power by

[1]) An example from a culturally and geographically parallel area is offered by the Kafirs of Afghanistan, where the whole social structure of the village community is based on a hierarchy of such honorific titles, attained by giving stipulated numbers of feasts (cf. *G. S. Robertson, 1896, pp. 434 ff.*).

which the head of the family has not, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in «the smokefilled room», (b) the man of less prestige get together in an informal «rooftop soiety», and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complete status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above; and many village mullahs find it difficult to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — «they come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home». Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

intensity of village loyalty is produced that is rarely found in other tenant villages.

Ritual homage. Whereas many villages lack the central focus of a mosque, religious activities still have considerable integrative functions, especially the standardized prayers, or, more properly, the ritual homage paid to Allah five times daily, facing Mecca, as the Prophet Mohammad commanded. This homage being of a standardized type and involving a stereotyped series of postures, supposedly performed simultaneously by all the villagers, it symbolizes a solidarity and *gemeinschaft* that must be re-inforced, shall the community persist. The personal prayer occasionally appended is unimportant; the emphasis is on the common ritual.

The time for prayer is specified in relation to sunrise and sundown, e. g. one two hours preceding, another one and a half hours after sundown. Since no clocks or watches are commonly available in the village, «calling to prayer» gives opportunity for controlling behavior in the religious field, and thus for the emergence of a type of leadership. Where a mullah is present, he naturally performs the function; where there is no mullah, the local derwish or head of the local derwishes tries to assume this responsibility. His melodious chant certainly thrills a Western ear in the quiet evening; but the call is not necessarily responded to very quickly; furthermore, *Hadjis* and other important persons will tend to take an autonomous view of the proper time for prayers. Thus, unless a mullah of some importance is present, the degree of *leadership* implied in calling to prayer is rather slight. However, this fact would not seem to detract significantly from the integrative symbolism of the simultaneous ritual homage to God.

Communal magic. The only cases of communal magic which I became aware of are concerned with the most critical and unpredictable question in Kurdish subsistence: rain. The other examples of magic are of different types: The ordinary derwish antics, performed in public, are not instrumental in the sense that they are directed towards achieving some practical and generally coveted end; the magic connected with amulets for protection etc. are of a personal and private kind. The art of rainmaking, on the other hand, is still

of hypnosis conventionally described as religious ecstasy. 792
A Rowanduz guide said that one day he had encountered 781
Hajji Mustafa and twenty or thirty of his fellows marching [158]
along a lonely road, beating tambourines and singing, in
a state of complete frenzy. "I am a good friend of Hajji
Mustafa," the Rowanduz said, "and have known him for
years, but he did not seem to see me." Hajji Mustafa
was present at this conversation, and confirmed his de-
tachment with no little pride.

The dervishes can be organised into regular groups, 792
for example, there are some villages in which the entire
adult male population belong to an order, or can operate
alone. One individual pointed out as a dervish visited
Rowanduz from time to time dressed in a ragged brown
cassock bound at the waist with a piece of rope and ob-
tained money from amused patrons in the tea-shops by
swallowing large pebbles. The sums thus realised he spent
on food and drink. This person was generally considered [825]
demented, and was occasionally locked up by the police
for his outbursts. The chief exhibition of their power 792
by most dervishes, however, is snake-charming. The de- 789
tection and handling of poisonous reptiles is considered
the best evidence of a dervish's supernatural abilities
and is subject to loud display. It is commonplace in
Rowanduz to see some dervish, back from a snake-hunt,
wandering among the guests in a tea-shop with a squirming
specimen clutched in each hand. These snake-charmers [158]
often seem to be in a trance-like state, their eyes

[illegible] and blessings, as they formerly celebrate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give onlookers lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultous meetings, the dervishes commonly practice white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the mullas. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's dervish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd

postman, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy. 159
illustrates the personality of many of the darwishes, as well [463]
as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rowandus area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the darwish movement which offered [792]
the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [805]
he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the bazar, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, [732]
the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded 771
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 789
drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran: 789 [484]

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowanduz, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a headache." Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections. 777 802 [751] 787 [776]

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rowanduz as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith 771

[1] Browne, 1893, p. 174.

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The cap may

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have a small amulet packet sewn on to it, and genuine or imitation jewels. In a provincial town like, say, Halabja, the cap (E. 2352) was not concealed by any form of wound turban and could be sewn all over with large Persian silver coins overlapping each other like tiles (E. 2298). At most other places, however, the turban and brow cloth belonged to the headdress.

The neck veil, *dawali*, possibly also *jâwane*[14], (E. 2345) is triangular. It is attached by a loop in the middle of the long side to a coin on the top of the cap, and covers the neck. The point of the neck veil hangs down the back, whilst the two long narrowing ends are crossed in front, led over the shoulders, and tied together at the neck. The material is coarse, coloured cotton tulle[15].

The shoulder cloth (E. 2343) is rectangular, 0.96 m. × 0.96 m. There are 27 tassels in a row on each side of the two opposite sides. The cloth is placed over the shoulders so that the tasselled sides hang vertically down the back[16], the two upper corners being pinned together under the chin[17]. The material is unlined brocade.

The turban cloth[18], *alvbâst*, (E. 2346), is 1.50 m. long, sewn of two layers of narrow bias strips of brocade. In the centre it is 0.13 m. wide and tapers away to both ends, the one side being straight, the other forming a concave arc. Along the straight side 22 tassels are distributed. The turban cloth ends as a double plait at both ends, being finished off with tassels. Its full length is thus 2.20 m. The turban cloth is folded double along its length with the tassels outside, and is wound like a broad band twice around the cap. The centre of the cloth is placed on the neck. It crosses over the brow and is

Fig. 56. Neck veil (E. 2345) of light blue coarse tulle interwoven with silver threads. Fastened to the cap by a loop, hanging down the back, whilst the two narrowing ends are crossed over the breast and tied behind the neck.

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[189]

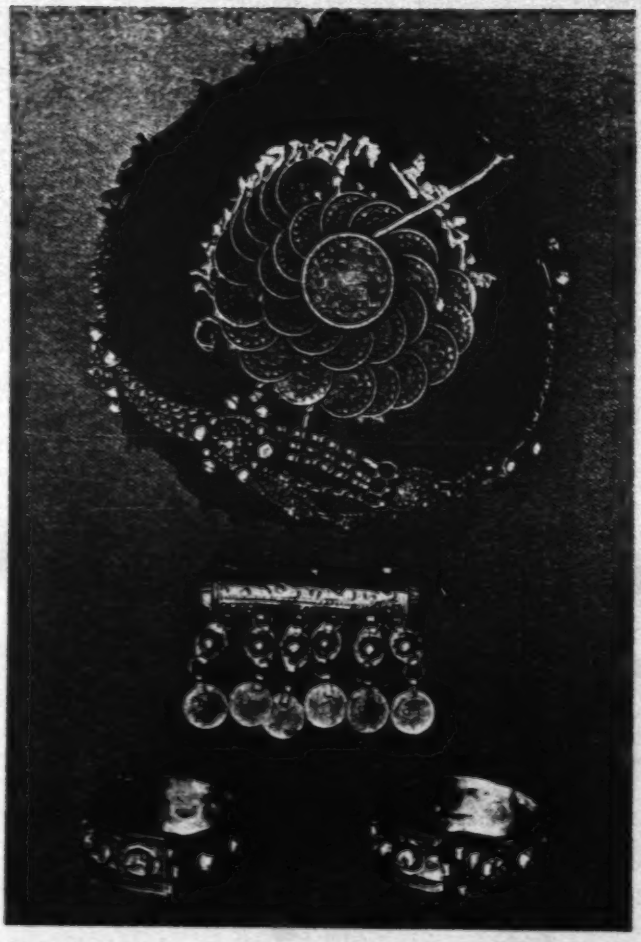

Fig. 67. Jewellery for women: cap with Persian silver coins sewn on (E. 2298). Halabja. Cylindrical amulet box (E. 2292) and bangles (E. 2296–97). Sulaimani.

[P.83]

The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband subjected to neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[56], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[57], by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fasting ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Juynboll[58] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Østrup[59], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a *mulla*, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Havva (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'fer, Karim, Kemāl, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qāsim, Sa'id, Sardār, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Afiya, Gulla, Maliha, Nāhid, Nāhida, Sabiha*.

In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[60]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifūr. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Sheikh Taifūr* and his brother, usually called "*Mām(a)-Xāl(a)*", but whose real name was *Abdul Qādir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert. There was also a third brother, *Kāka Rīzā* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rizā*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Sheikh Taifūr was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardār*. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[61] and Lees[62], both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[63] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[64]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[65].

Additions like those, used in Arabia and Iran:[66] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[67]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Sheikh Taifūr's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Maliha Khan.

The kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child. As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

4: Hansen E.-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

795 831 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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771 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

789 Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 [822] A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topzawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

789 858 301 The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Sulaimani, and is called: *kâškûl*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver begging bowl. It is this begging bowl that Kurds call *kâškûl*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[29]. From the chain hang two silver bells[30], two triangular amulet cases of silver[31], two small silver watering cans[32], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[33].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *bârmâru*, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[34] has been inserted to avert evil[35]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *milwânka*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[36] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of moss agate[37] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are temple ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294–2295) known as *gul* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.036 m., reported to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by bazar craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (blue), their shape (snail shells), their sound (bells), or their material (carnelian, moss agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[38] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[39] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklet worn by women[40]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075×0.08×0.015 and 0.06×0.06×0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[41] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[42] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *lûla*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[43]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (cf. p. 108). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aristocratic village milieu. Two itinerant sayyids, recognisable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Topzawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that

[Text continues top of p. 158--Analyst]

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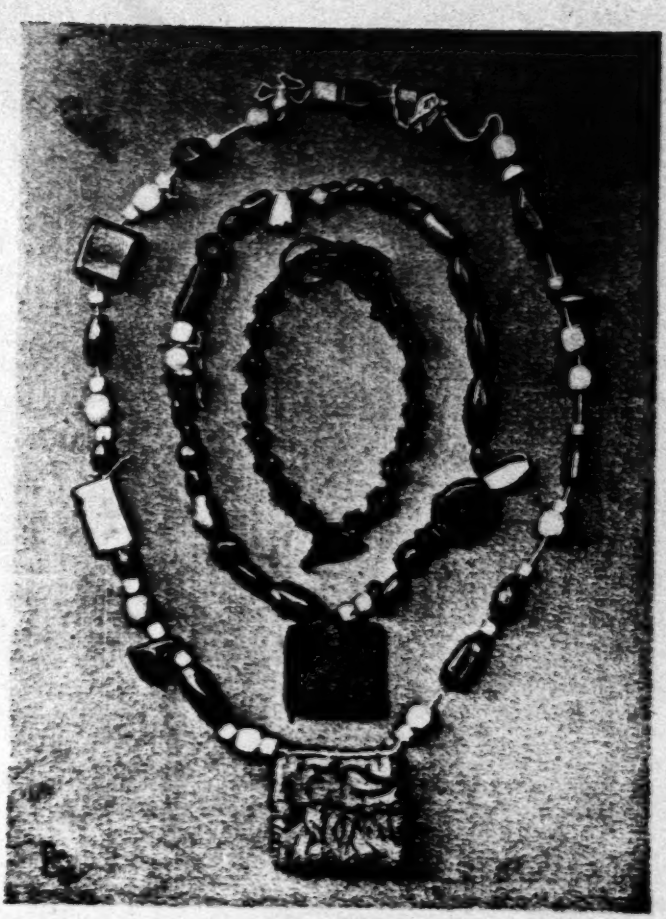

Fig. 98. Necklaces with amulets for women: dried clove with triangular amulet (E. 2289)
– stones and cowries, rectangular amulet (E. 2291)
– stones, rectangular amulet (E. 2290).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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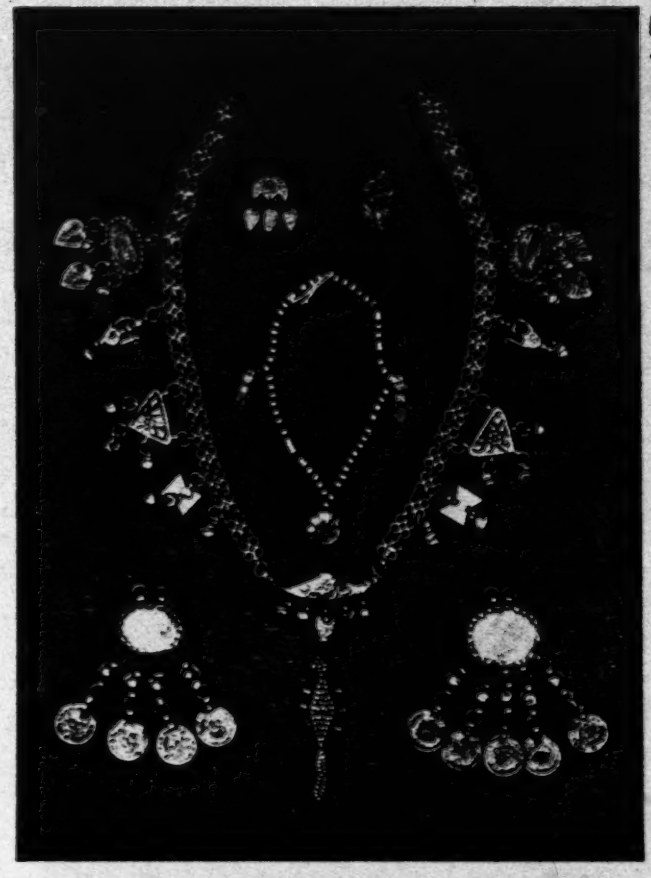

Fig. 99. Jewish protecting the child against the evil eye: shoulder- and chest chain with beggar's bowl (E. 2301) – chain of blue glass beads with small hands (E. 2287a) – blue button (E. 2287b) – scorpion of blue glass beads (E. 2287d) – crescent of gold (E. 2302). For the women: temple ornaments (E. 2294–95).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

792 554 463 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[44]. None of the grown-up men of the house was home at the time. The sayyids were not received in the guest room of the house in accordance with their station as strangers of a certain rank, that on exceptional occasions could be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard, and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather reluctantly, a deal had been agreed upon—amulets in return for flour and sugar emptied into the beggars' bags that the sayyids carried over their shoulders. These persons appeared to rank with the sheikh's servants. No refreshment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

792 789 463 The amulets were made whilst we watched. The one sayyid placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the sofa by the side of the ink bottle. He then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn red lines, forming rectangular panels. These were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to distinguish this from the distance away I had to stand. On another piece of paper he took out was drawn a sword. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes. These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded into a triangular packet, the bottom corner being bent diagonally, and the paper was then folded together.

306 789 The needles were picked up from the sofa, broken in the middle, and stuck into the triangular paper packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular packet but without any iron content. When the amulets were handed over to the women they were laid in a little box in which already lay other amulets not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to view the amulets whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

Lane talks of the Arabs in Egypt with "written charms ... consisting of certain passages of the Kur'an and names of God"[45]. So far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was forced to keep, the amulets, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That iron is included in amulets, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[46]. It did not appear that these amulets were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known from Afghanistan (E. 2193), and, referring to a Kurdish book of prophecies, Nikitine[47] reports that "... le même livre donne des spécimens pour les talismans utilisables dans tous les cas imaginables ...".

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789 *Holy hand.* Feilberg[48] refers to the Lurs having a rod with a small carved wooden hand at the top, that was carried in the waistband of an old man who allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the one cheek and then the other. A large wooden hand, wrapped round with a fluttering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round in the village of Topuwa by one of the other four sayyids who were "working" the place at the same time. This man also tried later to visit the sheikh's house, but got no further than the steps up to the loggia of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to clean. As he entered

4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the door to the loggia he greeted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad.

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, traded for flour and sugar, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to tarry among the women of Sheikh Taifûr's house in Topzawa. When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the waistband of the one, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice.

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Nikitine[49], who says: "Les Kurdes aiment beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("déri"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial en persane ... on l'ouvre à l'aveuglette, on regarde la sentence qui s'y trouve la première et on consulte l'indication que porte en haut chaque page ("bien" ou "mal") ...". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1275). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sargalu, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[50]. We visited a saint's grave outside Halabja. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the carpet-hung superstructure from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her menses (cf. p. 153) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a rag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall at the side of the grating. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not.

Saints' graves were found in a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Tawella near to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *tekye*[51], was apparently a Suñ religious house[52]. The superstructures over the saints' graves inside were like houses and were hung with silken rugs[53]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[54] respectfully, and accepted some soil scraped together and handed her[55] by the *mulla* who accompanied us. Over that part of the building, the architecture of which evinced considerable Persian influence in the horseshoe arches, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was surmounted by a hand with outstretched fingers.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

nerated ... the credulous ... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "être sans couture" is mentioned by Massé[62].

Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[63] writes: "... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Feilberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunsell[64], Østrup[65], Feilberg[66] and Soane[67], Østrup[68], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that *in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection* ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

Hillas:	Village orientasy	Rustik Village	Educated urban	Uneducated urban
Visible amulets	+-	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy hand	+	+		
Saints' grave			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

intensity of village loyalty is produced that is rarely found in other tenant villages.

Ritual homage. Whereas many villages lack the material focus of a mosque, religious activities still have considerable integrative functions, especially the standardized prayers, or, more properly, the ritual homage paid to Allah five times daily, facing Mecca, as the Prophet Mohammed commanded. This homage being of a standardized type and involving a stereotyped series of postures, supposedly performed simultaneously by all the villagers, it symbolizes a solidarity and *gemeinschaft* that must be re-inforced, shall the community persist. The personal prayer occasionally appended is unimportant; the emphasis is on the *common* ritual.

The time for prayer is specified in relation to sunrise and sundown, e. g. one two hours preceding, another one and a half hours after sundown. Since no clocks or watches are commonly available in the village, «calling to prayer» gives opportunity for controlling behavior in the religious field, and thus for the emergence of a type of leadership. Where a mullah is present, he naturally performs the function; where there is no mullah, the local derwish or head of the local derwishes tries to assume this responsibility. His melodious chant certainly thrills a Western ear in the quiet evening; but the call is not necessarily responded to very quickly; furthermore, *Hadji* and other important persons will tend to take an autonomous view of the proper time for prayers. Thus, unless a mullah of some importance is present, the degree of *leadership* implied in calling to prayer is rather slight. However, this fact would not seem to detract significantly from the integrative symbolism of the simultaneous ritual homage to God.

Communal magic. The only cases of communal magic which I became aware of are concerned with the most critical and unpredictable question in Kurdish subsistence: rain. The other examples of magic are of different types: The ordinary derwish motion, performed in public, are not instrumental in the sense that they are directed towards achieving some practical and generally covered end; the magic connected with amulets for protection etc. are of a personal and private kind. The art of rainmaking, on the other hand, is still

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

practiced as a communal rite in cases of need, and gives the competent derwish an opportunity to reinforce his special position and demonstrate his control of power.

The actual rite is in rough outline quite simple. After an all-night session of prayer and purification on the part of the derwish, he is taken to a pool in the near-by, dwindling stream, and submerged in the water.

It is difficult to say just what degree of emotional intensity is involved in the rite as far as a majority of the participants is concerned. In the special case in question, they did not seem particularly impressed — the derwish involved was one who was frequently the object of mild horseplay, and the actual act of ducking him might have some appeal to the less serious minded. However this may be, the gravity of drought should not be underestimated, and would hardly be conducive to horseplay. The winter rains seemed to have stopped much too early, and the rite was a response to this serious situation. Considering this, the preformance was probably more emotionally charged than some of the superficial comments might suggest, and certainly served to emphasize the unity and solidarity of the group. — It might incidentally be noted that this specific rite also was successful, in that fairly heavy rains followed shortly.

Thus, this ritual of rainmaking is concerned with a very critical communal problem, and enables the derwish to assume a momentary position of dominant importance in his community. An interesting deviation from the stated norm was also observed in this case: the young son of the village *Agha* was submerged alongside with the derwish[1]). This equivalence may be significant in several respects. From the point of view of the derwish, it indicates the considerable extent of his momentary prestige — from a normal status of laborer he is elevated to temporary equivalence with the heir apparent of the village *Agha*. It may also illustrate something in the Kurdish conception of power: there is no really clear distinction made between the

[1]) The fact that the son rather than the *Agha* himself was chosen is best understood in terms of the slightly ambivalent situation, and the rather undignified appearance of the actor following immersion.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

sacred powers of the derwish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma.

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THE FEAST

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The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnizes feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread.

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, [554] and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a *man*, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige.

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrance in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and resultant total status positions become systematized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

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Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast

561 religious festivals; though such transitions are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is then determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

1144 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons,
• [719] and the woman's fear of being barren: When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or onion-leaf beside his crib. This is so that the *shaoa*, a form of *djinn* or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaoa is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaoa is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion-leaf may be placed beside her.

553 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the *naming ceremony*. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

852 *Circumcision* of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, it may in fact still be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Suleimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village

18(Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

793 aghas. But on account of the veneration
J65 in which they are held they can usually
command influence in circumstances
where that of an agha has begun to wane.

793 One day when I was sitting under a
• 769 leafy bower on the roof of a well-known
shaikh's house a terrific squall of wind and
rain suddenly arose. For a moment it
seemed as if the thick tree-trunks which
formed the framework of the shelter would
be torn from their foundations. A shaikhly
relative, seeing the fear on the faces of his
guests, smiled benevolently, saying:

"Have not! I will place my hands upon
the tree, and lo, it will not fall."

Suiting the action to the word, he
leaned his weight against the tree, and
indeed it did remain standing.

For a moment the overwhelming reli-
gious tension in the atmosphere was such
that I could scarcely refrain from echoing
the murmurs of veneration which rose
from the lips of the men around. I could

[p. 893(B)]

10(Johnson G-2 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

Quite understand how men born and bred in this village under the eye of their shaikh could not but regard him as possessing superhuman powers.

In modern Iraq the power of the shaikhs and aghas has been curtailed. The villager still works under his agha as the owner of the land—the only one, in fact, who is competent to organize and supervise the work of the village; but the simplest villager now realizes that all the power of his agha or holiness of his shaikh will avail him little should he unwisely be persuaded to act contrary to the law.

Certain individual Iraqis who cannot claim tribal ancestry talk glibly of "breaking up the tribes" and "exterminating the aghas" as has been done in some other countries, but on the whole the Iraq government treats the matter with greater foresight and seeks mainly to 'break' those chiefs who use their influence against the government.

[p. 393(c)]

Quercus infectoria Olivier (Fagaceae)

مازو

Mäzü (Ind.); Affar (Turk.); Ajam-oush (Ar.); Mainphala (Hind.); galls, mazd, or Dead Sea apples.

Field 46A, 447; W.H.M.M. 150702.

These galls are excrescences on the twigs of oak trees, resulting from the deposition of eggs of *Cynips gallae-tinctoriae* Olivier. Oak galls are collected in Asiatic Turkey, as well as in the province of Aleppo, and are known commercially as "Aleppo," "Smyrna," or "Turkey" galls. They are nearly spherical in shape, and vary from 12 to 20 mm. in diameter, bluish green externally and yellowish within. They are hard and heavy, and bear short, bluntly pointed projections. The galls contain from 50 to 70 per cent of gallotannic acid, and consequently are used medicinally as a local astringent, to be dusted on wounds. They find an extensive application technically in dyeing and tanning.—In Kurdistan they are sometimes strung as beads and hung over the cradle to ward off the Evil Eye (H.F.).

Quercus lusitanica Lam. var. **taurica**la (Fagaceae)

Talluk (?) (Iraq); Buera galls.

Field 102, 120 (Iraq).

These galls are formed by *Cynips tinctoria* Mayr. on the above oak, and also on *Quercus infectoria*. They are much larger than Aleppo galls, dark brown, oval or subspherical, 4 by 3.5 cm., yellowish brown within, a channel leading to the cavity in the center. They are very astringent and rich in tannic acid.

Quercus persica Jaub. & Spach (Fagaceae)

بلوط

Balût (Turk.); Glans Quercus Ballotae (Ph. Pers.); acorns.

Field 191; W.H.M.M. 150924.

This is one of the most common species of oak throughout the forests of Kurdistan and the Rowandiz area. The acorns are oblong, 3.5 by 1.7 cm., light brown in color, glabrous, shining, and contain a single seed. Acorns have a styptic action because of the tannin they contain; they are used for colic pains in children, and as a gargle. —In Kurdistan acorns are sometimes eaten raw, but they are usually roasted and the flour made into cakes (H.F.).

Quercus sp. (Fagaceae)

Ginah mashi (Ham.); Kiss, Kess; spiny galls.

the door to the height he granted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad.

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, traded for flour and wages, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to carry among the women of Sheikh Tuffa's house (cf. supra). When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the outside hook of the oven, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice.

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Hilka[1], who says: "Les Kurdes disent beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("dibê"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial en persan .... on l'ouvre à l'improviste, on regarde la sentence qui s'y trouve la première et on consulte l'indicateur que porte en haut chaque page ("bêre" ou "ruel") ....". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1275). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book, opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sergelu, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[2]. We visited a saint's grave outside Balakija. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the danger-bring superstitious from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her menses (cf. p. 133) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a sag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall at the side of the grating. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not.

Saints' graves were found in a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Rewanduz near to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *mihrab*[3], was apparently a Sufi religious house[4]. The superstructures over the saints' graves inside were like houses and were hung with silken rugs[5]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[6] respectfully, and accepted some salt accepted together and handed her[7] by the monk who accompanied us. Over that part of the building, the architecture of which showed considerable Persian influence in the horseshoe arches, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was surmounted by a bowl with ornamented fingers.

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792 holy books from which they can tell of the past and the future.
557 They also sell good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc. Being residents of the larger towns, however, they only appear on the village scene as transients of rather low status.

Diagram No. 1. The scales and statuses of the religious field.

793 *The Mullah.* Whereas the position of a *Shaikh* depends upon his
559 rating on the scales of sanctity and sacred powers, the position of the mullah is related to the scale of sanctity, and to a scale of learning and piety. High rating on the scale of sanctity springs directly from the office, while the degree of learning and piety depends upon the individual's behavior, and is consequently variable.

793 The position as mullah is a true status position, since it defines a
795 place in an institutional hierarchy — that of the larger church
559 organization — but since it is related also to the scale of piety, the actual relative status ascribed to specific mullahs in their villages may vary considerably. Thus again, the lack of development of the concept of an *office* has its effect; any separation of the individual's official and private capacity is impossible, and no clear definition of the status of the mullah, as divorced from the individual achievements of a specific mullah, is possible. The very weak regional organization of the church is in part responsible for this — indeed, it is

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Persians belong, appears to have a greater charm for the Kûrdish mountaineers than the Semitic notion of an absolute and personal Allah, which is the dominant idea of the tenets held by the *Shiavi*, or "Orthodox" Osmanlis. The Dervish Orders, who constitute the mystics of Islam, are, consequently, extremely popular with the Kûrds, and the veneration of the women for the Sheikhs, or *pîrs*, as they are called, whether living or dead, exceeds, if possible, that entertained for them by the Turkish women. For, indifferent as the Kûrds may be to the dogmas of Islam, they, like all highlanders, are exceedingly superstitious, and firmly believe in all the occult and spiritual powers laid claim to by the Dervish Sheikhs.

The saint whom the Kûrds hold in the highest reverence is the deceased Sheikh, Khaled of Sulimaniah, whom they consider equal to Abdul Kadr of Ghilân,[1] if not to the Prophet Mohammed himself, and deem it profanation to speak of by any other title than that of *Hazreti Mevlâna*—"Our Lord the Prophet." This Kûrdish *pîr*, whose sayings his countrymen dignify by the name of *hâdîs*,[2] belonged to the Nakshibendî Dervishes, a "contemplative" Order famed for the deep mystic piety of its members, and which has produced many saints eminent in the Moslem world. To the tombs of dead, or the *tekkehs*[3] of living, Dervishes, the Kûrdish

[1] A famous dervish who lived in the twelfth century, and founded the Order of the Kadiris. Wonderful stories are told of the supernatural powers possessed by this Sheikh, some of which may be found in *The Dervishes*, by J. P. Brown.

[2] The name given by Moslems to the sayings or "table talk," of Mohammed.

[3] The monasteries and temples in which the Dervishes reside and hold their services.

story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short time, and the woman tore her garments and went into mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "God is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar rendition. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according to their status in this sense. The darwish, as a religious mendicant, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest status are initiated into the mysteries of the darwish orders. In Rowanduz one could find a darwish in a demeaned

793 522 [212]
[765]
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2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

beggar who, among other things, performed such feats as eating pebbles for alms in the <u>chaykhanas</u>, as well as in one of the best-educated men of the community. 792 735

Turning to the Rowanduz district, it is possible to illustrate and to amplify these general remarks. First, there is a landed, hereditary aristocracy of Kurds. As far as one can gather from the meager histories of the area, the Kurds had been ruled by independent or semi-independent chieftains for an unknown period until Ottoman and Iranian power was able to extend its rule over them. This control, usually superficial, was never solidified until after the first World War. As rulers, the Kurdish chieftains led their people in war, arbitrated their quarrels, and, to some extent, directed their economy. In return for these things, they laid claim to a certain share of annual produce, animals or harvest. In some cases the chieftainship appears to have had certain democratic aspects, the new ruler, characteristically, but not necessarily, the eldest son of the deceased, selected from a noble household by an assembly of the tribesmen. In others it was purely aristocratic. As has been seen above, chieftains are many times associated with tribes, that is to say, there is no tribe without such a leader, but otherwise they are feudal overlords. Often a chieftain can be both the head of a tribal group and the "owner" of non-tribal lands and villages. The tenure of property illustrates this. Sometimes the land and flocks are owned by the 565 174 622 619 [448] 565 622 619 423

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Some- 795
thing of the divisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows.

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no pur- 771
pose here to enter into an extended discussion of the 121
theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that 173
the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the 554
sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might 792
be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowandux district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of [292]
wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent

may be traced through either parent, and almost anyone, if genealogies were regularly kept by the commoners, could find some relative from whom the title might be claimed. The only sayyid in Rowanduz who made use of the green turban was a poor and elderly blacksmith, something of an extrovert, who also wore a beard to increase his appearance of saintliness. The chieftains, many of whom have the title, usually avoid these appearances, such as Sayyid Ahmad of Batas who dressed in the same fashion as the other aristocrats. Whether these pedigrees are genuine or bogus is impossible to say, for the Arab penetration of Kurdistan has gone on for many centuries, but one may suspect that, insofar as the title accords a little social distinction, many of these claims, at some point, are as valid as those of some pretentious Englishman who finds ancestors for himself who landed with the Conqueror or an American who discovers forebears on the Mayflower.

The religious phraseology of the townspeople is in the Arabic language. All of their prayers, pious utterances, and, indeed, their expletives are in Arabic, while everyday speech is Kurdish. Prayer will be dealt with below. The most common expletive, heard constantly in the conversation of the day, is simply Ullah, "God." It can be used in a variety of contexts, some of them pious and many quite otherwise. The tired merchant stretching himself on his cushions or bed may utter a long-drawn out Ullah, and the same is applied to a welcome glass of tea, a lovely woman, or the like. It should not be supposed, of course,

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla 874
who already has a position, and, when judged to have 793
shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the
mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad,
Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque
of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can
ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter
may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an
exchange of information of this type between the religious
leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists
in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and
committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory.
These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual
gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able 793
to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise
which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, [537]
is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice [538]
rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of
it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the
imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery
can elicit the strongest emotional response in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks [565]
of the commoners, and no one in Rowandus could think of a
case in which a member of the aristocracy had embraced such
a career. A pious chieftain, as his age and reputation for 792
sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh (Arabic, "old 756
man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skull-cap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic mu'adhdhin, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowanduz this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the night a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come. 773 776

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. [735] Housewives make a sweet called Helaywat Khidir Elyas [262] which is exchanged between households at this time. The [431] exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting [183] custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all. 785 782

With the Sayran and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of [778] 792

these graves become shrines in time, and the object of pilgrimage from nearby villages. The typical indication of a shrine is either a low, quadrilateral, rubble wall about the grave or a cairn of stones. Those who visit the shrine with some purpose characteristically tie a piece of white rag on the end of a pole and lean the pole against the inner surface of the wall. Some shrines have bundles of these crude banners standing in them. The meaning of the rag is variable. In some cases the visitor will return and reclaim it, incorporating it in a charm, while in others it is simply the sign of a vow that the suppliant, if the shaykh buried there will bring about the desired favor, will sacrifice so many animals or give so much money to the poor. The most auspicious days, it might be noted, to visit a shrine are Wednesdays and Thursdays. The six most noted shrines near the town of Rowanduz are as follows:

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1. Shaykh Piri Mawili near the village of Kani Kah. Shaykh Piri Mawili is said to have lived about two hundred years ago, "in the time of Kor Pasha."
2. Shaykh Sa'idi Qelikarak near the village of Karak. The shrine is said to be very old, dating perhaps from the time of the Islamic conquest.
3. Shaykh Saran in the village of Saran itself. Shaykh Saran is said to have died about fifty years ago.
4. Shaykh Usu Shaykhan on the road to Kawlok. "No one knows how old it is, but it is very ancient."
5. Shaykh Muhammad or Shaykh Malik, the second most famous shrine in the district, at Majji Saran.
6. Shwani Shaykh Muhammad or Shwani Mala, "The Shepherd of Shaykh Muhammad," near the shrine of

Shaykh Muhammad at Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shepherd used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammad each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammad wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shepherd fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faroff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammad learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shepherd's grave before his own. A merchant in Rowandus, one 'Abd al-Sattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine. 778 792 [773] [755]

Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been denuded of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowandus were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or men who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power in the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed <u>beraka</u> 778 824 [137] 778

the evil eye, but have other purposes. The bodyguard of a chieftain might carry one which protects him from gunfire, and a great number are used to cure bodily ills. One of the mullas makes a practice of writing charms of this type. Such pieces of paper are usually soaked in water and the liquid is then imbibed. Recently a poor woman with some complaint visited the medical officer and the latter wrote her a prescription which could have been filled in Erbil. Under the impression that the medical officer, who neglected to explain the matter to her, operated like the mulla, the woman took the piece of paper to her home, mixed it with water, and drank it off. It might be mentioned that she was cured, and, the doctor said, reappeared the next day to request an identical piece of paper as insurance against the illness in the future. There are many amateur practitioners of white magic in the town, darvishes, midwives, and others, some of whom demand fees and others not. The barber, Hajji Mustafa, has one panacea for all ills. He ties a piece of string about the patient's wrist and "prays" over it. The investigator was furnished with some almost classical rationalizations, of illnesses, for example, "if a man is bitten by a mad dog, he will be cured when the dog is killed."

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The darvish (from a Persian word meaning "poor" and adopted into Arabic in this sense) occupies a position of considerable importance in everyday life. It is unnecessary here to discuss the origins and the character of the darvish

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movement as it evolved in the Medieval Islamic world, a development which corresponds to the rise of monasticism in the Christian states of Europe. Men were attracted to it for a variety of motives, some great in wealth or learning who dabbled in its esoteric lore, others sincerely devoted to the service of their faith and mankind, clever charlatans who lived off the bounty of the gullible, mystics, revolutionaries, and a host of others. In short, it offered many things to many persons. There are two darwish disciplines in Kurdish Iraq, the Qadiriya order (founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani who died in 1166 and whose tomb in Baghdad is the foremost Sunnite shrine in Iraq) and the Naqshbandiya order (originally begun in Central Asia in the fourteenth century). To illustrate the contrasting types of darwish, it might first be noted that the chief mulla of Rowandus, 'Abd al-Karim Affendi, is a member of the Naqshbandiya order. Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Affendi, in the judgment of the townspeople and the government elite, is an intelligent, realistic person whose interest seems to be purely intellectual. On the other hand, the most extravagant egotist in the lower ranks of the townspeople, Hajji Mustafa the barber, is a member of the Qadiriya order, and the reader will be able to appreciate something of his motives below.

In a district like that of Rowandus, men can ascend in society only by dint of considerable personal ability along certain lines. It has been noticed how youths,

impatient with normal routine and anxious of prestige, attach themselves to the chieftains as gholag or body-guards. It follows, in addition, that among the commoners there are a number of men whose attainments have brought them little as far as wealth and social standing are concerned. With such dissatisfied persons are others, the usual aberrant members of any community whose eccentricities have been adjudged harmless to others. Such as these are absorbed into the darvish movement, because, on the one hand, it offers social status of an extraordinary sort and, on the other, a channelled expression for personal peculiarities which might otherwise prove dangerous. It would be unwise to typify a darvish of the lower classes without first having dealt with the individual in question, for he might prove to be a hard-working craftsman in one case and a person mentally deficient in another. To become a darvish is almost identical to joining an American fraternity or lodge. One is initiated into its "secrets" by the older members, and becomes a party to its exclusiveness. Like the lodge member, the darvish believes himself to be set apart from the mass of men by virtue of the superior knowledge with which he has been invested. The secret of almost all darvish orders is the same, although differently phrased, a personal relationship to God which bypasses the usual conventions of the faith. This relationship, when translated into the combination of song and dance, can produce that form

of hypnosis conventionally described as religious ecstasy. 792 761 [158]
A Rowanduz guide said that one day he had encountered Hajji Mustafa and twenty or thirty of his fellows marching along a lonely road, beating tambourines and singing, in a state of complete frenzy. "I am a good friend of Hajji Mustafa," the Rowanduz said, "and have known him for years, but he did not seem to see me." Hajji Mustafa was present at this conversation, and confirmed his detachment with no little pride.

The darvishes can be organized into regular groups, 792
for example, there are some villages in which the entire adult male population belong to an order, or can operate alone. One individual pointed out as a darvish visited Rowanduz from time to time dressed in a ragged brown cassock bound at the waist with a piece of rope and obtained money from amused patrons in the tea-shops by swallowing large pebbles. The sums thus realized he spent on food and drink. This person was generally considered demented, and was occasionally looked up by the police for his outbursts. [312]
The chief exhibition of their power 792
by most darvishes, however, is snake-shewing. The de- 789
tection and handling of poisonous reptiles is considered the best evidence of a darvish's supernatural abilities and is subject to loud display. It is commonplace in Rowanduz to see some darvish, back from a snake-hunt, wandering among the guests in a tea-shop with a squirming specimen clutched in each hand. These snake-shewers [158]
often seem to be in a trance-like state, their eyes

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give onlookers lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultous meetings, the darvishes commonly practise white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The darvishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the mullas. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some darvishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's darvish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the darvish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shahnama (Arabic, "Book") of 'Abd

al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public. 792 212

To illustrate further the character of the dervish, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rowanduz. The story was recorded in the garden of Shakir Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iran disguised as a Jew, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology. 159 792 [124]

> My real name is Mustafa Aziz, but my name as a dervish is Khalifa Hajji Mustafa Rowanduzi. I am now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rowanduz who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is Aziz who helps in my shop and the other is an infant. [551] [587]
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> I was born in Rowanduz and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Aziz Hasan 'Usman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the school-boys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualities. The parents of the children who had [857]

been hurt went to the Turkish police, and I was taken to the serai. The policeman was a Turk named 'Ali Rizai. He asked me what I was doing and what this "army" was. He swore that if I told the truth he would not hurt me. I explained that my army was only a game. He asked to see how this army operated, so I gathered the children before the serai. We stood in straight lines with our wooden rifles and swords. When 'Ali Rizai saw this drill, he was amazed and let me go free. 157 772

By this time I was becoming a man, and was perhaps fifteen years of age. I went to a barber in the town and told him I wanted to learn the trade. He was afraid of me, however, because I always joked with him, telling him that I was going to hit the policeman, and I was forced to leave. Then another Turkish pasha, Shakir, came with several hundred soldiers. I took service with him, becoming a postman and a spy for the Turks. I used to carry the mail to Lake Van, a long journey on foot during which I was shot at many times. I also accompanied caravans to Azerbaijan as a muleteer. With one such caravan there was a Jew. One day he took me aside, and asked me to disguise myself as a Jew so that we could collect money from the Jewish community in Iran. To do this I shaved my head, leaving only a lock over one ear, and took the name Isaac Brunet Mishe. When we arrived at our destination in Azerbaijan, we went to the synagogue. The Jew kissed the rabbi's hand and spoke with him in Hebrew. He told him that I had threatened to become a Muslim. The rabbi came to me and said, "Isaac, my son, why do you want to become a Muslim?" "I have no money and none of the Jews help me," I said, "I must support my two sisters." The Jews collected fifty tumans and gave it to me. They also brought meat and drink to the synagogue for a banquet. While they were dining, I asked to use the latrine. I locked the latrine door on the inside and jumped from the window. Then I walked around in front of the building where the rabbi and the other Jews were sitting inside next to a big window. I shouted up to them, "Do you think I am a Jew? There is no God but God, and Muhammed is the Apostle of God!" Then I walked away, laughing because they dared not touch a Muslim. When they heard this they started beating the first Jew, the one who had asked me to disguise myself and had introduced me, the one who had hoped to gain half of the fifty tumans. Soon the Cossacks arrived and they asked this man why he was being beaten. He said, "I am only a poor Jew of Rowandus who came here to buy goods, and these people have damaged my money. [205]

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." [59]
"How much did they take?" the Cossack officer asked. [192]
"Fifty tomans," he answered, and the officers ordered the chief Kurd to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowanduz, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Anis. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Anis asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a [705]
seat and filled it with coloured soap. I went through the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my soap on the face of the sick man, smiling from the [727]
turn. I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named Hajji Hamma in Shaqlawa. There was a Major Hay in the district who spoke English, and, when he heard from Hajji Hamma what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowanduz. He gave me the job of giving food to 300 families of Rowanduz I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [469]
of the Kurds revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowanduz, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an [43]
Armenian merchant named Jagmur, and he entrusted me [59]
with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages [72]
around Rowanduz. When I returned, I found I had 500 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmur, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmur, always profitable, but I found travelling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowanduz to sell groceries. When

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth.

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Ahmad Effendi Jaf. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Usually effendi have names of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I sought Sayyid Ahmad and pulled his beard a narrow street. "Now I am mukhtar of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ahmad Effendi was given the post again.

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the District, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz had never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Asis any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five qiranis, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 qiranis from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post.

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a darwish and a shaikh (arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I was cure illnesses by my own methods. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers.

Sayyid Hemasi, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hemasi was not directly concerned in the feud between Mir Jamil Agha and Jamil Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hemasi for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hemasi was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, soldier, minister, owner of a tea-shop,

postman, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy. 159
Illustrates the personality of many of the dervishes, as well [163]
as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rawandus area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the dervish movement which offered the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with [772] •
other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [305]
he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the town, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tastily supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, [772]
the townspeople are fond of Haji Mustafa, who adds colour and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded 771
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 789
drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

Bakkomori, and is called AAKAK. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.750 m. Used between the links is a silver hanging bowl. It is this hanging bowl that Kanda said AAKAK from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[1]. From the chain hang two silver bells[2], two triangular amulet cases of silver[3], two small silver watering cans[4], and two small pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[5].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2298) is known as Adrenkor, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a grayish-white, spherical, agate bead[6] has been inserted to avert evil[7]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet worn up to heaven, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called Adhedaka, length 1.40 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Dandakkor[8] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of stone again[9] and an amulet worn into a piece of bronzite.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are bangle ornaments intended for fastening to the carbon among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294-2295) known as gal amulets of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.030 m., fingertold or suppose the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of bronze silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by lesser craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (blue), their shape (small shells), their material (bells), or their material (carnelian, stone again or amyl).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself in piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[10] like bronzite, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[11] package. It is worn by the women herself. This capsule can hang on a necklace worn by women[12]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075 × 0.05 × 0.015 and 0.06 × 0.05 × 0.05 m., respectively). The capsule can be worn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Each small pouches of material were worn to Kurdistan hang up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[13] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[14] were hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as Alla, is 0.002 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[15]. The practice for these concealed amulets are either made at home, where it is a matter of practice made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant mullahs (cf. p. 160). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aforesaid village Ashur. Two itinerant mullahs, recognizable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Tegawra. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "wanderers of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kaide by Barth, who notes that

[THIS CONTINUES TOP OF P. 158 -- ANALYST]

1992 554 323 463 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[1]. None of the grown-up men of the house was home at the time. The sayyids were not received in the guest room of the house in accordance with their status as strangers of a certain rank, that an exceptional exception could be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard, and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather reluctantly, a dust had been spread upon—members in return for flour and sugar emptied into the beggars' bags that the sayyids carried over their shoulders. These persons appeared to rank with the shaikh's servants. No refreshment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

1992 789 463 The amulets were made whilst we watched. The one sayyid placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the wall by the side of the ink bottle. He then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn oval lines, forming rectangular panels. These were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to distinguish this from the distance away I had to stand. On another piece of paper he took out was drawn a round. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes. These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded into a triangular packet, the bottom corner being bent diagonally, and the paper was then folded together.

306 789 The needles were picked up from the wall, broken in the middle, and stuck into the triangular paper packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular packet but without any bent corners. When the amulets were handed over to the women they were laid in a little box in which already lay other amulets not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to view the amulets whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

Later talks of the Arabs in Egypt with "written charms .... consisting of certain passages of the Kur'an and names of God"[2], in far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was forced to keep, the amulets, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That kept in enclosed in amulets, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[3]. It did not appear that these amulets were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known from Afghanistan (E. 2193), and, referring to a Kurdish book of prophecies, Nikitine[4] reports that "... le même livre donne des spécimens pour les talismans utilisables dans tous les cas imaginables....".

1989 *Holy land.* Fellberg[5] refers to the Lors having a rod with a small carved wooden head at the top. One was carried in the wedding of an old man who allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the row again, and then the other. A large wooden head, wrapped round with a flowering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round in the village of Tepasera by one of the other four sayyids who were "working" the place at the same time. This man also tried later to visit the shaikh's house, but got no further than the steps up to the façade of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to clean. As he returned

534 [591] 293 562

Sura 24, verses 30-31

of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendations contained in Sura 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the house in order that they shall be recognized as honest women. Sura 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allāh* is aware of what they do). And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allāh* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[1].

293 [591] 562 191

It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Muhammad[2], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to harlotry, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Suras of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a monk's habit. Unknown and unrecognizable, she in that dress represented something forbidden and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[3] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still were, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil .... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand .... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ....".

[718]

562 293 565 484

One-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but in very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. 70). They then were worn from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The name applied to women of the hostile village milieu, "Many times in the city of Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats tend to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small tenant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
tenant farmers (incl. one mullah)	29	123
laborers	1	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Derwish, *Sheikh*, *Seyyid*, Mullah, and *Hadji*.

Derwishes. The derwish religious fraternities illustrate, in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem ideals of scholarly sanctity, of meekness towards God, and the importance of good acts — ideals to which indeed all Kurds pay lipservice, and which certainly also have some influence upon Kurdish thinking and action. Where a world religion of foreign ethnic origin has been adopted, such discrepancies between the «ethos» of the religion and of the local culture would seem to be unavoidable, especially in the case of a religion so specifically concerned with social conditions and legislation as Islam. Certainly, the Kurdish villager attempts to the best of his ability to follow Islam, and these discrepancies are largely unexpressed and unrealized. Only among the more sophisticated tradesmen of the towns can one hear in part quite explicit statements such as: «Islam is a desert religion, belonging to the Arabs, and does not suit us Kurds of the mountains.»

It is in the local trend of interpretation of a world religion, in the aspects of the religion that are over-stressed, that local sentiments exert their pressure. The main expression of un-orthodox religiosity among Kurdish villagers is found in the development of the dervish sects or religious brotherhoods, widely spread in the rural districts, and generally characteristic of the less privileged sections of the population.

Such dervish brotherhoods are probably found in all Moslem countries, but seem to vary greatly in content between different ethnic groups. Everywhere, however, their basic dogmatic position in relation to the orthodox church of Islam is the same, and apparently reflects a need among the less educated classes. Islam, as propounded in the Mosque, is a formal, coldly intellectualized doctrine of the complete separation of God and Man, of God's supreme wisdom and power and Man's knowledge of it only through the Koran, accompanied by a scholarly legal and ritualistic interpretation of this basic text. Fundamental is the complete separate nature of God and Man, and man's inability to bridge this gap. The whole heterodox gamut from Sufi mystics to essentially shamanistic spirit-medium cults represent attempts at direct communication with God — at bridging this very un-bridgeable gap. The Kurdish dervish sects occupy a position towards the shamanistic pole of this continuum. Awareness of, or communication with God, is obtained by

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

rhythmic incantations, drumming and rhythmic movements of the body, and self mortification; weeping and seizures are frequent.

In the following short description of some aspects of these Kurdish derwish brotherhoods, I shall attempt to illustrate the great value attached to *power*, and how this invades even the religious field in the face of the basicly fatalistic doctrines of Islam. The derwish brotherhoods constitute hierarchies in which the attainment of power, though of a very special kind, is regarded as one of the ultimate goals. At present, however, recruitment to the brotherhoods seems to be essentially from the most underprivileged class, people with minimal power and prestige in the social system. The derwish brotherhoods would thus seem to be a type of «religion of the disinherited», in which a substitute for social power is offered. Rather than being of direct relevance to the power distribution in the Kurdish village and countryside, the following should show the relevance of a concept of *power* in all fields of Kurdish culture, and constitute a justification for regarding power distribution as an essential and subjectively highly valued aspect of all Kurdish institutions.

The derwish brotherhoods are basicly associations of lay persons with religious inclinations, led by a holy man, a *Sheikh* (descendant of the Prophet). Most of the members are ordinary farmers who by a simple statement of purpose become members of the group, and thereby benefit from the holy powers vested in the *Sheikh*. Obviously, the greater the holy powers of the *Sheikh*, the more his derwish followers will benefit; and Leaders of Derwish of great repute are sought out by potential derwishes from a large neighboring area, and at times by people from very distant places.

A naive and direct statement of the fundamental idea and practice follows, being essentially a word-by-word translation of an explanation given by an ordinary village derwish, of no great standing or mystic reputation:

«There is a great man, a *Sheikh*, descendant of the Prophet. All descendants of Mohammed have some extra, religious power; this *Sheikh* has very much. Being close to that *Sheikh*, and doing as he wishes, makes a man near to God, makes his soul clearer.

[Hassan] decided to become a derwish, so as to be nearer to God.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

• 712 In the next life, Mohammed will pray for all derwishes, ask God to give them pardon. To become a derwish you must renounce all the faults and evil thoughts and acts of men, and always be good. Anyone can become a derwish — young, old, man, woman. So he went to the great Sheikh Kader. And the *Sheikh* advised him to be good, always; he told him to protect Islam, follow all the ethical rules, etc. He stayed only five minutes the first time — the *Sheikh* only takes your hand in his, tells you all the rules of derwish, and blesses you. Then afterwards, you pay him regular visits, as often as you wish — once a month, or every two months, or even once a year. Sometimes you give gifts to the *Sheikh*, though you don't ever have to.»

There thus seem to be no elaborate, much less mystic, rites of initiation to membership, as reported from e. g. the Persian area. The only visible sign of derwish-hood among men (who in fact form the great majority of followers) is letting your hair grow long — though there are, incidentally, no special taboos or precautions connected with cutting it.

The explicit logic and ethical position of the group, and the motivation for persons to join it, thus seem quite simple. Between the various derwish groups there is little room for conflict, since their differences are not dogmatic, but merely a question of the efficacy and greatness of the holy powers of one holy man as compared to an other. Similarly, except for the fundamental approach, which would rarely be questioned by the uneducated villager, there is no dogmatic conflict with the official church — the same ethical and ritual rules are propounded by the Derwish Leader and the mullah, and any further admonishments and elaborations introduced by the one merely serve to support this fundamental body of ritual. The more heterodox interpretations attached to this common body of ritual are generally overlooked by the mullah as lying largely outside his domain.

712 599 112 But it would be overlooking a very important aspect of the derwish organization if these statements were taken at their face values, and it were seen merely as a more emotional and personal interpretation of Islamic doctrine; as being a religion of the disinherited

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

in the same way as are numerous of the smaller sects of the Christian church. On the contrary, the theme of *power* is stressed and elaborated, corresponding to its importance in the Kurdish value system, and the more conventional religious possibilities largely played down. Great religious fervor is generally lacking among the villagers, even among dervishes. Fraser (no date), an early traveller in the area, notes with disappointment the lack of superstitious, fear of ghosts, etc. among his Kurdish friends. In accord with this, the point that is stressed is not contemplative or mystic, but might be said to be the aspects of potential power resulting from closeness to God, with great interest in the *overt signs* of this potential, overt power. It seems to satisfy the subjective needs of the underprivileged group, not by being an escapist religion of the next life, but by offering its adherents a present substitute for the highly valued political and economic powers they can not attain. To demonstrate the efficacy of the great powers they control, the dervishes rely on certain signs, the most important being their ability to do weird and amazing things, generally feats of the type one associates with Indian fakirs.

The pattern of the delegation of this power illustrates something of its nature. It all centers in the *Sheikh*, in the present example Sheikh Abdul Karim. He belongs to the same family as Sheikh Mahmud, and traces descent as well as the origins of his powers through the revered Kaka Hamma, from whom also Sheikh Mahmud has received his sacred powers. The immediate predecessor of Sheikh Abdul Karim was his father, Sheikh Kader — a man of considerable influence and intellect (he accompanied Sheikh Said on their so successful visit to the Sultan, cf. p. 42). Succession to the position as Leader of Derwish is by appointment by the *Sheikh himself*. No rule of primogeniture is observed (Sheikh Abdul Karim is the second of three brothers), the person showing the greatest ability is chosen. This need not be a son, though it usually is — naturally, it must be within the family, since descent from the Prophet is essential.

There seems to be an unresolved problem here, in that the sacred powers are part of the «biological» inheritance of the descendants of the Prophet, yet vary in strength between different lineages of them. And these lineages may increase or decline in power over a

• 772 period of time. The *Shaikh* may delegate power in his lifetime, but can not transfer it *en bloc* to his appointed successor. The relative powers of derwish leaders are evaluated, in part by the past exploits of their lineage, in part by their actual ability to demonstrate their sacred powers by «miracles» of standardized types.

The sacred powers, or «unseen power from Good forces», may be delegated to individuals for longer or shorter periods of time, so these can bless and initiate novices. Such intermediaries are often members of minor *shaikh* lineages and have some reputation and powers of their own. More important from the individual derwish's point of view however is the power of the *Shaikh* to bless his followers with the ability to perform certain feats, readily demonstrated to me, such as eating burning charcoal, extinguishing burning torches in their mouth, swallowing poisonous snakes, perforating the cheeks with pins, the abdomen with knives and spears, all without harm to the performer. According to rumor, these are only the more conservative of their activities, sessions with flying heads and strange incarnations being well within the ability of some derwishes. Characteristic of nearly all these special abilities is that they are non-instrumental, they are not directed towards any practical ends.

According to explanatory statements, the mechanics of this delegation of power is extremely simple. The faithful derwish who has shown his moral virtue and seriousness of purpose for some time by faithfully observing all the rules of derwish, may if he so wishes go to his *Shaikh* and ask to be given a specific skill or power, such as would enable him to eat burning charcoal, or perforate his abdomen without pain or harm. If the *Shaikh* deems this wise, he simply lays his hands on the derwish's head and blesses him, telling him that from now on he has that specific power. No period of training is necessary — the power has been delegated to him, and he may use this overt sign as a sign of the power vested in the *Shaikh* and his followers. — I was not able to ascertain whether specific powers actually follow family lines among derwishes, or in fact tend to be delegated after a period of residence with the Shaikh. Obviously, the above statement can be regarded only as the «party line» on the subject.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

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The situations in which most demonstrations of these special powers take place are quite significant. There is rarely any attempt on the part of the dervish to show his control over mystic forces with his own fellow villagers as an audience (though one such case was observed, following derogatory remarks to the dervish in question). Usually, the feats are performed for a group of fellow dervishes, preferably during the celebration of Moslem festivals in the village of the Shaikh, when several hundred visitors, some non-dervish as well as dervish, may assemble there. Only a quite small group was observed in action, but in this case at least there was a lack of staging and dramatic build up, a naive directness in the performance, a considerable un-rehearsed critical evaluation of each performer by his colleagues, all of which incidentally contrasted sharply with the usual tone of the performance of a western stage hypnotist or «fakir». Any gross type of hoax would be out of the question, and in fact quite pointless, since the audience generally consists of fellow dervishes. The performance seems largely given for the satisfaction of the performer himself. The personal triumph was repeatedly expressed in the question: «Does your religion give you powers like these?».

The nature of controls within the dervish brotherhood is quite informal. There is vagueness as to what would happen if a person misuses these delegated powers. Dervishes, being good, simple people simply would not misuse them — in case this did happen, the *Shaikh* would revoke the powers, and other dervishes might give the culprit a thorough beating. What types of pressures and counterpressures might be brought to bear on individuals higher in the hierarchy — since *Shaikhs* with a somewhat independent reputation — *is difficult* to say.

The *Shaikh* himself is today in a difficult position, and the extent of his actual powers difficult to evaluate. His followers being found almost wholly among the uneducated rural people, he is regarded by most persons in the landowning and educated class as a cynical opportunist, who traffics in poor peoples' ignorance. His mode of life being moderately austere, and his wealth considerably less than that of many of his critics, this does not sound altogether probable.

• 792. 554 The father of the present *Shaikh* is said to have used his influence with considerable effect — certainly, a very exhalted status is associated with the position as Leder of Derwish, as far as the village population is concerned.

The individual derwish, on he other hand, has no recognized or defined status. The relative poisne of the derwish in the village community will be discussed mre fully below, when it can be related to the other hierarchies of organization. Being largely recruited from the most underpeivileged section of the population, membership in the derwish group is often regarded as a badge of the lowest class. In face-to-face relations they re, on the other hand, afforded a certain respect, springing from an undeniable awe or fear of their strange powers.[1])

[711] Where the service of a murish is unobtainable, the local derwish tends to function in his plac, by virtue of his assumed greater knowledge of religious ritual. Thus a derwish who is generally accepted as being knowledgable, my attain some status, but that primarily by virtue of his knowledge, and not qua derwish. Thus, the power obtainable through membership in the derwish brotherhood is mainly of a subjective and substitue kind. Their special powers are of a symbolic and expressive, nt of an instrumental type. Strikingly, these special powers and strage feats are exhibited mainly in rarely exclusive derwish meetings, nd are rarely directed outward, toward village spectators — thoughmcrery, on the other hand, is made no point of, and any one whowishes to be present may attend most

[1]) Something of the position o the derwish may more clearly be illustrated by a summary characterization of thderwishes with whom I came most into contact (not including those residing in th home village of the Leader of Derwish):

a) Slightly eccentric, with considerable temper. Officiated as occasional funerals etc. Reasonable. Reputed ge healer in performing charms and abstinence with sick.

b) Rather inconsequential. Secretive, a sheep when he watch (unique in the village) started showing discrepancy with the tes — was ridiculed for this by fellow villagers.

c) and d) Quiet, ordinary with in appearance. Accused of scheming against Honoured landlords.

e) Unintelligent brother of village headman. No special accomplishments.

f) Ordinary farmer. No special accomplishments.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 9A11 Kurd 9A11

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meetings. We are left with a religious brotherhood, vested with mystic powers, but where membership is regarded as a badge of low social status. The various overt signs of these mystic powers are not systematically manipulated in front of an uninitiated audience, to enhance the position of the performer; nor is the brotherhood developed into a secret society, the secrecy and exclusiveness of which might give status. The interpretation followed here, that membership in the brotherhood offers subjective satisfaction, giving the underprivileged person a field in which he feels that he too can manipulate and control power, seems the only constructive alternative.

Sheikhs and Seyyids. The category of persons called Sheikhs and Seyyids are, as the dervishes, in a somewhat ambiguous position, but they may, as we have seen in the case of Sheikh Mahmud, make use of their position to great advantage in the political field. Essentially, a Sheikh is in Kurdish a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, reckoned patrilineally from Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, and corresponding to the Arabic Seyyid. The general position of esteem in which such persons are held is indicated by the term itself, Sheikh in Kurdish being borrowed from the Arabic, where it is a political title for tribal chief or elder; Seyyid in the Arabic of pre-Islamic times having the similar meaning of elder. Actually, both the terms Sheikh and Seyyid are used today in Kurdish to indicate descent from the Prophet — a distinction between the two will be made later; the present discussion will concern the Sheikhs, who in Southern Kurdistan are by far the larger and more important of the two groups.

By virtue of their descent from the Prophet, Sheikhs rate high on a religious scale of sanctity, and it is believed that they embody a variable degree of common good power. This vague sanctity is however divorced from implications of greater piety; no significantly greater morality seems to be expected of the Sheikhs, and membership in the descent group does not automatically affect the social position of an individual.

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To clarify the position of the Sheikh group, its distribution and internal structure should be examined. Logically enough, Sheikhs are not found among members of tribes (*ilwar*), since tribal groups commonly patrilineal maximal lineages, and no member of the *ilwar*

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1955 NA11 Kurd NA11

can trace patrilineal descent from Ali unless the *whole tira* claims such descent. None of the South Kurdish *tira* attempt this, however. Sheikhs are consequently characteristic of the non-tribal areas, where they occupy the whole gamut of social positions from landless laborer to feudal lord.

In characteristic Kurdish fashion, Sheikh families tend to split up into small endogamous lineage segments, and, though the census materials gathered from a few villages is not statistically reliable in the matter, there is strong suggestion that FaBeDa or other close kin marriage reaches considerably higher frequency than usual in tenant villages, and approaches that found in the politically organized lineages, the *tira*. However, any elaborate organization uniting the whole Sheikh descent group, or major segments of it, such as would in fact convert it into a type of widely dispersed *tira*, is lacking. It would on the other hand be equally misleading to think of the Sheikh group as an endogamous caste, since extra-group marriages do in fact take place, and the emphasis is not on Sheikh endogamy but, in usual Kurdish fashion, on *local lineage* endogamy. It is convenient to think more in terms of these local endogamous Sheikh lineages, where they are found in the village community, and relate their comparatively higher endogamy to an effort to retain a special status in the *local* community by not dispersing kinship obligations too widely in that community. Where Sheikh families occupy higher social positions, this stress on lineage endogamy tends to disappear, or seems to reflect efforts to prevent the dispersal of family property through the multiple Koranic inheritance rights.

An example of a Sheikh lineage group of tenant farmers, residing in a small village community, might be given. Of 11 households in the village, 7 are of the Sheikh lineage, the remaining 24 belonging to various larger and smaller kin groups. Of the heads of these 7 Sheikh households, 4 have married a FaBeDa, 1 another close relative, and only 1 a non-relative from outside the community (the sister of a neighboring headman). At least in this generation, there is thus no intermarriage with other families in the local community.

The head of the Sheikh lineage is regarded as the most important man in the village, but he is not elected *kekhe* (village headman).

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 WAll Kurd WAll

The present Aziz, whose father and grandfather held the post before him, belongs to another, slightly larger kin block, counting at least 9 households. Furthermore, the frequency of family endogamy in this family of which the Aziz is the head is less than 10 %, which may account for his weaker appeal in the community. Thus the emphasis on the special status of the Sheikh lineage also tends to isolate this lineage, in part to their disadvantage.

The majority of the Sheikhs in the village are tenant farmers, and tend to be among the better situated. One occupies the position as mullah, to which his son will closely succeed him. However, one of the Sheikh households heads is a landless laborer, giving a class distribution in the Sheikh lineage of 1 farmers / 1 laborer, as compared to 14 farmers / 4 laborers in the remainder of the community. The class position of the Sheikh lineage as a whole is thus not significantly high.

The status of this small Sheikh lineage might be contrasted to that of the above mentioned Leaders of Darwish, or to that of Sheikh Mahmoud, both of whom have achieved their high position in part by virtue of their descent from the Prophet. The most reasonable generalization seems to be that membership in the Sheikh descent group defines a type of position in the religious field which contributes to the general esteem in which a person is held, and which may, in certain situations, contribute to justify a high position of actual power, but which in no way automatically ascribes such power to the individual.

A category of travelling holy men, similarly claiming descent from Mohammed, are given the Arabic name Seyyid by Kurdish villagers. Whereas the Kurdish Sheikhs claim descent specifically from Hussein, one of Mohammed's two grandsons, through a medieval Persian theologian, the claims of the wandering Seyyids are more variable. On the other hand, this reference to religious sanctity forms the basis of their livelihood. The spiritual Sheikh need only imply high rating on a purely religious scale of sanctity — Seyyids convert this into a definite status position, fundamental to their occupation. Profitably conspicuously clothed, and wearing green head-dress as a symbol of their status, they ride from village to village carrying old

• 792 lady books from which they can tell of the past and the future.
537 They also sell good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc. Being residents of the larger towns, however, they only appear on the village scene as transients of rather low status.

Diagram No. 6. The scales and sectors of the religious field.

793 *The Mullah.* Whereas the position of a khalifa depends upon his
539 rating on the scales of sanctity and sacred powers, the position of the mullah is related to the scale of sanctity, and to a scale of learning and piety. High rating on the scale of sanctity springs directly from the office, while the degree of learning and piety depends upon the individual's behavior, and is consequently variable.

793 The position as mullah is a true status position, since it defines a
795 place in an institutional hierarchy — that of the larger church
539 organization — but since it is related also to the scale of piety, the actual relative status ascribed to specific mullahs in their villages may vary considerably. Thus again, the lack of development of the concept of an *office* has its effects; any separation of the individual's official and private capacity is impossible, and no clear definition of the status of the mullah, as divorced from the individual achievements of a specific mullah, is possible. The very weak regional organization of the church is in part responsible for this — indeed, it is

[illegible] G-3 (no date) 1948 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

175 in the Persian plains, lost through contact
178 with the outside world. By the time recorded history begins, Kurds and Persians were already recognised as distinct peoples, the former being known as Medes.

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Some 600 years before the birth of Christ and 1200 before the spread of Islam, a Kurdish prophet, Zerdusht (Zoroaster), grew up among the mountains of the Azerbaijan district near the Caspian Sea. The gospel that he preached, in its primitive and simple form, is to a greater extent the basis of Christianity and Islam than the adherents of those world religions usually admit. The Kurd of today, however, knows nothing of this. He is nominally a Mohammedan, and has even on occasions been stirred by the call of "Jihad"—the holy war—in the name of Islam. But beneath the surface there lurk some curious remnants of Zoroastrian tradition.

[A 383 (e)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
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square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful agha, whose armed retainers guarded the *mukis* (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannize the village. In return for this the agha exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An agha used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from less powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghas and the *mukis*, but the aghas are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *seyyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not contented themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p 392 (e)]

Hitchcock G-3 (no date) 1941 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 793 ogbas. But on account of the veneration
.65 in which they are held they can usually
command influence in circumstances
where that of an agha has begun to wane.

794 One day when I was sitting under a
119 leafy bower on the roof of a well-known
sheikh's house a terrific squall of wind and
rain suddenly arose. For a moment it
seemed as if the thick tree-trunks which
formed the framework of the shelter would
be torn from their foundations. A sheikhly
relative, seeing the fear on the faces of his
work, smiled benevolently, saying:

"Hasid aur! I will place my hands upon
the tree, and lo, it will not fall."

Suiting the action to the word, he
leaned his weight against the tree, and
indeed it did remain standing.

For a moment the overwhelming reli-
gious tension in the atmosphere was such
that I could scarcely refrain from echoing
the murmurs of veneration which rose
from the lips of the men around. I could

[p 893(R)]

10-Johnson C-3 (no date) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Iraq

• 732 Quite understandably more than a few land
719 in this village under the eye of their shaikh could not but regard him as possessing supervisionary powers.

621 In modern Iraq the power of the shaikhs
622 and aghas has been curtailed. The
732 villagers still works under his aghas as the owners of the land—the only one, in fact, who is competent to organize and supervise the work of the village; but the simplest villager now realizes that all the power of his agha or holiness of his shaikh will avail him little should he unwisely be persuaded to act contrary to the law.

900 Certain individual Iraqis who cannot claim tribal ancestry talk glibly of "breaking up the tribes" and "exterminating the aghas" as has been done in some other countries, but on the whole the Iraq government treats the matter with greater foresight and seeks merely to "break" those chiefs who use their influence against the government.

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[p. 393(c)]

NORTHERN IRAQ AND ITS PEOPLES 291 K.

resembling the drones of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive air. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means so monotonous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians men and women dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages. 534 535 [K 543]

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan contained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete supremacy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Jaj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Kurds had been covered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the decoration of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force. K. 617 643 [K 643] 701 702 [K 313] K. 773 779 683 794 661 671 K. [K 126] K. 731 697 696 K. 697

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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relays of performers, the men dancing first, and then the women. Mr. Rich thus graphically describes the part taken by ladies in this national recreation:

"The music struck up again the voice of the singer, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplendent with gold sequins and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to me, who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab bédaweenes are more scrupulous.

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and waringly round the endeavors, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The time was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Suleimanie."

The Kitebi, being nominally Moslems, the marriage contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an imam. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Yezidis MN10

K 515 rupture of the bride is circulated, though she is in reality purchased by the presents sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kizzilbash are practically monogamists, and divorce, though permitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., well illustrates their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

K 515 516 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is made to divorce as with the Moslem Kizzilbash. Their weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *dervish*, perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâsir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 749 A Kizzilash funeral, although it forms a striking

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KURDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kurds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kurdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of Ramazan so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a surpâtid at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by imâms of their own race, Kurdish Mullahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kurdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for sanctity and greed, highly unpopular among their heathen Kurds. To the latter they are,

[Page 137]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

● 763 522 indeed, an unfailing object of satire, and their shortcomings in this respect especially form the subject of endless humorous stories, of which the following may serve as specimens:

The Greedy Mollah.[1]

539 791 Once upon a time a Mollah and two confidential persons were travelling together, when they came to a river. All undressed to swim across, the Mollah going first. As soon as they were in the water, the Mollah perceived four small jars, filled with butter, floating at a little distance. He reached the first and held it with his teeth, stretched out his right hand to seize another, and caught the third in his left, so that he succeeded in getting hold of three jars for himself. There remained but one, which was taken by his companions. But not content with three-fourths of the spoil, he called out to the others, "I swear by Allah that I will have my share in that jar too!"[2]

The Mollah takes at his Word.

They say that there was once in Kirshehir a Mollah named Ruzid, who greatly edified the Kirshi by his sermons and counsels. One day when he was preaching in the mosque, he said in his sermon, "O, Mussulman people, each of you who possesses two garments [577] ought, for the love of Allah, to give one of them to the poor; each of you who has two loaves ought, if

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[1] Sakaz, *Recueil de Nouvelles et Récits Kurdes*, p. 18.

[2] This story has given rise to the Kirshehir proverb, "The two ordered three jars, and he was content, but would have the fourth."

[3] Sakaz, *Recueil*, &c., p. 18.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
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he would walk in the path of God, to give one to the wedded."

The wife of the Mollah happened to be passing the mosque at that moment, and hearing the words of her husband, she turned back and went home. The Mollah had two changes of garments, the one which went to the wash, and the other which he wore. His wife gave to the poor the one in reserve, and at the same time distributed to them half the provision of bread. When the Mollah came home in the evening, he said to his wife, "My clothes are soiled, bring me the others that I may change."

"But I gave away to-day your spare suit," replied his wife, "and distributed to the poor half the bread we had in the house."

Then the Mollah was very angry, and he said to his wife, "Why didst thou give away my clothes and my bread?"

"Because to-day," she replied, "when you were preaching in the mosque you exhorted all to divide their superfluous goods with the poor in order to walk in the path of God, and so what we were not using I gave to the beggars."

At these words the Mollah waxed very wroth, and he exclaimed, "Woman, my exhortations were for the congregation and not for myself. If I preach thus to the people, it is that they may give me the surplus of their clothes and their bread. You should not think of giving away my spare clothes and my children's bread. I preach in sum in my own interest, and thou —thou carriest out, at my expense, the counsel I give them."

the faithful. There are in Rowanduz some 18 houses and lands which belong in this category. The administration of such property is placed under a Ministry of Awqaf, and there is a Mamur in Erbil from this ministry to supervise the use of such bequests. Locally, the supervision is not charged to the qaza, but to the chief mulla (the religious leader of the community) who otherwise has no connection in government affairs.

Just as the legal ownership of land is important to the private citizen, its taxation is a primary concern of the government. Locally the collection is in the hands of the mudira, and the money transmitted through the qaimmaqam to Erbil. In taxation a distinction is made between agricultural lands and houses. Of the agricultural land, lalar-land is taxed a straight 15% of its value in terms of yearly yield. Ardiriy-land which has been built upon and cultivated is subject to 10%, while that which has not been built upon, but cultivated, pays 10%. Houses, without reference to the land on which they stand, are taxed 15% of the assessed value of their yearly rent. Shopkeepers and merchants pay a series of taxes, usually in the form of licenses. Neither personal property, including gold, jewelry, or currency, nor income are taxed in the Rowanduz district. As has been mentioned, waqf or "church" property is not taxed. These revenues must be paid in money, never in kind, although property may be seized for taxes in arrears. However, the chieftains in the countryside may

Indoors, in a private home, a person dressed in this 291
fashion may discard his turban, placing it on the seat beside him, wearing only his cap. In his own house, particularly during summer, the sash, jacket, and outer trousers are also removed. As far as headdress is concerned, few townsmen remain completely uncovered except when sleeping, and the cap is worn, with or without the turban, a large part of the day.

Several persons in the town wear the Arab style, a 177
dishdasha (colloquial Arabic of Iraq), a full-length caftan 291
of wool or cotton buttoned at the neck, and a single turban of a single scarf would flatly about the shoulders. Over the caftan is sometimes worn the 'aba or bisht, a loosely-fitting collarless mantle with short, full sleeves, woven in white wool mesh and decorated with a thicker border of gold and silver thread. The mullah or town priests always [793]
wear this garb. In contrast to Arab garments, the increasing in recent years of European cotton pajamas, obtained from the tailors or from Erbil, has been marked. These are worn over the undergarments and are for lounging rather than sleeping. Some of the youths wear them on the streets, and an older student in pajamas and a European cloth jacket is not an uncommon sight in a shorkhana. They are not, however, considered polite outdoor attire for persons of dignity. In winter the townsmen put on few unique items of clothing, unless they possess a European overcoat, and bundle up in additional shirts, vests, and

present, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain was never wed a successful peasant.

It would be incorrect to assign the Hutu clergy, the nobility of the Tussities and the lower of the Bahima, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amazing [332]

story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one 793
such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a 523
letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the [323]
pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she
anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the
document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short [765]
time, and the woman tore her garments and went into
mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course
of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter
announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a
message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and
the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim
returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in
mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great
excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "And
is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The
matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole
party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar
reactions. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the
latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she
might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and
all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor 793
and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according 582
to their status in this sense. The dervish, as a religious 792
mendicant, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as 795
one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest
status are initiated into the mysteries of the dervish
orders. In Rowanduz one could find a dervish in a converted

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mâlik or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, painted niche, the mihrâb, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mâlik takes his place facing the mihrâb or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mâlik ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This male room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the women's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mullā in Rowanduz serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullās in Rowanduz have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqāf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such ceremonies as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullās in Rowanduz in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Ittwadi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqāf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has shown

[1] Jomier, 1954.

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla who already has a position, and, when judged to have shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad, Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can ultimately easier and replace his teacher, or the latter may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an exchange of information of this type between the religious leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory. These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery can elicit the strongest emotional response in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the commoners, and no one in Rowanduz could think of a case in which a member of the aristocracy had entered such a career. A given sheikhs, as his age and reputation for sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaikh (arabic, "old man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although mosques are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not taught to celibacy, and the three in Rawanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth overcoat, and, in winter, a heavy-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic adhdhana, after which the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupations. In Rawanduz this was one of the elder townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with naming the child, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the mu'ezzin arranges minor matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employed a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for its cleanliness. The mulla himself, as noted in the section treating society, has a place in the highest ranks of the community, and is usually surrounded by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for their piety. Inasmuch as Hulla 'Abd al-Karim had a compelling personality, this following was an extensive and powerful segment of local society.

The mulla are responsible for religious education, however, although Islamic history is a part of the curriculum in the primary and intermediate schools, religion is not formally taught in any other place than the mosque. Some parents prefer this training to that of the government schools. The mulla hold classes throughout the year, but give particular emphasis to the summer when those children who have completed other courses with their secular education may, at the behest of their parents, take part. This course is almost solely concerned with reading and interpretation of the Quran, and thus entails, initially, the study of the Arabic language. The parents

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats used to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small peasant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
peasant farmers (incl. one mullah)	25	123
laborers	5	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Darwish, Sheikh, Seyyid, Mullah, and Hadji.

Darwishes. The darwish religious fraternities (*Tareqa*), in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

6 — Frederik Barth.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

792. 559 The father of the present *Shaikh* is said to have used his influence with considerable effect — certainly, a very exhalted status is associated with the positions as Leader of Derwish, as far as the village population is concerned.

The individual derwish, on the other hand, has no recognized or defined status. The relative position of the derwish in the village community will be discussed more fully below, when it can be related to the other hierarchies of organization. Being largely recruited from the most underprivileged sections of the population, membership in the derwish group is often regarded as a badge of the lowest class. In face-to-face relations they are, on the other hand, afforded a certain respect, springing from an undeniable awe or fear of their strange powers.[1])

• [793] Where the service of a mullah is unobtainable, the local derwish tends to function in his place, by virtue of his assumed greater knowledge of religious ritual. Thus a derwish who is generally accepted as being knowledgable, may attain some status, but that primarily by virtue of his knowledge, and not qua derwish. Thus, the power obtainable through membership in the derwish brotherhood is mostly of a subjective and substitute kind. Their special powers are of a symbolic and expressive, not of an instrumental type. Strikingly, these special powers and strange feats are exhibited mostly in nearly exclusive derwish meetings, and are rarely directed outward, toward village spectators — though secrecy, on the other hand, is made no point of, and any one who wishes to be present may attend most

[1]) Something of the position of the derwish may most clearly be illustrated by a summary characterization of the derwishes with whom I came most into contact (not including those residing in the home village of the Leader of Derwish):
a) Highly eccentric, with considerable temper. Officiated at occasional funerals etc. Rainmaker. Reputed to be able to perforate cheeks and abdomen with spear.
b) Rather inconsequential. Sacrificed a sheep when his watch (unique in the village) started showing discrepancy with the sun — was ridiculed for this by fellow villagers.
c) and d) Quiet, ordinary serfs in appearance. Accused of scheming against Homeowned landlords.
e) Unintelligent brother of village headman. No special accomplishments.
f) Ordinary farmer. No special accomplishments.

792 554 holy books from which they can tell of the past and the future. They also sell good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc. Being residents of the larger towns, however, they only appear on the village scene as transients of rather low status.

Diagram No. 8. The scales and statuses of the religious field.

793 554 *The Mullah.* Whereas the position of a *Shaikh* depends upon his rating on the scales of sanctity and sacred powers, the position of the mullah is related to the scale of sanctity, and to a scale of learning and piety. High rating on the scale of sanctity springs directly from the office, while the degree of learning and piety depends upon the individual's behavior, and is consequently variable.

793 795 554 The position as mullah is a true status position, since it defines a place in an institutional hierarchy — that of the larger church organization — but since it is related also to the scale of piety, the actual relative status ascribed to specific mullahs in their villages may vary considerably. Thus again, the lack of development of the concept of an *office* has its effect; any separation of the individual's official and private capacity is impossible, and no clear definition of the status of the mullah, as divorced from the individual achievements of a specific mullah, is possible. The very weak regional organization of the church is in part responsible for this — indeed, it is

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

misleading to speak of an inclusive church organization in the sense one knows it in the West. The actual qualifications of individual mullahs vary tremendously, and financial arrangements for the support of the Mosque are, as far as village mosques are concerned, entirely in the hands of the local community. Yet traditionalism and informal controls give a certain unity and enforce certain limits on deviations from a vague norm.

The position as mullah is an achieved status with completely open recruitment. Successful application to the study of the Koran leads eventually to initiation. There is a tendency for *Sheikhs* and *Seyyids* to be over-represented, but this seems primarily due to a higher frequency of religious inclinations, resulting from their aristocratic bias in orientation. Frequently a dervish will be willing to support his son through some or all of the necessary years of reading and study, and thus achieve for the son what was beyond the reach of the father. At times, through an early interest in the teachings of the village mullah, a boy in a secularly oriented family will find his way into the religious field. A striking number of the students are blind, and depend in their studies on the help of their friends.

The traditional pattern is for the student to spend an unspecified number of years roaming from mosque to mosque, seeking out the teachers of high repute and remaining with each for whatever length of time he wishes (see Appendix III). In this period, as well as studying the Koran and the legal interpretation of the text, the student should become familiar with other religious writing, in Persian as well as in Arabic. Finally, when the student and whatever teacher he happens to be with at the time feels he is prepared, he is made to give a sermon, and after a ritual is given the white headdress of the mullah, as well as a diploma confirming his status.

During his studies, the future mullah is dependent on his family or on individual charity for his subsistence. Later, as a full-fledged mullah, he must make whatever arrangements he can. The positions in the mosques of the towns are now government supported, but in the village the office is supported by local resources only. The community expresses its wish to have a mullah and the extent of its ability to pay — generally by revenue on dedicated land and a

7: Earth E-S (1951) 1953 9011 Kurd 9011

• 783 §3 minimal tax pr. head in the village, payable at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. This frequently must be augmented by agricultural work on the part of the mullah. It seems that the villagers are free to appoint any unlearned mullah of their choice to office; once he is appointed, however, it is, at least in practice, impossible to dismiss him.

783 §§4 The actual role of the village mullah is evidently today in a state of rapid change, and considerably reduced as compared to Ottoman times. He has been relieved of a great number of his civil functions — e. g. marriages are not valid unless a license has been procured from the civil administration, and though the mullah still performs the ceremony, his importance is naturally reduced. The very dominant position as judge has also been greatly reduced by the secularization of the state and effective administration of Iraq's civil code.

[§5] A second role is that of the educator — the mullah will give rather ineffectual lessons in the Koran to the sons of important villagers — the only schooling they will ever have — and he may also have advanced students visiting him for a period. Except for spreading a certain knowledge of the religion, however, this school of the mullah's does not seem to be of any great consequence, and the mullah himself remains the only literate person in the village.

His main role at present parallels that of the priest in Western society, in that it is concerned predominantly with religious questions in a largely secular world. The mullah calls to morning and evening prayer, gives a sermon on Friday, is especially active in the holy month of Ramadan. In all his activities, he should set an example to his villagers. The weight given to his opinions thus depends on his learning and personal piety, but at the same time, if they are developed to any appreciable degree, these same traits will tend to separate him physically and emotionally from the community and place him in the position of a spectator.

Consequently, he does not achieve the power position in the village that one might have expected. The mullah with low rating on the scale of learning and piety will be disregarded by the villagers — they may not even attend his services, as in the case of one village studied, where the sermons had been largely discontinued and the

responsibility for religious education rests ever by the leader of the local Shaikh family. On the other hand, an intelligent mullah, though often formalistic and introvert in his orientation, may play a considerable part in improving the intellectual and moiety standard of the village (the subject of chess and matches having importance in a religious context), but does not seem to attempt to extend his influence any wider. His high intellectual standard and foreign values tend to alienate him from the query squabbles of the village; and an ambitious attitude has no real place in the grossly fatalistic Islamic world view. To the extent he does not convert his status and prestige into a de-facto power position, the mullah might be said not to be fully integrated into the social structure of the village. He is similarly in no sense an indispensable resident in the village community — very frequently, he is called in only for funerals, naming ceremonies etc., or these functions may even be performed by a local darwish or Shaikh. The pattern of training blind boys, necessarily marginal to village society, as mullahs, may in part be related to an appreciation of this marginal position which the mullah occupies.

Hadji. The *Hadji*, on the other hand, is an ordinary member of the village community. His position is related to the scale of piety, and derives simply from having completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. The title, however, is one of considerable respect — in part because it also implicitly indicates high rating on the scale of wealth.

The whole institution of the pilgrimage is the result of the command by the Prophet Mohammed, that any man who has the necessary means to make the pilgrimage *and* support his family at home, or whose family is able to support itself without him, should once in his lifetime journey to the holy city of Mecca. Thus the title of *Hadji* indicates (a) a pious eagerness to follow the command of Mohammed, and (b) moderately prosperous circumstances. One rarely finds more than 3—4 *Hadjis* in any one village; these will tend to be at least among the leading members of their community.

Formerly, the initiative was individual and the journey hazardous, often achieved by relatively greater physical exertion and low expense, and the title of *Hadji* was thus less of a symbol of wealth than at present.

[834]

which the head of the family has one, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in the modernized rooms, (b) the men of low prestige get together in an informal evening society, and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complex status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above; and many village mullahs find it difficult to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — often come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home. Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

the case of Sheikh Said and Sheikh Mahmud. Thus, while no one who is not a member of the lineage can achieve a position within the segmentary lineage system, the lineage group as a whole, or even a section of it, temporarily broken away from the remainder of the descent group, can join a larger confederacy under a charismatic leader.

In summary, one might say that there are no absolute impediments, or, inversely, necessary requirements, relating to leadership in any of the Southern Kurdish political systems; that persons theoretically may qualify for leadership by any combination of part-statuses, so long as they add up to a total status position sufficiently exhalted to correspond to, or identify, the political and other demands involved in leading the group in question.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF PART-STATUSES

Clearly, only ascribed status positions, based on sex and birth, could function as true impediments to leadership. Various achieved status positions may be incompatible with high political positions, but since such status positions can be changed, they are at most temporary impediments, and can better be discussed under the person leading.

Most of these incompatibilities have been suggested above. Of the part-statuses in the religious field, the mullah will tend to be rather separated from the general village community — he is frequently a tenant farmer, but rarely occupies any other part-status position, with the occasional exception of *Mullā*. Membership in a dervish brotherhood is clearly a badge of low class, and the dervish will not occupy any of the higher status positions. Conversely, the title of *Mullā* is a badge of high status, and is combined with any of the higher part-status positions, including that of the mullah. A woman can not be a mullah.

The hierarchy of class, as implied in the discussion, seems to divide the local community into separable categories that do not significantly overlap in terms of prestige or general position in the village and supra-village hierarchy.

In the rather unusual setting of an archaeological excavation, the explorer Kudor Inuuk himself working beside Lutit and Kudnit from Kuni Sarik, the explorer and master collector of Piuna. The grandparents arrive on his part. Nothing was noticed for a brief period of work in the area belonging to the village of Kuni Sarik. When operations were supervised on Tungak's territory, Kudor chose he would not stand for it, and proceeded to arrange his Inuksuk. The men Inuuk Lutit and Kudnit were summarily struck, and were, upon their request, immediately removed from the site, and a settlement with the group of workmen from Tungak was later achieved, with some difficulty.

Later, Piuna, who being an outlaw had little to lose, attempted to intimidate the villagers of Tungak by a further murder (a woman murdered at Chesterfield Inlet), and by serving him on their grandchildren, in spite of the armed warrior the Tungakmiut had posted there. The people of Kuni Sarik, Piuna's village, disowned the act, and disassociated themselves with the action by refusing to participate in it. Since the law, they are accused of continually having him in mind. Kudor is still a young boy, and has sworn to avenge his father by killing Piuna.

The essential points seem to be: (1) Kudor's revenge was conditioned on the explorer of his father's murderer only because the murderer himself was out of reach, and because Kudor, due to unprecedented circumstances, found himself working beside the explorer on the land of his own village — all a strong implied insult to his house. (2) Kudor did not receive active support in avenging his father, even though the father was, at the time of the murder, the Angakok of Tungak village. (3) The village of Kuni Sarik was able to disassociate itself from the acts of Piuna — possibly because he did not belong to the senior lineage group of that village.

These points would indicate that an developed pattern of blood feud, as defined in the more lusty of the men, a spontaneous and often personal superficially similar to blood feud are found, these may better be explained as a slight extension of a strong pattern of individual revenge, or, in certain cases, a struggle between two lineages for political supremacy.

APPENDIX III: The education of a noaidi.

The scholastic standards of the Iuna village noaidis might be exemplified by a listing of the numbers and names of pupils of Noaidi Inuk Nakasuk, now of the village of Cape Dorset. He was born in Okaktokan, and grew up in the village of Tupaktoorktoo on the Koana valley between Ishkimmi and Chesterfield. His religious traditions in the family, his training were stimulated by the older noaidi brother of an ajaraaq. After having finished reading the Koran at the age of 9, and then forgotten it again, he decided to become a noaidi at the age of 12. He finished the Koran again at 14, under the direction of his village noaidi. He then travelled to Ishkimmi, and studied

• 793 [illegible]
1 man with Sheikh Mohammed Bilal, now a religious judge,
1 man with Abdullah Chirwano, teacher in Qandu mosque in Sukumani,
2 o o Aziz Effendi, religious judge,
1 o o Hassan Pakenani,
1 o o Sheikh Baba Ali,
1 o o Sheikh Nuri, son of Baba Ali,
1 o o Hassan Said,
enrolled in Wanumoro near Nidaliya, studied
2 o o Abdul Kader Said,
enrolled in Bura, in the Hassanani mountains, studied
½ o o Abdul Karim,
enrolled in Nidaliya, studied
¼ o o Sheikh Ismail,
enrolled in Calala in the Pudalia mountains, studied
1 o o Hadji Mohammed Bala,
Surumal in Sukumani, studied
½ o o Sheikh Omar in Qandu mosque,
returned to Nidaliya, studied
½ o o Mullah Omar in Qandu mosque,
Education completed A. H. 1369 (A. D. 1951), certificate issued by Sheikh Baba Ismail and Mullah Abdul Kader after 11 years of wandering and studies.

of
of expensive games. The scale of entertainment naturally varies
greatly with the status of the immensely superior the death of a male is
is rarely more for more serious than the death of a female. So far as I
am aware the occupation, conservation is similar to the case of
common fraction though on a smaller scale.*

The Bells

The Bells has the part to play in the ritual both on occasions
of marriage and death, and quite some appropriate remark.
In the marriage ritual is on the bridals. Subsequent negotiations
require that marriages must be registered with the police, and the
marriage in legal at least any religious ceremony. The tendency is
therefore to give precedence to the police rather than the Bells.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to named fathers. I was
told that among the Sakai the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day.
The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Muslim type.

9: Leach S-S (1938) 1940 WAII Kuard WAII
Kawanchis

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771 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms
• 778 the social position of the Naiu in the Kawanchis as village priests, and give some descriptions of the ranges on the visible evidences of the religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine beliefs or ritual positions in detail.

The Naiu

773 Most of the larger villages have a resident Naiu. The functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write the Arabic language and an exhaustive knowledge of the Koran. This mental equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a student, during which time he is permitted upon the village to which he is given, begging his keep and avoiding all outdoor manual labour. Most Naiu have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They are not usually members of the local kinship groups, but individuals who through some mental misadjustment have left their own group and are then without normal means of support. The student must I believe achieve a certain standard before he "graduates" as a Naiu, but how this is defined in not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The intellectual attainments of the Naiu vary very greatly. Some have a real understanding of Arabic and Persian and of the written literature of these two languages; others merely learn the Koran by rote and recite portions of it as ritualic exercises without any clear understanding of the meaning. Knowledge of the Koran does not even necessarily imply an ability to read - the Naiu student is taught one quite blind but can [Dx1] gradually memorising the whole book. In general however the Naiu may be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. Some of the ordinary commoners are literate; most of the Agha would claim the distinction but I doubt their ability - all Agha of Bayat the instance called in the Naiu both to read and write his letters, and Hamid Amin of Jangalo though he could certainly read was constantly [illegible]. In earlier times one of the Naiu's duties to function as to write out general secretary to the Agha; conditions in this respect are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most Agha sons are now quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the Agha the Naiu's services to the community are roughly those of village priest. He leads the prayers in the mosque, and on the Sabbath [illegible] supplements this with a brief sermon in Arabic, which is entirely unintelligible to his audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals [Dx4] and recites suitable verses from the Koran. It was hinted further that he is frequently called in to cure sickness - chiefly by means of prayers and charms and amulets. I have no information at all as to the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and formula charms, especially among the women and the smaller children suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

In return for these services he receives from the Agha a

Gr Leech S-S (1928) 1940 WAII Hand WAII
Nowandiss

[illegible] 703 •

[illegible] 703 SSW 631

[illegible] 708

[illegible] 542

B: Leach B-5 (1938) 1940 WAII Hard WAII
Newsmilist

[opposite page 34 - A]

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1991
MA11 Rare MA11
Turkish M818

E
§62 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as
707 having been a little shrivelled up old woman.'

K Among the second and peasant Kirds, as might be
§11 expected, very little attention is paid to education.
709 The subsidiary Kirds in Sulimaniah and other centres,
are not, however, wholly unobtained, as they have
Mullahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation
to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.
K The sons and daughters of the latterest Kirds are
[illegible] also taught at least to read and write Persian, which
is the literary language, for Kirdish literature is
almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt
made early in the century by some Mullahs to pub-
K lish works in that language. The Kirdish tongue
107 is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and
it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Con-
stant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in
the introduction into their idiom of a great number of
E Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feel-
138 ing often manifests itself among Kirdish women, who
compose many graceful and touching songs, of which
the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y The members of the Yezidi sect, who belong to
§11 eleven different tribes, and number between seven
763 and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a
642 strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and
their ignorance is proverbial among the people by
whom they are surrounded. With the exception per-
haps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the
men are consequently totally without education, and
their women are naturally in a similarly benighted
condition.

[illegible]

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mâlim is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mâlim, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mâlim enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mâlim is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mâlims are not taxed in millenary, and the three in Ksenadsa were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mâlim 'Abd al-Karim Ayfoudi, whose father was Mâlim Ar'ad Ayfoudi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mâlims always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth overcoat, and, in winter, a homespun robe.

The mâlim is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic *ʾaḏḏānīn*, after *ʾāḏān*, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupations. In Ksenadsa this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the mâlim to prayer, again, a chant,

from the rest of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with saying the shia, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the Ramadan struggles minor matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employed a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for the cleanliness. The imam himself, as [305] [306] [307] [308] [309] [310] [311] [312] [313] [314] [315] [316] [317] [318] [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324] [325] [326] [327] [328] [329] [330] [331] [332] [333] [334] [335] [336] [337] [338] [339] [340] [341] [342] [343] [344]

theoretical teach the child the minimum essentials of the religious at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction may do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rawandaw enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor people from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a baby is not formally circumcised, there is no ceremony of confirmation to bring one, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of pollution, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his head, intones the phrase

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

102 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalisations derived primarily from a study of the Balik and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Suran group whose full tribal name is Serani Bagzewais (i.e. "descendants of the Bags of Suran") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Rasid Amin Beg.

The Balik tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Hallasherifi, Shevdini and Bakri, of which Hallasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Hallasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Walash - Sheikh Muhammad Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Walash, Bast and Celala. The Bakri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Muhammad Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Balik; at the present time however his authority is nominal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Walash.

794 162 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shikn i Sheikh require special mention. (See Map pp. 735 and 737 where Khalan is called Dar ul Asam). The heads of these two villages, Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Obaidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhchwandi, which has its basis in Bokhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Hay are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

6

102 Accordingly the description which follows applies primarily to Area A of the foregoing description. Prior to the opening of the road it might indeed have been possible to treat this district as a single culture area, virtually self contained. Under present conditions however economic factors and the external political authority link the three regions, A, B and C, closely together. I will attempt to make clear as I proceed the degree to which generalizations derived primarily from a study of the Baluk and Dergala tribes can be regarded as generally applicable to the whole region. I will conclude this section with a rather more detailed description of the groups inhabiting Area A. Map 2.

101 622 The Surun group whose full tribal name is Surund Dagesarak (i.e. "descendants of the Dags of Surun") are few in number. The group is a single unit (taifa), the paramount of which is the Agha of Dergala - Mir Hamid Amin Beg.

The Baluk tribe is a very much larger group and is subdivided into three clans, usually named Mallasherifi, Shevdini and Bakri, of which Mallasherifi is much the largest. The Shevdini group centred around Bayat has a considerable degree of cohesion and accepts the Agha of Bayat - Ali Agha - as paramount. The Mallasherifi on the other hand though nominally owing allegiance to the Agha of Walash - Sheikh Mohammed Agha - appear in practice to be split into three groups centred on Walash, Bart and Golala. The Bakri are a small group about which I know nothing. Sheikh Mohammed Agha by virtue of his position as head of the largest clan is considered by the government to be Agha paramount of all the Baluk; at the present time however his authority is minimal outside the immediate sphere of influence of his own village of Walash.

794 102 439 The two villages of Khalan and Shiru i Sheikh require special mention. (See Map pp. 255 and 257 where Khalan is called Dar ul Aman). The heads of these two villages, *Sheikh Alauddin and Sheikh Qaidullah, are leaders of the mystic sect known as Nakhachwandi, which has its basis in Nakhara. The villages are really hospices belonging to this order. Apart from the adherents of the religious community the population is very mixed, traders predominating. The marked prosperity of the community is not hard to understand. At least two large armed convoys of smugglers passed over the border even during the course of my three day visit. They even offered to take me with them, but discretion unfortunately prevented my acceptance.

604 * These two individuals described as 'cousins' by Ely are really nephew and uncle respectively although nearly the same age. It is the nephew, Alauddin, who has the greater reputation and influence.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

539 The Kûrds also relate the following allegorical story with reference to the same subject:

The Prophet and the Angel.[1]

When the Prophet—blessings upon him!—ascended to Paradise, the archangel Gabriel accompanied him in order to show him all the wonders of the heavens. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—observed an angel of majestic stature, who stood in an expectant attitude, bearing on his shoulders an enormous drum, and holding in his hand a long drumstick. The Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked who he was, and what was his occupation. The angel replied, "O messenger of Allah, my duty is, when a Mollah confers a benefit or bestows an alms, even were it but some broken food to a beggar, to beat the drum, and thus announce to all the angels of the heavens the benefit or the almsdeed of the theologian."

Upon this, the Prophet—blessings upon him!—asked the angel, "How many times hast thou beaten the drum since thou hast held this office?"

"I am still waiting," replied the angel; "and up to this hour I have not once beaten it."

Will it be always thus? Allah knows. The clergy of all religions perform for the most part but few acts of benevolence or charity, for they require of the people almsdeeds and benefits, and themselves give nothing to the poor.

771 795 The vague mysticism which is so closely interwoven with the doctrines of the Shia sect, to which the

[1] Jaba, Recueil, &c., p. 15.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

Persians belong, appears to have a greater charm for the Kûrdish mountaineers than the Semitic notion of an absolute and personal Allah, which is the dominant idea of the tenets held by the *Sûnni*, or "Orthodox" Osmanlis. The Dervish Orders, who constitute the mystics of Islam, are, consequently, extremely popular with the Kûrds, and the veneration of the women for the Sheikhs, or *pirs*, as they are called, whether living or dead, exceeds, if possible, that entertained for them by the Turkish women. For, indifferent as the Kûrds may be to the dogmas of Islam, they, like all highlanders, are exceedingly superstitious, and firmly believe in all the occult and spiritual powers laid claim to by the Dervish Sheikhs.

The saint whom the Kûrds hold in the highest reverence is the deceased Sheikh, Khaled of Sulimanieh, whom they consider equal to Abdul Kadr of Ghilân,[1] if not to the Prophet Mohammed himself, and deem it profanation to speak of by any other title than that of *Hawreti Mewlâna*—"Our Lord the Prophet." This Kûrdish *pir*, whose sayings his countrymen dignify by the name of *hâdis*,[2] belonged to the Nakshbendi Dervishes, a "contemplative" Order famed for the deep mystic piety of its members, and which has produced many saints eminent in the Moslem world. To the tombs of dead, or the *tekkés* of living, Dervishes, the Kûrdish

[1] A famous dervish who lived in the twelfth century, and founded the Order of the Kadiri. Wonderful stories are told of the supernatural powers possessed by his Sheikh, some of which may be found in *The Dervishes*, by J. P. Brown.

[2] The name given by Moslems to the sayings or "table talk," of Mohammed.

[3] The monasteries and temples in which the Dervishes reside and hold their services.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MN10

groves and alleys, and celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. The women in their gayest and richest dresses, their necks and heads hung with strings of silver coins, and with either a scarlet feather or a posy of roses or anemones in their turbans, dance with the men in rings, sometimes to the number of two hundred. The young girls make the most of their holiday, dancing to their hearts' content with their admirers or affianced lovers.

The large Kûrdish tribe of the Doudjîks, which is composed of several *thâïfés*, forms another heretical sect, called Kizilbakhs. They regard Ali, the first Khalif, as the personified Deity, thus attributing to him, as do the Ali Ilahîs of Persia, a much higher position than to the Prophet of Islam. And there is yet a third description of sectarians, called Baliki, who regard Ali as the latest manifestation of the Deity in human form. The more mystical among Moslems hold that all the great Prophets who have appeared from the creation of the world—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, Christ, and Mohammed—were successive incarnations of the Divine Spirit, and that the founder of Islam, because the last, was the greatest. But the Balikis ignore Mohammed entirely. According to their saying, "He (the Deity) has showed Himself in a thousand ways, and many are in doubt; if he would show Himself in one way, many would believe." Warlike and unruly as are the members of this sect, the American missionaries have been very successful among them. Such, indeed, is the influence of this handful of men from the New World that they

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

have persuaded some of the most turbulent, whom the Turks have never been able completely to subdue, to lay down their arms, and relinquish their trade of rebellion, robbery, and murder.[1]

[1] Comp. Consul Taylor, *Journ. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. xxxv. p. 29, who also says that the Bellki claim to be the descendants of Sharezer, or Sarasar, son of Sennacherib, who, with his brother Adrimelek, fled to Shamoun (south-east of Lake Van), after having murdered their father at Nineveh, and founded those dynasties, one of which was that of the Sassanians, or Sassanes. See also *Moses of Khor'ni*, I. p. 103, II. p. 145; and the *Geography* of the Vartabed Vartan in St. Martin, II. p. 431, referred to by Mr. Taylor, *loc. cit.*

language is Indo-European, closely related to Persian, and they were probably a part of that same movement which brought others of the Indo-European linguistic group, such as the Armenians, Hittites, and Persians, into the Middle East. Racially it is difficult to give an opinion, because little work of a modern nature has been undertaken among them. In the older parlance of physical anthropology, however, they exhibit traits considered much more characteristic of the races of Europe and Central Asia than of the Arabs to the south, such as blond hair, blue eyes, fair pigmentation, and round heads. They give immediate evidence, by these older criteria, of being a mixture. In religion they are Sunnite Muslims and are thus set off from the Shiite Iranians to the east. Whether this is the result of their original conversion or the continued influence of the Sunnite Turks and Turkomans is unknown.

Ethnologically almost no systematic investigations have been made among the Kurds, although a few brief, but accurate, generalized descriptions are to be found.[1] These last, however, have been written by persons, administrators, missionaries, travelers, and the like, who are not ethnologists. This, in itself, need not constitute a deterrent, but their primary purpose in publication was not the portrayal of a culture. It is unnecessary to review here the large number of other types of references to the Kurds, extending from ancient times to the present, except to remark that their most distinctive characteristic is their prejudice

[1]For example, Hay, 1921.

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz
Yezadis MH10

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but must never be struck. For an "unbeliever" to use the curse in the name of religion, of which the full form is la'anatu Llahi 'ala dinek, "the damnation of God on your faith," is an invitation to certain catastrophe.

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There are certain groups in Iraq, neither Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, the Yezidis or "devil-worshippers" of Jebel Sinjar and the Mandaeans of the southern provinces, who, as peaceful farmers and craftsmen, do not often come to the notice of the bulk of the population, and are regarded in the popular mind as curiosities more than anything else. The Yezidi girls are supposed to be "the most beautiful in the world," the same thing said by both Muslims and Christians in Lebanon and Syria of the Druze women. There is no intermarriage between the Muslims and these groups.

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[142]
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[582]

The second division is to be found among Muslims themselves, between those of the Sunna ("Custom") or orthodoxy, whose recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic, and those of the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali"), originally revolutionary, who insist on the primacy of the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. The latter tradition has been the state religion of Iran from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), and today includes, in one form, the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and the agricultural population of southern Iraq. In central and northern

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Iraq the Sunna is represented by most of the Arab groups, 795●
the Kurds, the Turks, and the Turkomans. The conflict be- 779
tween the two, often with violent political expressions, is 175
most the same as that between Catholic and Protestant in [578]
Germany, although there is little analogy in the type of
religious content. The governing class in Iraq, deriving
from Ottoman times, is about half Sunnite, and the dis- 795
session is often phrased along ethnic lines, Arab and Turk 186
against Arab and Persian. Certain practices, such as [302]
staining the beard with henna, are condemned by the Kurds
alternatively as Shiite or Iranian. Curiously, they
despise clitorectomy, in the Middle East purely Arabic and [304]
Negroid, as Farsi, "Persian," despite the fact that the
practice seems to have no record in that country. One
might suppose, particularly in view of the growth of pan-
Islamic movements in recent years, that this distinction
between Sunnite and Shiite was falling into decay. At a
gathering in Rowanduz the investigator, on being informed
by an army officer that he came from the southern provinces,
innocently inquired if he belonged to the Shi'ah. When the
officer replied seriously in the affirmative, there was a
burst of laughter and derision from his fellow officers and
officials, a matter of no little embarrassment. Save on [582]
the highest levels of society, there are few marriages be-
tween Sunnite and Shiite families.

The third division is on ethnic or national lines, 563
which, aside from foreigners and non-Muslims, separates

with each other in Arabic, heavily interlard their speech with English and French words and phrases. The official class can, with legitimacy, claim that it is the more progressive and better educated, but, as if to drive a wedge between itself and its subjects, the adjective baladi, "rustic," is used with fluency and condemnation. As this new "civil elite" continues to assert itself at the expense of its parallel, the landed chieftains, both Kurd and Arab, Westernization has become one of its distinctive marks.

Thus thrown back on themselves for these reasons, the distinctions between Arab and Kurd, and between educated and uneducated, and their insistance on "distance," the officials and officers have of necessity created a social life of their own, exclusively masculine. A private home in the upper part of the town, whose garden overlooks the gorge, was subsidized as a nadi or "club." This building is of a single storey, built on three sides about a flagged courtyard which forms the garden, and encloses only several rooms. Its previous occupant had been an educated effendi whose hobbies were the occult sciences, and he decorated the walls with snakes and other symbols in paint which might lead the uninformed observer to erroneous conclusions in the realm of popular religion. One of the rooms was furnished with chairs and benches, much as a diwakhana, another had a table and chairs for cards, and a third was utilized as a kitchen. Two of the townsmen were hired as servants. In the club one might purchase tea, sherbet, and,

of modern scholarly opinion, constitutes a syncretism of ancient Arabic, Judaic, and Christian beliefs, together with whatever elements of originality the Prophet himself had added. The sacred book of the Muslim ("one who submits"), the adherent of Islam, is the Quran ("recitation" from the command of its messenger to Muhammad, iqra, "recite!"), the revelation of God vouchsafed through the Angel Gabriel to Muhammad in suras (a word originally meaning a course of stones or bricks), or chapters, of a varying number of verses, a total of 114 such chapters making up the entire volume. The townspeople are now, without exception, Muslims, and the everyday import of this faith shall form the basis of the discussion to follow. 779 [174]

With the death of the Prophet, the Islamic world, from that day to this, has been torn by the continual divergence of schools and sects, most of them political in origin, many ephemeral, and a few achieving a dignity of a state religion. Amid the greater divisions of Islam, the people of Rowandux belong to the party of the Sunna ("custom"), or orthodoxy, of which recognition of the legitimacy of the first four successors of the Prophet is perhaps the best known characteristic. With other Sunnite peoples of northern Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, the Kurds are in sharp doctrinal opposition to the Shi'ah ("party," from Shi'at 'Ali, "the party of 'Ali") of southern Iraq and Iran, a state religion in the latter country from the time of the Safavid Shahs (1501-1736), which insists on the primacy of 795

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Something of the divisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows. 795

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowanduz district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent 771 121 173 554 792 [292]

© Haaren E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and menarche in this connexion were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[37] (see p. 139), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[38] (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[37]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[39]. [515] [988]

Sefwe among the Kurds. "They are *kaqe*", said both the Arab *mayor* of Sulaimani and the *Arab qā'im maqām* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Topzawa and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Shadala, lying in the valley between Chermahand and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that so far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 795

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kizil and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[39] Naqshbandi[39], Naqshbandiya[39], founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Muhammad Baha-ud-Din or Baha-eddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Maulana Khalid of the Jaf tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowan[39], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Haji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of exotism. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 795 391

According to Edmonds[39] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Karim of Shadala, near Sargalu, a relative of the Haji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have resuscitated or founded the "way" called "Haqqe". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Dance of the Mystics"", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 795 831

1795 8311 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite defeat that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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991 989 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features the can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the food released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a children also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and crossadvertion, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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989 525 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan there were to be found among women in the aristocratic village quiters, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye. 989 They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 989 A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Srkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil [822] influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles of the were by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 989 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue 858 button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In 301 addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a sampler (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

C. J. Edmonds

1.

KURDISTAN is the country inhabited by the Kurds as a homogeneous community. It is divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union, and its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers or internal administrative divisions.

Iraqi Kurdistan is bounded on the north and east by the Turkish and Persian frontiers, where the population on both sides is almost entirely Kurdish. On the south-west the internal ethnical boundary lies approximately along the railway from the Syrian frontier to Mosul city on the Tigris and thence a straight line to Mandali on the Persian frontier. The majority of the Kurds are thus concentrated in the four liwas[1] which in Ottoman times constituted the vilayet of Mosul: Mosul (35% of the total population), Arbil (91%), Kirkuk (12%) and Sulaimani (100%). Kurds also have a majority in the two adjacent *qadhas*[2] of Khanaqin and Mandali. Other than the Kurds, there are villages of Chaldean Christians near Mosul city to the north and east, and about 10,000 Assyrians compactly settled in the highlands of the Amadiya region: there are also colonies of Turkomans in a string of towns, large and small, along the great highway leading from Mosul through Arbil, Altun Köprü, Kirkuk and Kifri towards Baghdad. On the other hand there are islands of Kurds outside these limits, the most interesting being the Jabal Sinjar, west of Mosul, where most of the inhabitants are Yazidis, the people often misleadingly described as devil worshippers.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000 or nearly one fifth of the total for the whole country. No statistics are available for Persian Kurdistan but a similar figure would be a reasonable guess. The Turkish census of 1945 gives the number of persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish as one and a half million; there is reason to think that the real number of Kurds is higher, perhaps two millions. The religion of the great majority of the Kurds in all three countries is Sunni Muslim; the mystical dervish orders have adherents in all parts of Kurdistan.

Of the larger towns Sulaimani is entirely and Arbil predominantly Kurdish. Smaller townships in which Kurds form the whole or the large

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1 [Territorial-administrative units with villages sub-divided into liwas which are subdivided into qadhas.—Analyst]

792 holy books from which they can tell of the past and the future.
559 They also sell good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc. Being residents of the larger towns, however, they only appear on the village scene as transients of rather low status.

Diagram No. 6. The scales and contours of the religious field.

793 *The Mullah.* Whereas the position of a *Shaikh* depends upon his
559 rating on the scales of sanctity and sacred powers, the position of the mullah is related to the scale of sanctity, and to a scale of learning and piety. High rating on the scale of sanctity springs directly from the office, while the degree of learning and piety depends upon the individual's behavior, and is consequently variable.

793 The position as mullah is a true status position, since it defines a
795 place in an institutional hierarchy — that of the larger church
559 organization — but since it is related also to the scale of piety, the actual relative status ascribed to specific mullahs in their villages may vary considerably. Thus again, the lack of development of the concept of an *office* has its effect; any seperation of the individual's official and private capacity is impossible, and no clear definition of the status of the mullah, as divorced from the individual achievements of a specific mullah, is possible. The very weak regional organization of the church is in part responsible for this — indeed, it is

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

misleading to speak of an inclusive church organization in the sense one knows it in the West. The actual qualifications of individual mullahs vary tremendously, and financial arrangements for the support of the Mosque are, as far as village mosques are concerned, entirely in the hands of the local community. Yet traditionalism and informal controls give a certain unity and enforce certain limits on deviations from a vague norm.

The position as mullah is an achieved status with completely open recruitment. Successful application to the study of the Koran leads eventually to initiation. There is a tendency for *Sheikhs* and *Seyyids* to be over-represented, but this seems primarily due to a higher frequency of religious inclinations, resulting from their autocentric bias in orientation. Frequently a dervish will be willing to support his son through some or all of the necessary years of reading and study, and thus achieve for the son what was beyond the reach of the father. At times, through an early interest in the teachings of the village mullah, a boy in a secularly oriented family will find his way into the religious field. A striking number of the students are blind, and depend in their studies on the help of their friends.

The traditional pattern is for the student to spend an unspecified number of years roaming from mosque to mosque, seeking out the teachers of high repute and remaining with each for whatever length of time he wishes (see Appendix III). In this period, as well as studying the Koran and the legal interpretation of the text, the student should become familiar with other religious writing, in Persian as well as in Arabic. Finally, when the student and whatever teacher he happens to be with at the time feels he is prepared, he is made to give a sermon, and after a ritual is given the white headdress of the mullah, as well as a diploma confirming his status.

During his studies, the future mullah is dependent on his family or on individual charity for his subsistence. Later, as a full-fledged mullah, he must make whatever arrangements he can. The positions in the mosques of the towns are now government supported, but in the village the office is supported by local resources only. The community expresses its wish to have a mullah and the extent of its ability to pay — generally by revenue on dedicated land and a

carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or _xutshir_, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of _Jeyjani Remzan_ (the _'Aíd el-seghir_, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and _Jeyjani Qurban_ (the _'Aíd el-kebir_, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fishermen and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the _bazar_ at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with _shikar_

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jejlani Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter. 294 955 796

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rowanduz, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one 296 [352] [415] [388]

are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment. 521 [628]

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the woman, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the woman's mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jarjani Ramazan and Jarjani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Sayran festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious life. 574 527 796 527

Such festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the sha'i, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, saypay'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shapay'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and raw'in "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowandus played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowandus. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the beg tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

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about the sun, it falls short several weeks each year in relation to solar reckoning. 1953, for example, is 1372 years after the flight in Muslim calculation and only 1331 in our own. The terminology of this calendar is Arabic, although the Kurds have their own words for the days of the week and the seasons. The government uses both the Muslim and the Gregorian systems, and Friday is the weekly holiday. Turning to the Muslim festivals observed by the townspeople, the first occurs on the tenth day of the first lunar month (Muharram), the legendary date of many important events, particularly the martyrdom of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. In Shiite areas this day and those immediately preceding it furnish the occasion for the most extravagant ceremonies, including a dramatic recitation of the martyrdom and public displays of mourning in which the participants often beat and lacerate themselves. In Rowanduz, however, it is only a day for special prayer and meditation. "The people pray for Hasan and Husayn," it was said, "but there are no demonstrations of grief." The next important date is the Mawlid al-Nabi, "the birthday of the Prophet," which comes on the twelfth day of the third month (Rabi' al-Awal). This is a day of celebration on which banquets are held and the servants are given small presents, but the display is not great compared with the two festivals to follow.

The ninth lunar month, Ramadan, is that in which absolute fasting is required between sunrise and sunset of every Muslim. It begins on the eve in which the moon

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Kor Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short poles. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and darwish, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa cavorted before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the mulla, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "can be heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

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Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, Salawat, salawat 'ala al-Nabi, "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard. 785 796 [203] [533]

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open during the day. A number of persons make no pretence of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fact in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better terms, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary relationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demands of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters" [579]

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite foreswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises. 785 796

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this sight begins Jayjani Ramazan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing. 796 527 [574] [431] [535]

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowanduz is Jayjani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the 796

twelfth lunar month (Dhu al-Hijja). This corresponds to 796
the day at Mecca when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually
sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family
in Rowanduz who can afford the expense purchases a sheep [792]
or goat for a sacrifice in communion with the pilgrims on
the first day of Jayjani Qurban, and the head of the victim
is turned toward Mecca as its throat is cut. This feast
lasts three or four days, and is identical in character
with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of
the intense exuberance caused by the end of the fast. Dur-
ing both of these festivals, persons greet each other
cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own
Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances 527
must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year.
The first of these is Sayran or Sayrani Bahar (also
identified in Rowanduz as Kara Charshima, "Black Wednesday," [805]
in border Turkish and as Nawruz in Persian). This corres-
ponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, usually
occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage
the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the
celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be
explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several
weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although
there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or
otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men
and women, go out into the countryside in family parties,
taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouse of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[11], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the *sūq* and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (say £200)[12].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sārpēl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'idil-l-qurbân* or *qurbân bairâm*, that is spent in Minî on the return from 'Arafât to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safâ* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Minâ where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Minâ. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mina* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

takes place after sundown, since there should be a fast observed during the day in Ramadan month — as a matter of fact, this fast is observed by very few. However, this degree of Ramadan celebration is not usual. The last three days of that month, on the other hand, are universally regarded as holidays, and serve as formal occasion for forgiving enemies, affirming village loyalties, and reinforcing ties of friendship.

Ramadan is defined in terms of a year of lunar months, and thus falls some days earlier in relation to the seasons for every year. At the time of the present fieldwork, the end of Ramadan coincided roughly with the completion of the harvest; it is difficult to say which aspects of the proceedings were connected with the one, as distinct from the other event. The celebration on the main, first day consisted of four major phases: (1) religious service (2) formal communal meal (3) payment of tax to the mosque (4) informal social celebrations.

The religious service was led by the son of the mullah of the neighboring village, since the village in which I was staying at the time had no mullah of its own. It was held in the house of the *Hadji*, the actual leader and *kikha* of the village. The local derwish, reacting to the presence of only an un-ordained officiator, tried to assert himself by interjecting loud and pious exclamations, but was soon quieted down as the mullah's son speeded on through the text.

After the ritual followed the communal meal, supplied by the *Hadji*, and his prestige profited by a subtle balance between the conspicuous exhibition of plenty tempered with a pious avoidance of over-indulgence. Two of the lower-class laborers, who had been figeting and feeling out of place, took the opportunity to busy themselves by serving the tea; but the *Hadji* insisted upon their status as guests, and they were quickly relieved by a young son, whom he called in for the purpose. Before the meal, hands were kissed (with a tendency towards reciprocity only between social equals or very close kin), misunderstandings forgotten and grudges forgiven. After the meal, some small boys appeared and kissed the hands of all the men present.

This being completed, the heads of village households each pledged

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

a tax of three kg. of grain to the mosque for each household member. This is done by each of the men in turn seating himself before the mullah, with a symbolic tray of grain between them. The men follow one another in a descending order of prestige, involving public acceptance and confirmation of the actual hierarchy of individuals in the village. At one or two points there was some hesitation, and very elusive momentary pressures were brought to bear by the group on the actors to assure the «right» sequence. This occasion also gave the *Hadji* an opportunity to affirm his leading position in the village by pledging 3.5 kg. pr. person to the mosque, and with a grand gesture paying for a poor widow in the village, not represented by any male, as well as for my interpreter, who, not being of the village, did not dispose of any grain.

At the completion of this, the group dispersed. Later in the day, the landowner appeared, and people also from the neighboring villages drifted in in informal groups and congregated in a large circle in the courtyard of the house in which he was staying. For the remaining period, celebrations involved only smaller, informal groups and individual visiting.

— I have chosen to describe this occasion in some detail, since it was observed under favorable conditions and illustrates the situation in which the hierarchy of individuals in the village is expressed, and how the individual's rating of himself is confirmed or contradicted by the group. Other religious festivals serve an essentially similar function, though they may in part be more amenable to manipulation and «social climbing». For example, two months ten days after Ramadan follows *Qorbani*, the feast of sacrifice, lasting four days, and centering around the killing of a large animal — sheep or preferably cow. Any person may volunteer to do Qorbani, and offer his cow up — though there are probably informal controls on who may in fact presume to that extent. *Maolud*, Mohammed's birthday, is similarly celebrated by a semi-communal feast and conspicuous consumption; the various other holidays are of a more private kind.

Rites de passage. The various rites marking transitions in the status position of individuals through their life cycle are less formally controlled. They are communal in a different sense from the ritual-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MH10

groves and alleys, and celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. The women in their gayest and richest dresses, their necks and heads hung with strings of silver coins, and with either a scarlet feather or a posy of roses or anemones in their turbans, dance with the men in rings, sometimes to the number of two hundred. The young girls make the most of their holiday, dancing to their hearts' content with their admirers or affianced lovers.

The large Kūrdish tribe of the Doudjiks, which is composed of several *thàifés*, forms another heretical sect, called Kizilbakhs. They regard Ali, the first Khalif, as the personified Deity, thus attributing to him, as do the Ali Ilahīs of Persia, a much higher position than to the Prophet of Islam. And there is yet a third description of sectarians, called Baliki, who regard Ali as the latest manifestation of the Deity in human form. The more mystical among Moslems hold that all the great Prophets who have appeared from the creation of the world—Adam, Abraham, Moses, Elias, Christ, and Mohammed—were successive incarnations of the Divine Spirit, and that the founder of Islam, because the last, was the greatest. But the Balikis ignore Mohammed entirely. According to their saying, "He (the Deity) has showed Himself in a thousand ways, and many are in doubt; if he would show Himself in one way, many would believe." Warlike and unruly as are the members of this sect, the American missionaries have been very successful among them. Such, indeed, is the influence of this handful of men from the New World that they

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

have persuaded some of the most turbulent, whom the Turks have never been able completely to subdue, to lay down their arms, and relinquish their trade of rebellion, robbery, and murder.[1]

[1] Comp. Consul Taylor, *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. XXIV. p. 29, who also says that the Baliki claim to be the descendants of Sharezer, or Sanasar, son of Sennacherib, who, with his brother Adrimalek, fled to Sassoon (south-east of Lake Van), after having murdered their father at Nineveh, and founded three dynasties, one of which was that of the Sanasouns, or Sassouns. See also *Moses of Khor'ni*, i. p. 103. ii. p. 145; and the *Geography* of the Vartabed Vartan in St. Martin, ii. p. 431, referred to by Mr. Taylor, *loc. cit.*

In treating the class made up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Calling to mind the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rowandus, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be embarrassed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissable between fellow Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, often to his chagrin, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Similarly, an occurrence of the distinction between Sunnite and Shiite in this class has been noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its members, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest numbers. The Turks are little troubled, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or behavior.

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[872]

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21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East Kurd MA 11

PRESENT POLITICAL GROUPING

M 343

It has largely been inevitable that the present national frontiers, drawn in lands where sectarian and social divisions are strong, and where political consciousness is merely in the first stage of development, should in some instances give incomplete realisation to the political needs and aspirations of Middle Eastern peoples. Although it is probably impossible to devise frontiers which would be even moderately satisfactory in this respect, present boundaries offer a number of outstanding difficulties. Palestine is a problem on its own, but in addition three other communities—the Kurds, the Armenians, and the Assyrian Christians—find themselves without a political future, and present special problems to the national governments of the various states in which they live.

K 101 221 G43 181

The Kurds are a semi-nomadic pastoral people, living in the highlands of eastern Anatolia and the north-western Zagros. Transhumance between summer pastures on the higher mountain slopes, and winter quarters in the valleys and lowlands (sometimes involving movement between widely separated districts), has brought the Kurds into conflict with the four national governments, because their homeland is now divided among Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq. It has been said of this people that they have claims to racial purity and to continuity of culture that are stronger than those of any European nation, since the Kurds have been settled in their present home since about 2400 B.C.; but the term 'culture' must be taken in a limited sense, for the Kurds are renowned as a fierce and predatory people, and their social organisation has not progressed beyond the level of tribal grouping. Their occupation of eastern Anatolia and the northern Zagros has given them command of a number of important trade-routes, from which they have derived considerable revenue by means of heavy exactions on trading caravans. The Kurds have the reputation of being pre-eminently a people that it is unsafe to trifle with, and their tendency to shoot on sight at moving objects has kept outside interference to a minimum.[1] Even the Ottoman Turks could do little to subjugate them, and they remained free from Turkish taxation and military conscription.

K 798

The Kurds were, however, employed by the Turks as agents in persecuting Christian minorities—chiefly the Armenians. The Kurds

[1] This is the verdict of a succession of travellers in the region, from Alexander the Great and Xenophon to Marco Polo and the Peace Treaty Commission of 1919.

21: Fisher 8-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Kurd MAII

778 claim the right of wintering in the Christian villages of Armenia, and, as fanatical Moslems, they indulged on occasion in massacres of their unwilling Christian hosts—this often with the connivance or tacit approval of the Turks, who were not reluctant to see the Christian communities of Asia Minor decrease in numbers.

161 For obvious reasons, detailed figures as to the number of the Kurds are not available,[1] but estimates, some of them much out of date, give a total of some 3 millions, distributed as follows:

Turkey	1,250,000
Iraq (1924)	494,000
Iran	700,000
Baluchistan	350,000
Transcaucasian Russia (1921)	125,000
Syria	100,000
Afghanistan	20,000

619 The Kurds cannot be said to have any advanced political feeling,
186 and, even less than the Badawin Arabs, have rarely been able to com-
648 bine for long in a stable, large-scale political organization. Individual-ism and local tribal feeling are the chief characteristics. Kurdish political activity has been negative: that is, strongly against any other group that has tried to rule them, and their predilection tends to be anti-governmental, whatever the composition of the latter may be, rather than for pro-Kurdish aims. Since 1923 there have been ten serious revolts by the Kurds against various national governments—two against Turkey, four in Iran, and four in Iraq. One of these, in 1947, made use of weapons looted from Iranian military dépots. Such revolts lend themselves to intervention by outside powers; and an American view[2] is that a Kurdish revolt against Iran in 1942 had tacit support from Russia, with the aim of embarrassing the Iranian government. Little was finally achieved, however: one factor may have been the importance at the time of American lease-lend supplies to Russia, as the result of which the U.S. was able to exert some moderating influence on Russian policy.

648 Since 1927, a Kurdish independence movement, the 'Khoibun', has been in existence, but its activities have hitherto had little success, the main obstacle being jealousy, division, and lack of co-operation
000 among the Kurds themselves. An attempt was made to enlist

[1] In modern Turkish statistics the Kurds are described as 'Mountain Turks'.
[2] That of Professor W. L. Westermann.

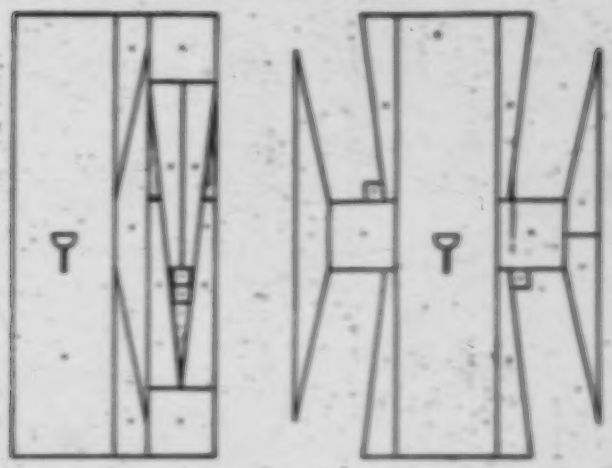

Fig. 46. Demonstration of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's kirtle. Scale 1:30.

a. the body; b. the two sleeves; c. the two funnel-shaped cloth tubes of three seams together from two pieces); d. the four side gores; e. the two rectangular gores in the armpits (Cf. fig. 55).

The production of feminine garments. The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[37] from abroad for sale in the city of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2552a-c). The finished garments like jackets and caftans are made by bazar tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[38]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, gaz, (E. 2772). This is a round stick, 0.330 m. long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together by a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-kirtle and kirtle are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and utilize most expensively the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measurements, well-known to the bazar tailors. When cutting-out the kirtle the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (1 yard). Fellowjil[39] writes of the Lurs measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes at one time used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the foot.

The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [773
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or [212]
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 805
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

about the sun, it falls short several weeks each year in relation to solar reckoning. 1953, for example, is 1372 years after the flight in Muslim calculation and only 1331 in our own. The terminology of this calendar is Arabic, although the Kurds have their own words for the days of the week and the seasons. The government uses both the Muslim and the Gregorian systems, and Friday is the weekly holiday. Turning to the Muslim festivals observed by the townspeople, the first occurs on the tenth day of the first lunar month (Muharram), the legendary date of many important events, particularly the martyrdom of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. In Shiite areas this day and those immediately preceding it furnish the occasion for the most extravagant ceremonies, including a dramatic recitation of the martyrdom and public displays of mourning in which the participants often beat and lacerate themselves. In Rowanduz, however, it is only a day for special prayer and meditation. "The people pray for Hasan and Husayn," it was said, "but there are no demonstrations of grief." The next important date is the Mawlid al-Nabi, "the birthday of the Prophet," which comes on the twelfth day of the third month (Rabi' al-Awal). This is a day of celebration on which banquets are held and the servants are given small presents, but the display is not great compared with the two festivals to follow.

The ninth lunar month, Ramadan, is that in which absolute fasting is required between sunrise and sunset of every Muslim. It begins on the eve in which the moon

twelfth lunar month (Dhu al-Hijja). This corresponds to 796
the day at Mecca when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually
sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family
in Rowanduz who can afford the expense purchases a sheep [782]
or goat for a sacrifice in communion with the pilgrims on
the first day of Jayjani Qurban, and the head of the victim
is turned toward Mecca as its throat is cut. This feast
lasts three or four days, and is identical in character
with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of
the intense exuberance caused by the end of the fast. Dur-
ing both of these festivals, persons greet each other
cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own
Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances 527
must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year.
The first of these is Sayran or Sayrani Bahar (also
identified in Rowanduz as Kara Charchima, "Black Wednesday," [805]
in border Turkish and as Hawrus in Persian). This corres-
ponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, usually
occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage
the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the
celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be
explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several
weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although
there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or
otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men
and women, go out into the countryside in family parties,
taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a clumsy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red ochre silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connexion with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amouting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[133], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus ran the same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

4: Hansen E.-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

795 831 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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791 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

789 Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 A chain of large blue glass-beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topzawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

● [822]

789 858 301 The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [823]

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Hakim who is also the corpse-washer, mirdu shor, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich, 763 [428] [788] [765] 764 767 [533]

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure resembling that of a European or American army recruit. The face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man without some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 302 891
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and, more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache, through an understandable cultural process, has come to be a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even officials and officers, who often wear their hair long, do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [186]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Townsmen are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [834]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Except for the cologne of the barber, men do not use cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517 824 574
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Rowanduz, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation.

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent.

Shaykh Muhammad at Hajji Umran. This is the most famous of the group and is believed to effect miraculous cures. It is said that the Shepherd used to take out the sheep of Shaykh Muhammad each day. The pasturage was not good, and Shaykh Muhammad wondered why his sheep were so fat and healthy. One day he concealed himself and was amazed to see the Shepherd fly off through the air, with the sheep flying behind him in a line, to some rich, faroff mountain meadow. Thus Shaykh Muhammad learned of the power of this man, and asked the people to visit the Shepherd's grave before his own. A merchant in Rowanduz, one 'Abd al-Sattar, claimed to have cured an ailment which he described as "sand in the urine" by drinking water obtained near this shrine.

778 792 [773] [755]

Some of these shrines may be of considerable antiquity, and an indication of this is the fact that they are in most cases associated with trees. In a region which has almost been denuded of heavier timber, it is striking to find a lone oak on some barren hillside with the grave of a holy man beneath its branches. The townspeople of Rowanduz were unable to comment on this association, but investigation among the villagers might reveal some interesting views. It seems quite clear, however, that a pagan survival is represented here, a complex dating from a time in which some religious significance was attached to trees or groves. It might be remarked that cutting down such a tree, however great the need for wood, was believed to bring the greatest catastrophe. People visit these shrines for a variety of reasons, those suffering from some "incurable" malady, women who wish a male child, or men who believe themselves hampered by misfortune. The magical power in the person of the holy man, alive or dead, is termed baraka

778 824 [137] 778

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gezî*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sûq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the duststorm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating.

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, shikew) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the koichir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

are utilised for riding. One finds here a revealing comparison with the Arab South. In such a country as Egypt it is commonplace to see a man perched on a donkey while his wife shuffles along behind on foot. In the Rowandus district, the man walks and the woman rides, a contrast which was several times pointed out by Kurds themselves as evidence of their loftier respect for their women. Almost every village possesses a large number of watchdogs, the typical animal large and fawn-coloured, not unlike an Eskimo husky. In many cases their ears have been cut off, and there are two stories to account for this practice. One holds that it enables the dog to hear prowlers more acutely, and the other claims that the severed ears should be fed to the puppies to make them more ferocious. The town of Rowandus is more or less taken over by its dog population at night, packs of them running without the houses and environs, often raising a disturbing uproar with their quarrels. They sometimes appear dangerous, but have great respect for a thrown stone. A Kurd approaching a farmhouse will generally equip himself with a handful of pebbles. Dogs are usually ignored after they reach maturity, fending for themselves, but puppies are fondled and made much of by both children and adults. Cats are conspicuous in their absence. It might be mentioned here that, aside from chikaw kept for fighting and dogs, the only other animals kept for amusement are ground-squirrels, carried by some in a pocket and danced on the end of a cord in the chayhanas for the diversion of other customers.

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 736
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognised. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 649
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 758
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 165
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re-
place the son who had died (at the age of eleven "of the [761]
evil eye"), and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

(Arabic, "blessing"), and provides a good example of what is classified as mana in most standard works on primitive religion, an amorphous supernatural power which has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it may be transmitted.

The power of these holy men, unless they themselves are disturbed in some way, is wholly benevolent. The people of Rowanduz also believe in jinni (the same noun as in Arabic), spirits who, in contrast, characteristically cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought about ghosts. No one in Rowanduz knew of a house "haunted" by the spirit of a dead man, and equated the European notion of "ghost" with that of the jinni. The jinni, for example, might take possession of a building and drive its inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind. At night one must never pour hot water out of the door without first saying "in the name of God." Although there are no cats in Rowanduz, it was said that one must never kill such an animal, because "the jinni is born in a cat and might harm one." When a boy is out walking in the wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls out to him, "asking him to come and meet the father," that is, the parent of the jinni who is the Fallen Angel Eblis of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and leaves his path as directed, the jinni throws him from

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Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new home with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Sakirmani, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal shirt with the proof of the bride's virginity[146]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was partaken of by the women. This was carried in on large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

The women's rôle in the village rather than comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the fowl released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let it loose. In this connexion it may be of interest that Granqvist reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[147] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's house.

Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, jinns and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[148]. In regard to Islamized Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Kruhe calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the preventionary measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grenard, Kruhe writes: "Es handelt sich sich darauch vor am Mannesthore, die Frau am dem Eingeschlechtsbund ausschliesse sind in einen sogen. den, der Sippe des Mannes, aufgenommen"[149]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[150]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy stick.

The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost seriousness, an act that in the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull but which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Kruhe's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Granqvist refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the hand which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Granqvist quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolic act that are to ensure a

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Fig. 16. Diagram. Cloths made out of one length of material: a: the outer wrapping; b: the inner shirt; c-d: the two head coverings; e: washing gloves; f: selvedges used for binding.

Mourning given to the dead in accordance with Allah's rite[19]. Thereafter, still only accompanied by men[20], the little girl was borne out to the burial ground, a bare hill outside Sakalawa.

In addition to the lament for the dead, another heathen feature was retained at this funeral. While the child was being dressed in the poncho and swathed in the cerements and prayer rug, which in this case acted as hier, a fowl was fought in the yard. It seemed to me it was a cock, but I may have been mistaken and it was a large hen. Blackman[21] relates concerning the Jiddahs in Egypt that: "when a child dies, a hen is killed ....". The bird was decapitated, and it was said that the head was to be buried with the dead child in order to avert further deaths in the family, whom, a fortnight earlier, the child's maternal uncle had died, for which reason the women in the house were wearing black and white chequered material in their costumes as a sign of mourning.

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766 The little boy died in my interpreter's home in Sakalawa between night and morning. He was immediately taken out of his cradle and placed on a mattress in the courtyard screened by his mother's black shift. The cradle was at once stowed away on a pile of firewood that bounded the cookhouse on the courtyard side. Despite the early hour a man was sent to the shop for some white cotton material for cerements. It was said that in cases of death the owner of the house can be called out even in the middle of the night, as it is essential that new, unwashed and unused material is used for the cerements. As the child was a boy, the washing had to be performed by a man—in this case a male

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house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked [415] vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. [515] The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never so 826 stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is 576 considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Be- 354 fore the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described [439] as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile, [291] [372]

will offer a flower to a guest and the latter is expected to enjoy it for a short time by holding it to his nostrils before passing it to another. Young Kurdish dandies, not, however, in Rowandus, hold flowers to their faces on the streets of Baghdad or Mosul to circumvent the smells of the metropolis. Perfume of any sort, probably because of its association with women, is abhorrent to Muslim puritans, of whom there are a few in the town, and they avoid it with violent gestures and condemnation. 517 and 574 302 562

Because the ablutions before prayers, with some reservation, apply to Muslims of both sexes, it is equally difficult to obtain an exact idea of the bathing habits of the townswomen. Unmarried girls are supposed to wash themselves completely twice or three times each week during the summer and once or twice each fortnight in colder weather. All of the hair of a woman's body must be removed: the pubic hair with a razor, that under the arms with the fingers, and the rest with a depilatory concocted of sugar and gum arabic. In addition, the ankles and feet are rubbed with a small piece of black stone. Both men and women clean the teeth with their fingers, pieces of rag, or European toothbrushes. The hair of a woman's head, on the other hand, is almost never cut or trimmed, and its length and richness are thought to be outstanding attributes of feminine beauty. Whenever two women quarrel, one often cries out "your hair will be cut," a promise of great catastrophe for her opponent. 515 302 [515] [826] [578]

of hypnosis conventionally described as religious ecstasy. 792
A Nestorian guide said that one day he had encountered 781
Hajji Mustafa and twenty or thirty of his fellows marching [158]
along a lonely road, beating tambourines and singing, in a state of complete frenzy. "I am a good friend of Hajji Mustafa," the Nestorian said, "and have known him for years, but he did not seem to see me." Hajji Mustafa was present at this conversation, and confirmed his detachment with no little pride.

The darwishes can be organized into regular groups, 792
for example, there are some villages in which the entire adult male population belong to an order, or can operate alone. One individual pointed out as a darwish visited Rowandus from time to time dressed in a ragged brown cassock bound at the waist with a piece of rope and obtained money from amused patrons in the tea-shops by swallowing large pebbles. The sums thus realized he spent on food and drink. This person was generally considered [828]
demented, and was occasionally locked up by the police for his outbursts. The chief exhibition of their power 792
by most darwishes, however, is snake-charming. The de- 789
tection and handling of poisonous reptiles is considered the best evidence of a darwish's supernatural abilities and is subject to loud display. It is commonplace in Rowandus to see some darwish, back from a snake-hunt, wandering among the guests in a tea-shop with a squirming specimen clutched in each hand. These snake-charmers [158]
often seem to be in a trance-like state, their eyes

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalists everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, ascetic face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not form the same combination as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Suleimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Havar* and *Hilal*.[10] All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

[10] A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Komala period, such as *Kelavizh* and notably *Nisktoman*, official organ of the party, which bore a picture of Saladin on the cover and circulated in Iraq as well as Iran.

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure re-
sembling that of a European or American army recruit. The
face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great
social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man with- 302
out some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 831
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and,
more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache,
through an understandable cultural process, has come to be
a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with
a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical
qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even
officials and officers, who often wear their hair long,
do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a
sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is
the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and
this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [186]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Towns-
men are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms
and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to
say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [834]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Ex-
cept for the cologne of the barber, men do not use
cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 824
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 574

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, and both youths and maidens are wed by their parents soon after it is believed they have reached maturity, usually at sixteen years for the girls and eighteen for the boys. Strong feeling is also found against arranging the marriage of a daughter younger than one of her unmarried sisters. Romantic love, just as it is understood in Europe and America, is a prominent feature of adolescence, although there is little chance of any physical realization prior to the wedding. A youth and maiden in love may arrange rare meetings in secret, and exchange gifts, embroidered handkerchiefs, flowers, apples, or even rings. If both are literate, they may send notes to one another. Most of these affairs, however, are confined to the exchange of passionate glances at public festivals, such as a birth, a circumcision, or one of the religious feasts, and are ended by one or the other of the two parties being engaged to some other person. Several young men told of their love for girls in adolescence, and how their parents had ultimately betrothed them, youths and maidens alike, to persons they hardly knew or did not particularly desire. It is possible for either a youth or a maiden to balk at such arrangements, occasionally with success. "If a daughter loves a certain youth and her parents ask her to marry another, she may refuse them. She cannot reveal the identity of her loved one to her father or brother (sometimes the youth is unaware of this passion), but her mother usually knows the person of whom she is enamoured,

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[831] [836]

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skull-cap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic mu'adhdhin, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowanduz this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new home with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Sulaimani, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[146]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives. [831]

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The women's rôle in the village milieu thus comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

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Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, *jinns* and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[148]. In regard to Islamised Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Krohn calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the precautionary measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grenard, Krohn writes: "Es handelt sich sich danach nur um Massnahmen, die Frau aus ihrem Sippenkultverband auszulösen und in einen neuen, den der Sippe des Mannes, aufzunehmen"[149]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[150]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy stick.

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a clumsy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red ochre silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connexion with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amouting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[53], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus ran the same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

831 684 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the metre of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a stained bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 562 684 831 Hay[154] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *namûs* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[155] says that is was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume consistant à mettre sur le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("pyslâr"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 191 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Feilberg[156]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[157], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Nerreter's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1703: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[158].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Coran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[159], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[160].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talâq*: "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the 'idda-period[161] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[162]. By *talâq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

4 Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and measures in this connection were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[1] (see p. 139), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[2] (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[3]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[4]. 1515 B88

Sufism among the Kurds. "They are *haqqi*", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Arab *qa'im maqām* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Topzawa and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Shadala, lying in the valley between Charmahand and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that so far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 795

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kaka'i and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[5] Naqshbandi[6], Naqshbandiya[7], founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Mohammed Baha-ed-Din or Baha-eddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Maulana Khalid of the Jaf tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowan[8], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Hajji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of sodium. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 795 291

According to Edmonds[9] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Karim of Shadala, near Sargalu, a relative of the Hajji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have resuscitated or founded the "way" called "Haqqa". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Dawn of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 795 831

795 831 used a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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991 989 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the food coloured over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and covered varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals in a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan there were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

789 Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[1], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and covered. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 989 [822] A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Iarkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Tqqawa); and a blue button was fastened to a finger sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[2].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287d), 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[3], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[4] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[5]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 77,133). Educated urban environment. Bobiangi.

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged 2 suits: house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with bikas are the most important dress elements. The Kwelish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Shoulders has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Bobiangi a short European shoulder-less part of the culture is retained together and placed like a bundle over the bikas. This way of carrying it,

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

The *divankhana* or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

a formal banquet involves cleansing. In entering to dine, certain persons, servants or children, pour water from a metal ewer above a basin over the hands of the guest, furnishing him soap and a towel. Each guest goes through this ritual before going to the table, in groups of two or three. It is repeated a second time when the meal is at an end. According to the direction of the Prophet, the Muslim worshipper must perform the "lesser ablution" (wudu), washing face, hands, and feet, before each of the five daily prayers. Because an observably large proportion of the populace, with no respect to social status, does not pray five times each day, it is difficult to form any idea of adherence. Similarly, the "greater ablution" (ghusl), a complete cleansing of the body, must be undertaken by Muslims after major pollutions, of which the commonest is sexual intercourse. An individual so concerned is najis, "defiled" or "filthy," a violent term of abuse, until bathed, and requiring of a husband the number of baths he has taken in a given period is tantamount to asking how many times he has gone to his wife. It is thus almost impossible, outside of direct observation, to obtain anything other than hearsay on the bathing habits of married people. Nevertheless, it can be seen that most townsmen bathe in the summer at least once or twice each week. The nails are cut with a knife, and cleaned with the same instrument. The attention paid to the parings will be noted later.

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, 302
and, save when untoue in the bath, this type of coiffure [515]
is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and
is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a
reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being
purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some
houses, kohl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony
moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of
the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most
of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their
lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna,
a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday
practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be 164
caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, 751
usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such
as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is
not found in this area, nor is the technique used to
prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial
infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstrua- 841
tion clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual [833]
intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths
are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by 304
most men to be done by women of the town, but it is
possible to observe daily female residents of the lower
classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces.
These are either transient servants or migrants from the
villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

women in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned §44
at the same time. There were four midwives in Rowandus
in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is
delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When
the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Salawat
(Arabic, "Prayers") and Yilah ("God"), which conveys the
event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the
umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is
washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and
swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the
mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be
used again. The afterbirth, hevar aliday ("friend of the
infant"), is taken some distance from the house and
buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after §46
the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with [§33]
her husband during this period. When it is completed, she [§81]
is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups
of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband [§43]
and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy. [§33]

The female relatives of the mother remain with her §51
for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, de-
pending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a
boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a
series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and
their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held
for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from
a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing
and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

4: Hannes E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

In dwellings in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a bedroom. The articles of value and locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, lavishly-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], involving a married couple with/above to one of the other rooms. There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". Where prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then pleading the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed on a lightsome corner of the family circle where this had "gathered round". whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workhouse by the light of a fire, or to read at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the city house of the village missionary specials European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with valve aerials (only found on the

The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure re-
sembling that of a European or American army recruit. The
face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great
social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man with- 302
out some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 831
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and,
more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache,
through an understandable cultural process, has come to be
a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with
a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical
qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even
officials and officers, who often wear their hair long,
do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a
sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is
the beard, when white or gray, stained with henna, and
this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [196]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Towns-
men are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms
and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to
say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [934]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Ex-
cept for the cologne of the barber, men do not use
cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 924
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 574

of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many usages of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, mannerisms, and thought of a Western gentleman. Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad. There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males naked[1] or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygenic than tissue. A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from a sincere desire, as they envisage it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking

[1] [should read: naked. —Analyst]

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, publicized to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the muqeddam, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'akhar, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against heedless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

583 554 [586] [301] [593] [454]

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these prescriptions. There is

582 834

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions 582
differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. 834
Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from [595]
having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, [587]
is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, 582
and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowanduz 608
she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowanduz provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and [601]
"mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister- [606]
in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are [607]
also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly dis- 611
cussed in two ways, through the blood (khwa) of the parents and through the milk (shir) of the mother. Great [853]

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such a situation

ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The department required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange mal is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a 357 592 [834] 589 357

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

keep their wives in exclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qā'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hussain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Barkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Barkan. (See p. 10).

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583 114 369 does not mention that the man must pay any bride price. Nor does it quite agree with the information Lane gives about urban conditions among Arabs in Egypt, where he lets the wedding expenses of the bride's family equal the sum paid in bride wealth by the bridegroom, but states that the money expended by the former goes on furniture, clothes and trinkets for the bride, and that all this, called "gahaz", is the bride's personal property, taken with her in the event of divorce[121], whereas he makes no mention of the bride's family presenting any form of gift to the bridegroom and his family.

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585 297 *Wedding preparations.* Of the bride's outfit the satin quilt and the quilted coats are made by male craftsmen in the bazar. On the other hand a seamstress came to the home where, under the supervision of the women in the family, she cuts out kirtles, long baggy trousers and jackets from the silk, muslin and brocade purchased in Baghdad and Sulaimani. When the material was cut out, the bride's step-mother, thus a married woman, brought a large piece of loaf sugar which, with a sugar hammer, was smashed and strewn over the material. This was said to bring good luck.

[777] The same seamstress cut out of a roll of English grey the shirts of genuine Kurdish form and the drawers given by the bride's family to male relatives of the bridegroom. The seamstress then rolled the pieces of material together, and left to sew them in her own home.

585 302 515 The day before the wedding in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani a woman arrived in order to remove all superfluous hair from the bride's body, whilst the bride herself removed the pubic hairs during a triple steam bath in the house's bathroom. Whereas an unmarried Kurdish girls, as with the Arabs, never shaves or removes hair from her body in other ways, she must from the time of marriage keep her body free of hair[122]. Hairs are plucked out or removed by smearing on a paste, the composition of which I was unable to discover. Dickson mentions a depilatory of this kind with the Badawi, a solution of zinc and arsenic[123] used by the well-to-do, whilst other women pluck out the hair with their fingers. Lane states that in Egypt women use a kind of resin called "Shiba shámer", which is smeared on in a melted state, whereas other women pluck the hairs out "after merely rubbing the part with ashes of charcoal"[124]. At another place Lane[125] refers to a depilatory, "noorah", composed of quicklime mixed with about nine eight part of orpiment. This powder is stirred in water to a paste that is smeared on, loosening the hairs in two minutes, after which it is washed off.

[305] This removal of hair in my interpreter's family thus took place in the home with the help of an expert, and not, as reported by Granqvist about the Palestinian Arabs, in the public bath[126]. It was said that the bridegroom went through a similar process[127].

585 291 197 In the bride's home this form of beauty treatment in connexion with the marriage was of great interest to all the women there. This went so far that an aunt of the bride grasped her by the legs as she sat tailor-fashion in the courtyard, and attempted to overturn her in order to satisfy herself that the pubic hairs had been duly removed. It was possible to determine this as the bride that evening was not wearing Kurdish-woman's costume with wide baggy trousers, but a long, pink nightgown with puffed sleeves—a European phenomenon adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme, worn with a little jacket but without long trousers. Apart from this episode, which must be considered an indication

834 of the extent to which a wedding, down to the last detail, is a family and not a private affair, Kurdi

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were exceedingly modest. Modesty, on the other hand, was of a type different from what we are accustomed to in our pattern of behaviour.

They felt dislike at displaying the naked body. All changing of clothes during the day among women took place in a squatting position without the body at any time being uncovered. An elsewhere European summer dress in which the daughter of the Sheikh of Topzawa had wanted to be photographed caused her to break off the sitting and to dash into the dark cookhouse in the courtyard, where she sat hunched up in the corner with her naked arms slung protectively around her bare legs, when two peasant women from the village, fetching water, happened to pass the gate to the courtyard. In the urban milieu, when my interpreter and I took a steam bath together in the bathroom, she always kept her hand covering her lap when the sitting position on the small wooden stools whilst being doused was not sufficiently concealing.

On the other hand shyness did not apply when relieving nature. This took place collectively and in the presence of other women fetching water from the basin, where water was available for the subsequent washing, whether in the garden basin of the sheikh's houses at Topzawa and Serkan, at the more private well-like shaft in the courtyard of the Sheikh's house at Sargala, or at one of the big public washing basins for women in the villages. This was done discreetly sheltered by the amplenese of women's costumes, but was not a private but a joint undertaking, in which solitude and peace was neither sought nor expected.

The wedding. Lane[139] says that Arabs have a special preference for Mondays and Fridays for the celebration of weddings—that is to say the day on which the bride is handed over to the bridegroom—whereas, according to Hanglo[139], the Turk-stamped Bosnian Muslims favour Sundays and Thursdays.

To judge by the four wedding feasts I had an opportunity of witnessing, wholly or in part, in Southern Kurdistan, the Kurds appear to follow the Turks in this matter. In the villages the two weddings took place on Sundays (16 June and 14 July, 1957), the third on a Wednesday (22 May, 1957), whilst the one wedding I was present at at Sulaimani was celebrated on a Thursday (8 August, 1957). Later my interpreter informed me by letter of her brother's wedding, which took place on a Monday (25 August, 1958). No rule can be discerned from such sparse material, merely the negative one that the Arab predilection for Friday—the most important day of the week for Islam—as the day for the handing over of the bride does not apply in the case of the Kurds. The weddings I witnessed in Topzawa and its neighbouring village, Rakawa, took place in a humble village milieu. The upper class village milieu wedding was not celebrated during my stay in Southern Kurdistan.

At two of the three village weddings I was able to observe the men's rule in the festivities, at the third the women's. In all three cases, however, I was in the bridegroom's home to which the bride was brought. In none of the cases did I have an opportunity to see what went on in the bride's home.

The fetching of the bride, fell, who all came from outside, was a matter for the men[140]. At 6 in the morning a cortège of hired cars filled with men left the village for the bride's residence. Among the men, most of those in the village, was the bridegroom's father, but not the bridegroom, who

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entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouses of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2d. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day's a result of a promise to do so[ᵐ], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine informants I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various lorries in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jeddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (say £200)[ᵍ].

9 In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greater experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white head-dress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sāyāl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is re- 593
turned for some reason to her parental home, it is as 577
much a reflection on her brothers as on herself. 554

In all of the situations outlined thus far there 291
has been no question of the veil, except for a maternal 882
uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not per- 574
mitted to associate freely with all of the women of the 602
house unless they happen to be close friends of its master. 135
The veil enters in between cousins of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (but, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even alone together in a room. There are, of course, some of 606
these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [594]

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
jinekî mirî, "sister of husband," rather than mirîtiyê. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. N. McKenna, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

In approaching relationships within the mal or 554
"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a weakling, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, and, as noted in the section treating society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 582
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [536]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [537]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for [546]
women of the upper strata of society, the townsmen of [294]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even they are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, and both youths and maidens are wed by their parents soon after it is believed they have reached maturity, usually at sixteen years for the girls and eighteen for the boys. Strong feeling is also found against arranging the marriage of a daughter younger than one of her unmarried sisters. Romantic love, just as it is understood in Europe and America, is a prominent feature of adolescence, although there is little chance of any physical realization prior to the wedding. A youth and maiden in love may arrange rare meetings in secret, and exchange gifts, embroidered handkerchiefs, flowers, apples, or even rings. If both are literate, they may send notes to one another. Most of these affairs, however, are confined to the exchange of passionate glances at public festivals, such as a birth, a circumcision, or one of the religious feasts, and are ended by one or the other of the two parties being engaged to some other person. Several young men told of their love for girls in adolescence, and how their parents had ultimately betrothed them, youths and maidens alike, to persons they hardly knew or did not particularly desire. It is possible for either a youth or a maiden to balk at such arrangements, occasionally with success. "If a daughter loves a certain youth and her parents ask her to marry another, she may refuse them. She cannot reveal the identity of her loved one to her father or brother (sometimes the youth is unaware of this passion), but her mother usually knows the person of whom she is enamoured,

584 [885]

[831] [836]

for an egg alone) is a notorious community. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fellahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Bahutsi [837] love its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe [illegible] so engaged, despite the verdict of the Ruwandusis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or inkobohi. The inkobohi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Hutu, confirm this character. The inkobohi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the [illegible]. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

considerable social intercourse between the two groups. Unfortunately, the Nestorians, unable to find land in Iraq, took service with the British, particularly in the infantry levy battalions, and had a part, among other things, in crushing the Kurdish revolts. There are many of them settled in the Kowandus area, at Ainkawa, Dere Bartr and Erbil, and, while outwardly amicable, the Kurds feel toward them a certain amount of distrust and, in view of their alliance with the British, especially in the lucrative occupations of the Iraq Petroleum Company, jealousy. For their part, the Nestorians live in fear of massacre, and as many as are able migrate abroad. The Christians of this native group are just as adamant in the matter of the marriage of their daughters to Muslims as the Kurdish are [illegible] One can find Muslim in Baghdad with American, British, or German wives, but never Armenian or Chaldaean.

There is a curious sociological fact to be seen here. Muslim girls who become prostitutes (in fact, any Muslim woman whose reputation has been questioned) are in imminent danger of being slain by their relatives, and the Baghdad press is filled daily with such killings. Thus most of them assume Christian names, often of a classic favorite, and wear a cross conspicuously at the throat, changing outwardly their religion to avoid detection. Islam commands tremendous respect from its followers and is a "proud" religion, one of warriors and conquerors. A Muslim may be cursed by a non-Muslim to a certain point,

a noun precedes its genitive and is inflected, for example, 601
khaltî mêrê, "sister of husband," rather than *merikhetê*. 193
This last series of observations is not that of the investi- 197
gator himself, but were offered informally by E. K. Rukhrue, a linguist who has made the Kurdish language the subject of an extensive study.

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"house," several things must be emphasized in order that a 577
proper perspective may be gained. The first of these is 602
the question of family honor. Personal honor, for example, in cases in which a man might acquire a reputation as a liar, a thief, a wrestler, or the like, seems always to be dwarfed by the larger matter of family honor, one, as obvious as the entire trading society, this is closely connected with that of the household's women. This is measured in two 582
regards, whether or not the woman has been chaste prior to [536]
her marriage and whether or not she remains faithful to [537]
her husband after it. One of its several expressions, for women of the upper strata of society, the townswomen of [545]
wealthier homes and the wives of the aristocrats and [291]
officials, is the wearing of the veil. Such women are required to conceal their faces, if not their persons, from those unrelated or not intimately known to their families. The women of the lower classes are unveiled, but even they are not permitted extended traffic, such as lengthy conversations, with males unknown to their husbands. The decorum demanded of women serves to orient relationships within and without the household. Coupled with this

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [351]

The maintenance of a shebeen can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the shebeens, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The shebeen, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the prisoners or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the members, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the term "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of officials or officers, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a diwankhana or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in shebeens will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (hotly hen, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits violence.)

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ettend school, but some have yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the <u>shebbeens</u> or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or certain regiments, they can be exposed to influences of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family. Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

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[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that he seldom ever obtained fellatio, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

185 houses

hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the streets. The division applied also to the adolescent sons, who in their leisure hours were sent out from the homes to obtain a "street education" (see p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 3 to 4 years of age still belonged to the home, that is to say, the women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From the houses, hostels, or tea houses men saw only anonymous, concealed figures behind gates. No woman's face or form was visible. When Gavagai[1] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home must the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual consort, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the men also seem to other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social conventions of Kurdish men evinced at times a homosexual tinge; they could be seen walking together with arms round waists, holding hands and interlacing fingers.

Within the home there seemed to be remarkably little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for his clothes, a place on the floor by the most cosy, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided to sleep—that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A women's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 2½ year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses and cheesy sofas, their black, over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to mask simultaneously to obtain their shift and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but impenetrable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over wide pants for the older men and pyjamas for the younger. Re-appearing, they once more slyly past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

The way this home was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However, there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, well known as Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's home it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or ruined to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a house possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the older males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and older brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowandus

At an early age, a girl begins to wear a number of braids, and, save when undone in the bath, this type of coiffure is retained until death. The number of braids varies, and is usually about ten. The hair is regularly stained a reddish colour with henna whose use, in addition to being purely customary, is said "to fortify the scalp." In some houses, kohl, a finely powdered sulphide of antimony moistened with water, is applied to blacken the edges of the eye. European cosmetics and perfumes appear in most of the wealthier homes, and younger women paint their lips and nails. Reddening the hands and feet with henna, a custom for both sexes at a wedding, is not an everyday practice. The so-called "Baghdad boil," reported to be caused by larvae laid by a type of fly in the skin, usually of the face, is the bane of women in cities such as Baghdad or Mosul because of its hideous scar. It is not found in this area, nor is the technique used to prevent it from occurring on the countenance, artificial infection of the ankle or calf of a child. For menstruation clean pieces of rag are used as towels, and sexual intercourse is prohibited during the period. The cloths are commonly washed and reused. Tattooing is denied by most men to be done by women of the town, but it is possible to observe daily female residents of the lower classes with blue dots or marks inscribed on their faces. These are either transient servants or migrants from the villages where the use of tattooing is frequent. In the

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in dresses in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a familiar room. The articles of value set locked in chests were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1]. Lovers, a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms. There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas - though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". Where prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workrooms by the light of a fire, or to walk in the garden beds in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In the city house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

783 in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and
791 desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to
concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into
herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It behoves up a person's self-esteem to
know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3-4 minutes, during which no
disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child, that in this space a person's spiritual self
is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

788 The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until recently
431 welfare took over most forms of private charity.

785 The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself to the wants of comrades to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

981 For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no
491 counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, endowing with other
781 the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The way in which
562 pilgrimage constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them agree to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregations of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Kurdistan, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milling of grain twice daily on the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before going to sleep, during dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

● 841 Embroidery. During menstruation the women in the educated and emancipated milieus in Baghdad (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The towel was not used as a support in any

4) Shaiken E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young women herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing.

Menstruation and menarche in this connection were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married women than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[1] (see p. 139), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[2] (see p. 136). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[3]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37). In consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[4].

Sejkan among the Kurds. "They are happy", said both the Arab mayor of Sekhmami and the Arab qa'im maqām of Kaiya with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Tiqqarra and Sergalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sergalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Sheikhi, lying in the valley between Charmahmud and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that as far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mysteries.

It was, however, he stated that it is not a matter of followers of Ahlu Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kaka'i and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[5] Naqshbandi[6], Naqshbandiyah[7], founded in Bukhara in the 14th century by Muhammad Baha-ud-Din or Baha-uddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 19th century by Sheikh Mawlana Khalid of the Jaf tribe. By him Kak Ahmadi, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Cornell[8], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Haji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of sejkan. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basement of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together to the mountains.

According to Edmonds[9] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Karim of Sheikhi, near Sergalu, a relative of the Haji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have researched or founded the "way" called "Sejkan". This "way" was based on an ancient document "The Dawn of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic commandments laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present, or a

a situation. The tendency is for most persons to remain 595
monogamous, and the usual reason for taking a second wife
is the failure of the first to produce a male heir when, [591]
at the same time, the husband is loathe to divorce the
barren woman in question. Re'uf Effendi was "thinking" of
marrying a second wife who could replace the son he had
lost, because the woman to whom he had been married for
many years had passed the stage of child-bearing. He has
not, however, carried out this intention yet. Sometimes a
wife herself will suggest suggest the second marriage. In
Rowanduz, in 1951, there were no men with a plurality of
brides. It was said that some of the chieftains in older
times had been able to maintain a number of wives in
separate establishments, but most of this seems to have
disappeared.

The preferred form of marriage is that between a 582
man and his father's brother's daughter. If the father
and the uncle live under the same roof, it can be seen that
such a match prevents the money from being paid into a
strange pal, and in marriages of this type the stipulated
sum of the money is often highly fictional. In Kurdistan
a man simply has the first claim on his paternal uncle's
daughter, and his consent must first be obtained if she
is to marry someone else. A bitter feud can ensue if the [578]
parents of the maiden, in view of some advantageous alliance,
override this prerogative. If an idealized situation is
imagined in which the prescription that a man must marry

In the concept of the inequality of male and female, the 562
second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Hutu, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater [46.2]
social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rwanda, where the work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discredited by 555
being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two 634
worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the 577
are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost 542
[illegible] 558
matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grand- [49]
father prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ba'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she wore her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The surviving of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shaikh Affendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect toward their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the gol. little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

relies. The husband or his relatives may be forced to 586
pay the ~~price~~, always a considerable sum, and the
father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried
woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with
the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separa-
tions of varying length are thus as common as divorce,
during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed,
one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness 842
puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, 586
for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override
his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in
those matches in which he had little to do with his
choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after
the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially
for this reason that a young married woman is so desirous
of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain
popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing
a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not contem- [595]
plate a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce
follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kuvda do not
believe that because a woman has been childless in one
marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rawanda, once the problems 461
of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has
little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons
of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the
greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood,
and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats [582].

to its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's premises could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Nursing. According to the Quran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sura 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ....". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this was the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat, but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[*].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 20 and two daughters aged 23 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 15 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (18, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 5 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to see semt while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[**]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion while changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kiz*. Muhammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Quran that male children are more desirable than female[***]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

842 [845] [889] 198 Circumcision - Naming

The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband problems?

neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[198], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[199], by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fixing ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

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304 850 Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Jeyrihel[200] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Ghorayl[201], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 3 days old.

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852 553 [551] Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mulla, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Harmy (Ezel)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kemal, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qasim, Sa'id, Sandar, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Aliya, Galia, Mufida, Nahid, Nahida, Sahiba.*

551 In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[202]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Shaikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Shaikh" Taifur. In my experience the term shaikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Shaikh Tajdin* and his brother, usually called "Mamlah-Effendi", but whose real name was *Abdul Qadir Shaikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in common. There was also a third brother, *Kaka Rizi* (Elder brother R.) or *Shaikh Rizi*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Shaikh Taifur was likewise addressed as *Shaikh Sandar*. Thus the word shaikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barjot[203] and Lerch[204], both of whom confuse the term "Shaikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Shaikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[205] and also that, as maintained by Lerch: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[206]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[207].

[911] Addresses like these, used in Arabia and Iran[208] "father to, slave of, son of ..... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

557 562 Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Hanny, not Madame Harmzi. In addition a peculiarity of the Kurds –the male title "khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[209]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bebe Khan, called Shaikh Taifur's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Mullah Khan.

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858 184 *The kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

woman in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned at the same time. There were four midwives in Rwanda in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Rukundo (Luvukiu, "Treasure") and Yesu ("God"), which conveys the event to the waiting men outside. The midwife severs the umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is washed in water, rubbed in a mixture of oil and salt, and swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be used again. The afterbirth, Inzoga nkiza ("friend of the infant"), is taken some distance from the house and buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with her husband during this period. When it is completed, she is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy.

The female relatives of the mother remain with her for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, depending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

away without until this time, and a new contract must be signed if the pair are to come together again. In the major separation, that of triple divorce, the woman also receives the m'ubiko and her personal possessions. A certain length of time, the ibihe, corresponding roughly to three menstrual periods, must elapse, and, if the woman becomes pregnant during it, her former husband is responsible for the maintenance of herself and the child. Children usually remain with the mother in divorce, but their father may claim them after they have reached a certain age. In addition to divorce, a husband may go to the court or the mulin with witnesses, and obtain a certificate that his wife has been "refractory," in which case he is entitled to "put her away." A woman can only initiate divorce proceedings with difficulty, and is usually forced to pronounce her decry. She also may obtain a certificate of "refractory" behavior for herself and by this means leave her husband, although the latter, from perversity, may later refuse to grant her a divorce. There are, as one might expect, a host of legal subtleties in these cases, and, as an extensive body of Islamic jurisprudence deals with them, there is no need to treat them in detail here.

The principal causes of divorce in Rwanda are incompatability and barrenness. In the first case, the judge or mulin and the relatives of the pair attempt to reconcile them, because, for the relatives, financial transactions of a large scale, sometimes embarrassing, usually

other on the cheek. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are then derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the males are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the *diwankhana* with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such exchanges.

Turning now to the course of an individual's [illegible] through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be examined first. When a pregnant woman senses the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the *diwankhana* or guest-room. A woman who can read from the Quran is called, and when she senses all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and recites in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a reader is not available, a copy of the Quran is placed beside the [illegible] in labor.

woman in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned at the same time. There were four midwives in Rwanda in 1953, all women of the lower classes. The mother is delivered lying on multiweave spread on the floor. When the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Ruhonyi (Lunda, "Purpure") and Yezu ("God"), which conveys the event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and combed. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be used again. The afterbirth, ikimeri ikiza ("friend of the infant"), is taken some distance from the house and buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with her husband during this period. When it is completed, she is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy.

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[illegible] B-6 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and idea of the [illegible] marriage, also the Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the district's wife at Tuquzawa.

Parturition takes place in a sitting posture. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor between-legs. Over this is tied a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour soon herself, the assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another relative draws in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her around the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Serkan there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's home at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife, than the first to be trained in Sulaimaniyah. At the time I was there this woman was about 60 years of age.

Births take place in one of the rooms of the home. I was told that the latter was be present. The umbilical cord is cut by [illegible] or scissors. The [illegible] doctor at the Dokan Dam She told me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities to the fame of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynaecologist at the hospital at Sulaimaniyah told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her internal functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimaniyah in such medical attention. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynaecologist.

In another case a woman in Serkan continued with fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimaniyah. The child, which was a few days old, could not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, usually is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that was in a napkin and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches up to the shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.20 m. x 1.20 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are then up around the feet. The two upper

§61 religious festivals; though such ceremonies are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is thus determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

• §62 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons, and the women's fear of being barren. When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or unsmoked beside his crib. This is so that the shaw, a form of djinn or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaw is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaw is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion leaf may be placed beside her.

§63 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the naming ceremony. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

§64 Circumcision of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, a man or two will be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Sulaimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village

[31] personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[84] [85] The Kurd is born into a world of dancing and feasting, for relatives and friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers beneath. When he reaches the age of five he is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of excess shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

[86] [87] [88] He has another great festival when he is

[848 continues on p. 578]

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among the townspeople. The ceremony for the first son is much more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Kowanda. Deformed infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and their parents "look out for them" just as with normal children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy requires weaning, because it is held that the milk in then "unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, as noticed previously, its foster-mother, Zizwa, and the child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The wet-nurse resides in the home of the infant, and is established with money and food. In the event that a nurse cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is necessary, and are they suckled every time they cry. It is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are often left unattended in this respect for some length of time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden bed raised between four flat legs which are carved to look above it is two arches. The arches are connected by a

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and bliss of the Ormuzdi marriage—also the Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the district's wife at Tegawra.

Parturition takes place in a sitting position. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor between the legs. Over this is laid a thin, pierced mattress on which the woman in labour soon herself. An assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Sultan Gora was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's house at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife, when the first to be visited in Sulaimani. At the time I was there this woman was about 50 years of age.

Births take place in one of the rooms of the house. I was told that the father was be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The knife doctor at the Sulaimani Town Hall told me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord would be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth may fall to the local midwife in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynecologist at the hospital in Sulaimani told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her natural functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimani in such unsuited situation. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynecologist.

In another case a woman in Sulaimani sentenced with fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital in Sulaimani. The child, which was a few days old, could not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The newborn child, naked, is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that was on a woman and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches to its shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.20 m. x 1.20 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower pieces of the cloth are then up around the feet. The two upper

women in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned at the same time. There were four midwives in Rwanda in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Ihirwa (Ignite, "Overjoy") and Ilish ("God"), which conveys the event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be used again. The afterbirth, Isumo nkuru ("friend of the father"), is taken some distance from the house and buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with her husband during this period. When it is completed, she is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy.

The female relatives of the mother remain with her for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, depending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

G Oluwasola B-A (1977) 1961 MA/11 Thesis MA/11

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and idea of the Oshoosi marriage; when this is denied,

The following prohibition concerning birth were given me by the chief's wife at Tapoosa.

Parturition takes place in a sitting position. One of the ordinary support-cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor between-legs. Over this is laid a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour soon herself. An assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the patient object to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman is most acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Sefwi there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Bogoloki, and the woman who had assisted the one whom I my investigator's home at the 3rd Birth that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife. Even the first to be trained in Enkonsuo?. At the time I was there this woman was about 40 years of age.

Birth take place in one of the rooms of the house, I was told that the father was be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The last shower at the Sefwi Dwo Dio told me that in case of a sudden birth and in the countryside, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female European gynaecologist at the hospital at Sehkonsuo told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her original functions as a threefold, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by road over the mountains to Sehkonsuo or wait overlong operation. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynaecologist.

In another case a woman in Sefwi continued with fever after giving birth. She was taken on hammock and then by bus to the hospital at Sehkonsuo. The child, which was a few days old, would not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, usually is wrapped in a piece of native material that acts as a nappy and is changed from time to day. It is then laid on a long piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches to its shoulders and is somewhat longer than the legs. The cloth is about 1.20 m. x 1.20 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are tied up around the feet. The two upper

ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[586]. Should he have pronounced 586
[illegible] three times or have stated it twice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage 587
with another man and must be repudiated by this "stand-in husband" before the husband can take her back[587]. The Quran forbids the practice of *ahalamma*, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, [582]
that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's (*ummi*, known as *zihar* [illegible] = back)[588]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The 562
marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the 586
wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to 586
present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the [858]
marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[589], girls under nine (or up to puberty)), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being repudiated (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom he soon comes to [illegible] never sees, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shafi'i* rite to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other. 114

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four houses of the 565
village schoolmaster that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be 595
so in the case of the *shaikh* families in Topzawa, Bergalu, Shaikán and Serkan. Soane[590] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[591]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the servant with had five children aged 16, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the [848]
Kurdish pattern of life, the *shaikh*, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old *shaikh* in Shaikán. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married men with wives and

it seems likely that this is only permissable after the two have been engaged to be married. 605 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. In masculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence to social status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quickly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

593 [183] [851] [606] [586] [592]

woman in labor. A second woman, the midwife, is summoned at the same time. There were four midwives in Ruwanda in 1951, all women of the lower classes. The mother is delivered lying on mattresses spread on the floor. When the baby is held up by the midwife, the women cry Yalewuh (Arabic, "Prayers") and Yilah ("God"), which conveys the event to the waiting men nearby. The midwife severs the umbilical cord with a knife and ties it, and the baby is washed in water, rolled in a mixture of oil and salt, and swaddled. Pieces of cloth have been placed under the mother. The blood is washed from these and they may be used again. The afterbirth, hewan ajing ("friend of the infant"), is taken some distance from the house and buried. A woman is considered impure for forty days after the birth and she is not allowed to have intercourse with her husband during this period. When it is completed, she is supposed to take a ritualized bath in which forty cups of water are poured over her. Intercourse between husband and wife is freely permitted during pregnancy.

The female relatives of the mother remain with her for seven days. A celebration for both sexes ensues, depending for its size on whether or not the newly-born is a boy and the wealth of the father. For the wealthy, a series of animals, sheep or goats, are slaughtered and their flesh is distributed to the poor. A banquet is held for the friends and relatives of the house, lasting from a few days to two weeks, at times accompanied by dancing and the music of the flute and drum. A poor man can only

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among the townspeople. The ceremony for the first one is much more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rwanda. Deformed infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then "unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, as noticed previously, its foster-mother, kiyo, and the child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is established with money and food. In the event that a nurse cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are often left unattended in this respect for some length of time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

any withhold until this time, and a new contract must [874]
signed if the pair are to come together again. In the
ter sequence, that of triple divorce, the woman also
ceives the children and her personal possessions. A
rtain length of time, the idda, corresponding roughly to
ree menstrual periods, must elapse, and, if the woman [863]
comes pregnant during it, her former husband is responsible [867]
ble for the maintenance of herself and the child.
ildren usually remain with the mother in divorce, but
eir father may claim them after they have reached a
rtain age. In addition to divorce, a husband may go
the court of the mwami with witnesses, and obtain a
rtificate that his wife has been "refractory," in which
se he is entitled to "put her away." A woman can only [862]
itiate divorce proceedings with difficulty, and is
nally forced to pronounce her away. She also may ob-
in a certificate of "refractory" behavior for herself
d by this means leave her husband, although the latter,
om perversity, may later refuse to grant her a divorce.
here are, as one might expect, a host of legal subtleties
these cases, and, as an extensive body of Islamic
risprudence deals with them, there is no need to treat
em in detail here.

The principal causes of divorce in Rwanda are in-
mpatability and barrenness. In the first case, the
dge or mwami and the relatives of the pair attempt to
concile them, because, for the relatives, financial trans-
ctions of a large scale, sometimes embarrassing, usually

absence of investigation, the function of village banking in this area is not positively known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both.

The wallet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use examples in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys recite numerous in hopes of growing a mustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls may be pierced at any time in their early years, but putting a wastil for the [illegible] or over-ring is only to be seen in the villages.

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods.

arms-pieces, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, can be carried about easily by this last. The child is laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with strips of intelwekely woven and embroidered work. A hollow piece of wood is placed between the infant's legs whereby the urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin. To more weather the cradle is covered by lions or goats to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The arms-piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye, consec from the horns enclosed in cloth pockets, pieces of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded arms-ends. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a little agrem. No undergarments are in use. The shoulder of the dress is also placed with charms, like those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia, much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, an event which is not marked in Rwandan by an elaborate ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend, and entertains them in the guest-room with light refreshments. The mulik or priest is summoned, and the baby is placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name selected previously by one of the family. He holds the child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear. He gently intones what was described in Rwandan as the ijwa (Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shehada, "testimony"

of Faisal Khalifa Akbar. Khalifa Akbar, authority lasts in Akbar like Hadi in authority lasts Mohammed reveal Thirds. §53 §52 [99]
"God is greatest, God is greatest, I bear witness that Mohammed is the Apostle of God." For the infant, something analogous to a Christian baptismal ceremony. He then says the name of the child loudly in the ear three times, and the formal ceremony is completed. The investigator was told that elsewhere in Kurdistan, specifically at Sulaymaniya, there are extensive celebrations associated with naming. The name itself is usually selected by the parents, who may defer the choice to the grandparents. It was also said that a name was conventionally obtained by opening one of a number of written slips from a bag, or that it appeared to one of the parents in a dream.

The Kurds do not use family names, but conventional §51
and appellations which further identify the person in question. The proper names are in part derived from Arabic, among them the numerous "slaves" of God, for example, 'Abd al-Rahman, "Slave of the Merciful," or simple ones such as Ahmed or Fatima. Others, like Mustafa or Izzet, have a Turkish origin, and some are purely Kurdish or Persian. By analogy from the Arabs, the parents of a child may be designated after him. Thus, the mother and father of Ahmed might be termed Um Ahmed and Abu Ahmed respectively. A person may also be identified by the name of his father, for example, Aziz Shakir, Aziz "the son of" Shakir. For additional characterization, a man may be

puril. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing differentiating the sexes, skirts and loincloths for the boys, dresses and underdresses for the girls. The older children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a consonant word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and the need of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. But six months after birth the soils of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is retained with beads, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An interesting event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Kavumbu tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering Swahili who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

wealthy sponsor in a room outfitted with beds and entertainers on which they are told to rest. Their mothers and other female relatives supervise them, and have a gathering of their own in one of the sleeping rooms. In the guest-room a large congregation of men, the fathers, relatives, and friends assemble. The male is examined, and evolves from the tumor. Another room is appointed for the operation itself, and in it the barber or Jewish servant of the men, and the father of the boy being circumcised at the time take their stations. It might be noted that the boys, engaged in their rest, are in a state of considerable trepidation, for they have not been informed what will happen and, at the same time, evince excessive pretense for them. A boy is led alone into the room of the operation and seated on a chair, his father standing next to him. The barber or Jewish friend before him, concealing the knife, and the forceps is out, theoretically before the child is aware of what has happened. At the same time a lump of sugar is placed in his mouth to prevent an outcry. The wound is quickly bound with a cloth bandage, and the boy is returned to his fellows. The barber or Jewish usually accompanies his pronouncements by muttering religious formulae of his own choosing or invention.

When all have been circumcised, they are allowed to rest and are visited by their fathers and mothers who congratulate them on their bravery. Meanwhile a great celebration ensues for the adults, separate banquets for

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the brother or parents the bride, and the musicians during the meal, and their return may be extremely large ("as much as a hundred dollars," or $100.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a decked surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the brother, and others. As may be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a distinctive or costume, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Circumcision is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "dirty" or "heathen" observation.

Children enjoy a relatively unrestricted childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the call separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

§xi religious festivals. Though such ceremonies are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is thus determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, walking, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

§ xii Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women act a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is usually buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons, and the women's fear of being barren. When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or unsharpened hoe-blade with him. This is so that the shaw, a form of djinn or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaw is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaw is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or some tool may be placed beside her.

§ xiii On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the naming ceremony. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

§ xiv Circumcision of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, it may in fact still be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Sabinami. It is customary on this occasion for the village

tention, if he has a son who is being circumcised, to pay for the meal of poor people, and to give the feast. There is thus a tendency for the brothers's sons to be circumcised in a common ritual with a large number of boys. This might be thought of as reminiscent of some form of age-grades, and may be vaguely symbolic of loyalty ties within such gangs/unions of village boys.

When a child loses his first deciduous teeth, a special dish is commonly prepared and given to the neighbors because the parents are very proud that their child has become so big.

When a girl feels she is growing up, she may, with a few friends, decide she wishes to be tattooed, usually only moderate small designs on face or hands. This is performed by an old woman specialist rarely a resident of the village, but is, everyone insisted, now going out of use as a practice. There is no formal rule as to the age at which this is done, but a girl presuming at too early and age would probably be ridiculed. The concern seem essentially the same as those on the use of cosmetics in Western society, and the time of tattooing does not correspond to puberty in any one-to-one relation as a rite de passage.

Marriage is one of the most exciting festivals of the village, and usually takes place in the autumn after the harvest, to ensure plentiful supplies. The process of choosing a spouse has been discussed above (pp. 24 ff.) — the ceremony itself is most colorful in the case of marriage that connect two villages, since then the aspect of conspicuous exhibition of wealth is most stressed, and the bridal procession from the girl's to the husband's home most impressive. The celebrations should traditionally last three days, and involve all the would aspect of eating, smoking, and dancing, offering opportunities for all kinds of informal social activities. Unless economic factionalism interfere, the whole village takes part in the festivities.

Death. After a death, the members of the bereaved household remain at home for three days, and friends and relatives come visiting, express their sympathy, and are served food and tea. After three days, the throats of two or three sheep are cut, in honor of the deceased, and the meat is given to the poor — that is, distributed

personality in England, the 'man in the street' — receives little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

The Kurd is born into a world of fighting and feuding, for relatives and friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. He soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, circumspectly shooting stones over the edge at his brothers beneath. When he reaches the age of five he is given clothes exactly like those of his father — in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a watch or more of excess chronometers which he winds back over his cuff.

He has another great festival when he is

[illegible]

circumcised at about the age of seven. Once more the relatives and friends gather, sweetmeats are produced, and there are two days of preliminary feasting and music to dim the pain of the operation. On the third day, when the operation is performed, the wakhāk (national dance) is danced, in which men and women stand arm in arm in a row swaying backwards and forwards while music and singing fill the night with sound.

The next great event in the life of the young Kurd is his marriage. When he reaches about eighteen years of age, or earlier among the tribes, he takes a wife. Among the poorer people a girl of one family is exchanged for a girl of another family, and a double marriage takes place; or if one girl is too young, she is set aside as the daughter or fiancée of the boy until old enough to be married (that is, about 14 years old in the case of women). So for a poor family the only expense incurred is three days of feasting and the

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 352
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served 242
accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [243]
zulabia, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [353].
and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234]
brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, _dasing_, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favoured in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavoured with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shirni sarap, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallized lemon, limun dusi, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverized "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of malarial fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

no reason to believe, however, that such early prohibitions differed too greatly from those formulated by the Prophet. Specifically, it is forbidden for persons to marry their grandparents, parents, the brothers and sisters of their parents, and their own brothers and sisters. Further, noting that polygyny is permitted, a man is prohibited from having two sisters as his wives. Only if one sister dies, is he permitted to wed the survivor. Finally, an infant whose mother cannot feed him is often given to a wet-nurse, and this person, no matter what her status (in Rowandus she is typically a villager) becomes his "mother." In later life he is under the same restrictions toward her and her kindred as he is toward his own mother, for example, he can never marry her daughter. The townspeople of Rowandus provided rationalizations for some of these matters, and they are subtended here with little comment. The rule that a man could not be married to two sisters simultaneously was explained by the usage that a husband habitually addressed his parents-in-law as "father" and "mother," his brother-in-law as "brother," and his sister-in-law as "sister," although, as will be seen, there are also separate terms for relatives by marriage. A man cannot take the sister of his wife as a second bride, it was said, because it was as if she were his real "sister," as he called her. In Kurdistan descent is commonly discussed in two ways, through the blood (xwng) of the parents and through the milk (shir) of the mother. Great

importance is attached to nursing, and the ultimate curse of a mother toward her offspring, the rarest of events, is the wish that her "milk should never have been a misfortune in his mouth." It is forbidden for children who have been nursed at the same breast to marry and for this reason a youth can never wed his foster-sister, the daughter of his wet-nurse. It must be noted that in selecting a wet nurse, one with whose daughter an advantageous marriage might be subsequently arranged is never sought, but rather some woman of the lower classes or of the villages. Neither of these explanations, nor a third, that of descent through "blood," can be expanded to explain the prohibition of marriage between two generations. To amplify this statement, one cannot marry his sister "because they have been nursed at the same breast," but the rationale does not apply to an aunt who is similarly forbidden.

Islamic law permits a man to take four wives if he so chooses. This, however, in its full realization presents many more obstacles than are immediately apparent. First, he must pay separate dowries for each spouse, and the dowry, as has been seen, as well as the feeding, clothing, and maintenance, of a single wife is not an inexpensive undertaking. Polygyny, then, is more often than not the prerogative of the extremely wealthy. At the same time, the threat to connubial happiness in maintaining two or more wives under the same roof is widely recognized in the Middle East, and there are many examples, in literature and in popular speech, of the intense jealousy developed in such a situation.

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regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is
necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It 856
is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The *unadorned urban environment*. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women, in the unadorned urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

Fig. 44. Ordinary peasant environment. Balakja.
Fig. 45. Unadorned urban environment. Sulaimani.

In order to nurse the baby, the mother squats down, tips the cradle end, with one arm on the carrying pole, pushes the curtain aside.

Supplementary to the cradle type whose urine tube makes the use of nappies, and all the washing that goes with them, unnecessary, there was a night-commode in the form of a small arm chair in which even an infant can be placed in a semi-lying position in order to have its bowels moved. The night-commode has a hole in the seat around which there is a ring of padded cloth with a flounce. A container is placed under the seat. This seat has a cushion for the back so that the child more less than sits, comfortable and secure.

Instead of two smaller holes in the bottom that allow the head of the bed to be turned, the cradle may have one larger hole, corresponding to a bigger hole in the mattress, a little below the centre of the wooden bottom. In this a clay vessel (E. 2313a), 0.126 m. high, diam. about 0.10 m., similar in shape to a flower pot, is lowered. The urine tube, *Alia*, (E. 2313b) 0.17 m. long, is of bamboo, with a longish opening in the side near the one end, thus intended for a girl, is planted in the clay vessel. I

Fig. 86. Clay vessel (E. 2313a) with urine pipe of bamboo (E. 2313b) for a girl. Bekhir. Wooden pipes, for boy (E. 2314) and for girl (E. 2315). Sulaimani.

to its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Nursing. According to the Quran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sura 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ....". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reasons for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[1].

An Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 20 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 13 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (19, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to use scent while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[2]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kiz*. Muhammad, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Quran that male children are more desirable than female[3]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

Aside from this

work is building and repair, the only significant production 335
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 322
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 322
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, part of 95
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity as it may [383]
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 412
carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, [439]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [364]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as circles, are [359]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

352 [415] [271]

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

513

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily re-et in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

[351]

352 513

[864]

833 864

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

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white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
garments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth European jacket. The dress of the children of officials and officers is much like that of their Kurdish playfellows, at the same time more European in character, particularly for the boys who sometimes wear slacks and jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the winter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
younger children are confined to the houses in extremely cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist. There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys, the adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in the eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under considerable pressure to influence the father for money to deck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 186
follows a government career in the secondary schools and 291
colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such notions to the condemning adjective heladi, "rustic," although he may retain a certain admiration for the dashing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

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is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, 954 ●
can be carried about easily by this last. The child is [352]
laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps
of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece
of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the
urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin.
In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze
to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross- [751]
piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye,
verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces
of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded orna-
ments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple 291
dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a 954
little apron. No undergarments are in use. The
shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like
those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia,
much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, 553
an event which is not marked in Rowandus by an elaborate 952
ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend,
and entertains them in the guest-room with light refresh-
ments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is
placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name
selected previously by one of the family. He holds the
child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear.
He gently intones what was described in Rowandus as the imm
(Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

children. That a blue porcelain plate or a pair of old shoes is often installed beside the door of a house has been noticed. An iron horseshoe, as in America, may also be nailed above a door or on a wall. A human hand cut out of metal, the "Hand of Fatima" spoken of previously, is often found in jewelry. Adults seem to require little protection against the evil eye, but younger children, particularly males, almost always have charms pinned to their garments and their cradles are hung with them. Houses and animals are similarly protected. There is some rationalization of these charms. Those derived from the Quran have a power within them. The others, apart from their intrinsic qualities, deflect the glance of the evil eye from the object in question to themselves, a sort of magnetic property, because of their bright colour, their design, or something else.

Charms such as these have a variety of origins. Miniature copies of the Quran, metal disks, beads, pieces of turquoise, and shells are imported by the merchants and sold in the bazar, not only to the town people, but to the villagers among whom they are always in great demand. Slips of paper on which appropriate Quranic verses have been written may be obtained from one of the mullas or some other literate specialist. Cloth from the tomb of a holy man is easily obtained. Most persons assemble their own combinations, stitching them in cloth bags which are worn about the neck or pinned to the garments. Many of these are not solely to ward off

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and idea of the (blessed marriage) when the Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the shaikh's wife at Tapawra.

Parturition takes place in a sitting posture. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor between(s). Over this is laid a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour soon herself. An assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Sirkan there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's house at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife. (See the first to be trained in Sulaimani?. At the time I was there this woman was about 30 years of age.

Births take place in one of the rooms of the home. I was told that the father can be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The Arab doctor at the Dohuk Govt Hos said me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynecologist at the hospital at Sulaimani told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her internal functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimani to seek medical attention. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynecologist.

In another case a woman in Sirkan continuing, with fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimani. The child, which was a few days old, would not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, naked, is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that acts as a nappy and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches to its shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.00 m. x 1.00 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are bent up around the feet. The two upper

§46 §54 points of the triangle opposite the shoulders are crossed over the chest and the arms outstretched along the side of the body. The points are led round the child's back, arms, and return to the front where they are tied in a knot around the child's legs. The band is bound with two pieces of triangular material laid together. The one piece acts as a head-cloth, the other, outside, as a forehead bandage. Similar clothing for a new-born infant is also reported by Crawley[1] in the case of Arabs in Palestine.

The child then swaddled is placed on a shoulder, inverted grain sieve that's covered by a thin mattress. This constrains the child's head for the first seven days. This use of a grain sieve by the Kavirondo in Southern Kavirondo is referred to by Hildebrand[1], who says, however, that the child stays on the sieve 6, not 7, days, as it is especially at night that there is a danger that the evil spirits, will kill the mother and child. He also states that during these days neither the midwife nor the other women who have assisted must leave the house or remove the objects they have brought with them in connection with the birth[2]. A sieve as the child's first bed also in Iraq is mentioned by Donaldson, who says that it acts as a protective against a witch, who is blamed for the many deaths of infants just after birth[3]. Lane refers to the use of the sieve in Egypt, reporting that the child is well shaken in it, which is said to be good for its stomach[4]. Lane, whose information dates from the middle of the previous century, is supplemented by Blackman, who writes that the sieve used in Egypt is the large one employed when grain from the threshing floor is thrown against the wind to separate the chaff, and he states that on the seventh night, that is to say the night before the seventh day of life, the child is shaken in the sieve on which a few grains of corn have also been laid. The grain is thereafter consumed[5].

Lying-in can be confined to a single day or last as long as 30 days.

After the first week the sieve is replaced by a cradle, which in Kavirondo I found existed in three different types: transportable, hammock, and stationary.

§54 The first, transportable kind, *kyoka* (E. 2364) consists of a flat wooden bottom, 0.61 m. × 0.40 m., mounted between four legs, vertical wooden sticks, which above join, two by two, flat transverse wooden arches, and below join in pairs of transverse rockers. Above, the two wooden arches are connected with a heavy pole that runs along the cradle. With this pole the cradle can be carried. The wooden bottom has a low edge that serves to retain a mattress stuffed with cotton, *ghidi*, (E. 2365) 0.67 m. × 0.30 m. × 0.08 m. In both the wooden base and the mattress there is a hole near the centre, or there may be two holes, enabling the mattress to be turned and the head of the cradle to be arranged as either end at will. A pipe-shaped wooden object, *kikoh*, 0.23 m. long (E. 2349 and E. 2310) is put vertically down through the hole in the mattress and the base of the cradle. If for a male child there is a circular opening at the head of the pipe, if for a female an oval one. This retaining tube is carefully wound round with rags (E. 2312a-b) in order that it shall not be uncomfortable when pressed up between the baby's legs. The child lies outstretched on its back with a cylindrical pillow, *ukhi*, (E. 2366) 0.30 m. × 0.10 m. × 0.060 m. under the neck, and its arms extended along the body. In this position it is bound fast. This is done with two padded bandages, *dandia*, (E. 2368a-b) 0.10 m. broad and 0.60 m. long. At the one end of these bandages there are straps through which is pulled a heavy wooden cord (E. 2369c) that is stretched out along the one side of the cradle underneath from leg to leg. A wooden cord 2.60 m. in length ending in big wooden tassels (E. 2369a-b) is sewn on one end of each bandage. One bandage is passed over the child's arms and chest, the other across the

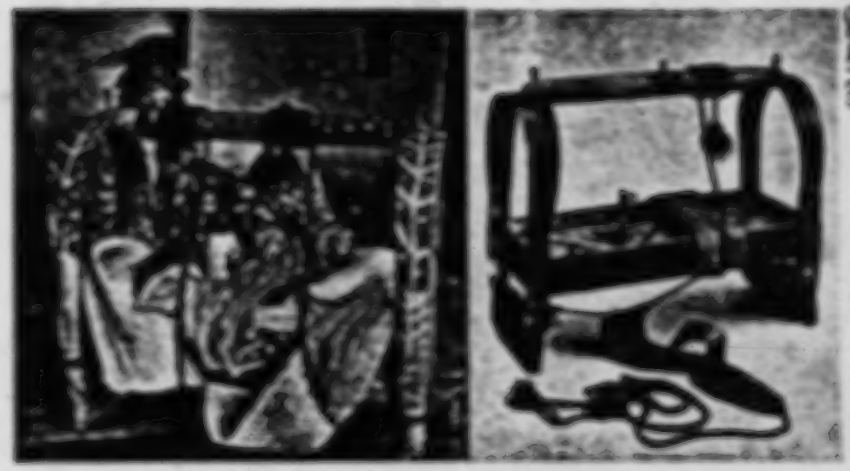

Fig. 84. Transportable cradle, Lyudha, arranged for the child. Behind the cradle the child placed on a nightmat, Sukabumi.

Fig. 85. Transportable cradle (E. 2364) with bandages (E. 2365a-b) and cradle (E. 2365c-e). The cotton discharge pipe (E. 2143) placed upright in the hole in the bottom.

sickness and legs, holding the urine discharge pipe in position. The woollen cords that prolong the bandages are passed under the cradle and then twisted round the heavy longitudinal carrying pole, the tassels hanging as decoration and perhaps for amusement of the tied-up baby. The application of the abdominal bandage turns the child's legs outwards, and I discovered that this out-turned position of the feet persisted until the age of three[1]. A small rug is placed under the baby to absorb any excrement, urine being taken by the pipe. I was told that a bottle or sack like could be hung under the cradle[2], and that an arrangement of this kind was used during the winter in rooms covered with rugs, but I never saw this used in the manner on the roof, in the courtyard or in rooms without carpets, where all liquids running on to the ground or the floor evaporated immediately. Above the bandages a small quilt, *ilfe*, could be laid. The cradle possesses a curtain. For a newly-born child this was of black material, suspended from the transverse carrying pole, so that the child lay as though in a tiny tent. For a slightly larger child a turquoise or purple voile curtain was hung up. This surrounded the whole cradle like a bag with an opening on the one side. The curtain, *pareda*, (E. 2367) is formed of a piece of cloth 1.80 m. long and 0.84 m. broad. It is folded together into a bag of the same height and length as the cradle, and sewn together with a seam along the upper edge, with an opening on one side. If the night air on the roof was cool a woollen blanket was laid over the curtain to shield the child from draughts. To enable the child to sleep peacefully it could be blindfolded with a white cotton rag,

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In order to move the baby, the mother squats down, tips the cradle end, with one arm on the carrying pole, pushes the curtain aside.

Supplementary to the cradle type whose wives who makes the use of nappies, and all the washing that goes with them, unnecessary, there was a night-commode in the form of a small arm chair in which even an infant can be placed in a squatting position in order to have its bowels moved. The night-commode has a hole in the seat around which there is a ring of padded cloth with a flounce. A container is placed under the seat. This seat has a cushion for the back so that the child sees less than sits, comfortable and secure.

Instead of two smaller holes in the bottom that allow the head of the baby to be turned, the cradle may have one larger hole, corresponding to a bigger hole in the mattress, a little below the centre of the wooden bottom. In this a clay vessel (E. 2313a), 0.138 m. high, class, about 0.10 m., similar in shape to a flower pot, is lowered. The urine tube, Ilda, (E. 2313b) 0.17 m. long, is of bamboo, with a longish opening in the side near the one end, thus intended for a girl, is placed in the clay vessel. I

Fig. 66. Clay vessel (E. 2313a) with urine pipe of bamboo (E. 2313b) for a girl. Ambon. Wooden pipes, for boy (E. 2318) and for girl (E. 2311). Ambonese.

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Fig. 87. The stationary cradle: a box-shaped bed suspended from a frame. Sulaimani.
Fig. 88. The transportable cradle. A mosquito net is hung over the transverse beam. Tegawra.

are a cradle of this type in use at Balkha, near the Iranian border. On top of the vessel, under the cushions, was a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (E. 1968). This is used by the Uigurs, Ferghana[15]. A quite similar cradle from the Tartars of the Crimea is described and illustrated. This is fitted with a clay vessel and urine tube. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[16].

The two other patterns of cradles in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from its four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A rug is laid underneath the child which is taken up as soon as it wakes.

The stationary cradle is a hammock converted into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, box-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In the villages the box, which swings from side to side, contained straw, sacks or rags, in Sulaimani a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and cleaner children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress bed on the floor, just like an adult. A similar box-shaped bed (E. 772) has been brought back from Pushtu-speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan. It consists of a double wooden frame, 0.80 m. × 0.50 m. × 0.30 m. with base and sides of wicker-work and a rope for suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle in its Kurdish form is also found with the Ossetes[17] and Georgians[18] in the Caucasus. Plate[19] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia[17] and in Turkey[18]. Boucher mentions

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Fig. 68. Fragment of saw-shaped tile painted in polychrome "Minai-ware". Found in Rayy. Early 13. century. (Ralph Pinder-Wilson, Islamic Art, London 1957, fig. 38). Mother nursing child in a cradle like the Kurdish Ijwalla.

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that they can be taken on horseback[2], a thing I also saw done by some passing nomads in Kurdistan. It is depicted by Bishop[3] as an Iranian-Bactrian cradle, and Plow mentions its use in Iran[4]. Toy cradles made of clay and wood show that this type is also to be found with the Tajiks and Uzbaks[5]. It is met with in Bukhara[6], and the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition brought one back from Afghanistan (E. 1948). They are also in use with the Uigurs, Ferghana[7] and the Kirghiz[8].

Urine tubes of the Kurdish type have been brought back from Turkestan (Q. 73-75). The same type of tube is depicted by Le Coq[9]. Urine tubes (E. 2881-82) were brought back with the cradle from Afghanistan (E. 1948). Such "tubes à uriner en bois et en os" are illustrated from Georgia by Pokrowski[10], are mentioned from Armenia by Virchow[11] and from the Crimea by Lerman[12]. The Kirghiz[13] use them and make them out of the bones of sheep.

Plow mentions Russian Armenia as the area in which this cradle type originated[14], though this can hardly be correct. It is more probable that its origin must be sought among peoples in Central Asia for whom its portability must have been a most important factors. In my opinion, the rockers are secondary, as with the Kirghiz this feature is lacking in this kind of cradle[15], and the heavy carrying pole, by which the cradle can be lifted, is primary. It is thus a form of portable cradle allied to the cradle trough characteristic of reindeer nomadism, extending from the Lappe in the west to the Indians of the North Pacific coast in the east[16], where it meets another pattern of carrying cradle, the cradle board, that is linked with the snowshoe culture widespread among Americanians from the Algonkians in the north to the Amazonians in the south, with an offshoot to the Ainu in the northern islands of Japan[17]. Beside the cradle board, basin-shaped cradles of the "spring type"[18] are found in northern California.

In north and central Asia there are also portable cradles with devices related to the urine tubes in the Kurdish Ijwalla. Concerning the Ostyak Pokrowski says that in the oval, box-shaped, portable cradle made of pliable wooden or bark sheets, a box filled with sawdust is placed. If the child is a male, his penis is covered by a piece of bark designed to divert the flow of urine to the foot of the cradle, where it is quickly absorbed by the sawdust[19]. Similar pieces of bark form part of the

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equipment of a portable cradle brought back by Henning Haslund-Christensen from the Sabu people in Mandsuria[37]. With the Kalmuk a box-shaped cradle is used with a horizontal outlet tube "barge"[38] placed in the base. With the Tuhvi a cradle board on rockers, to which the child is fastened and which at the end is fitted with a tube intended to carry off the urine[39], a form of cradle the principle of which is clearly the same as that of the Kurdish *kwilla*[40].

Parallels to the second type, the hammock cradle, consisting of a sack suspended from its four corners, were in use in Bellila and Helelija, are found in Iran, made of leather with inserted poles[41]. It is also in use in Armenia. It is stated to be formed of a piece of material or garment hung temporarily in a fold; this hammock type cradle is said to be more comfortable than the Armenian parallel to the Kurdish *kwilla*, and is preferred when the child is ill[42]. In the Caucasus it is wrapped round with broad bands, so that the child is held flat[43], not lying free as in the Kurdish model. The Arab tribes in Syria have hammocks with transverse sticks inserted at both ends[44]. The Rowalla bedouins in Arabia use as a hammock a shawl hung up in the tent[45]. In Yemen there are hammocks of precisely the same form as the Syrian for use in tents, whilst the leather portable cradle, also in use there, has a semi-circular piece of stiff leather inserted to keep the head of the cradle distended, and a carrying strap that draws the cradle together around the feet of the child[46]. Finally there is something between a hammock and a portable cradle in use among the Tuaregs west of the Niger. This type is produced like a vaulted wooden base with two circular pieces of wood inserted at each end of the cradle in which the child lies fastened[47]. It is hung up in the tent.

Whereas in Kurdistan I only saw a rug placed under the child in a hammock, it is said that Arab nomads in Syria use dried, crumbled camel dung to absorb urin and excrement[48]. With the Rowalla bedouins the child is smeared or plastered with dry camel dung before being hung up in the tent in a shawl[49].

The third type of Kurdish cradle, the stationary, hanging cradle on a stand, is used in Iran[50]. An Indian cradle in the National Museum (D. 4178) consisting of a stand in which hung a frame, cor-

Fig. 90. Indian cradle (D. 4178) in the National Museum of Denmark evinces the same principles as the Kurdish stationary cradle, a box-shaped bed suspended from a wooden frame.

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triangular in form with a flat wooden base and inclined sides, so that a crate results[1], evinces the same principle as the Kurdish hanging cradle. In its simplest and most primitive form this stationary hanging cradle was brought back from the Lors. It possesses features of both the transportable *kyelka* and the stationary frame cradle. The Loristan cradle (E. 289) consists of a "rocking board" composed of two parallel pieces of bamboo to which the child must have been fastened in order to remain lying and particularly to retain the urine tube in position. The cradle has cords at each end and is suspended from a transverse pole resting on two forked sticks[2]. There are two examples of urine tubes, pipe-shaped for a male child (E. 291), and formed like an open canal for a female (E. 290). According to report they are not placed vertically as in the Kurdish *kyelka*, but horizontally as in Kalmuk cradles.

[171]

Of the three types of cradles used in Kurdistan, all of which are also used in Iran, the portable one seems to be a nomadic element deriving from the nomad tribes of Central Asia, the basket-work cradle seems to be an Iranian-Arab element, whilst the stationary hanging cradle in a frame points towards India.

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In the Kurdish *kyelka* the child was only kept in and fastened to it at night, and in the two other types of cradle only by day as long as it slept. The child awake was carried around by bigger sisters or lay in the arms of sitting women. Out in the villages one always saw the slightly larger girls with a smaller child on their backs. Even a sick child, in one case a very sick child, is considered better placed

Fig. 91. Mother and child. Evening in a home viewed through the eyes of a 13 years old boy. Sulaimani.

[532]

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in its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Nursing. According to the Coran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sure 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity ... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ...". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, lead-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[51].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 55 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 26 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 15 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (19, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to use scent while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[54]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kiż*. Muhammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, bids several times in the Coran that male children are more desirable than female[55]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jayjani Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

294 437 [443] [292] 294 291 [435] 294 855 796

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter. 294 955 796

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rowanduz, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one 296 [352] [415] [388]

known by his trade, as in 'Umar Chaichi, 'Umar the Tea-shop Owner, by a nickname, as in Shakir Mujjrim, Shakir the Criminal, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali Farsi, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the tribe of the Prophet may preface their name with sayyid, "Lord," as in Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, and have the right of [292] wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use titles such as agha or beg after their names, although the townspeople often apply these to officials and officers of the government elite. The only titles which precede the proper name seem to be Arabic, hajji, a pilgrim, mulla, a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Hashimite Tribe, and shaykh, an aristocratic or religious chieftain. The titles which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi, and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief mulla of Rowandux is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi. No local pattern could be discerned to the aversion of calling a child by his proper name in public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to wander about the streets of the town, sometimes to their peril.

peril. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the boys, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The elder children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its ewer of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Rowandum tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering darwish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

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when, at the age of 6–7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[68]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[69].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphonistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierachy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Østrup has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[70]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among 851
the townspeople. The ceremony for the first son is much
more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent
male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a 845
gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for
them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rowandus. Deformed 732
infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and
their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal
children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying 853
length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy
requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then
"unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot
suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, [608]
as noticed previously, its foster-mother, diyan, and the
child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The
wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is sub-
sidized with money and food. In the event that a nurse
cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk
of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at
regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is
necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It 856
is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread out on the floor, hung from nails or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby shaykhana. Most merchants have a weekly account with the shaykhana-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Many are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils such as "Fragile" or "Basra Import Company," and are padlocked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kubab) or alter- 252. 265
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same
implement (sikh). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

Isma'il Beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three heavily-armed bodyguards. 574

A comparatively large group of men in the town are casually employed as laborers or porters. It has already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Anwar Salah, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more. 464 482 482 554 [183] 464 957 482

but found just as strongly in the illiterate Ba'ldi peasant 351
of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In
Rowandus all of the wealthier homes have their gardens,
surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows
and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are
servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off [349]
to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number
of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be enter- [352] [379]
tained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the
usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular
garden near Rowandus is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of
Jinlian, whose house is built over the source of an icy
mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel
through the plot itself. The agha boasts fruits chilled
in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running
brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and
benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater
extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and
children of the house, in addition to playing there, are [357] ●
held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from
the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the
youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater in-
roads on the produce than those they are set to guard
against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of 354
firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, al- 342
ways to be found on the first floor and more or less open
to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [957] Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. [294] There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296] In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a <u>cherithana</u> does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357 Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the <u>bazar</u> 443 552

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townwomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconvenience, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises. 562 571 [546] [521]

If the society of adults in Rwanda has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes. 558 565 567 [572]

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rwanda not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance. 619 648

known by his trade, as in 'Umar Ghaichi, 'Umar the Tea-shop Owner, by a nickname, as in Shakir Mujjrim, Shakir the Criminal, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali Farsi, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the Tribe of the Prophet may preface their name with sayyid, "Lord," as in Sayyid Ahmad of Batas, and have the right of wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use titles such as agha or beg after their names, although the townspeople often apply these to officials and officers of the government elite. The only titles which precede the proper name seem to be Arabic, hajji, a pilgrim, mulla, a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Hashimite Tribe, and shaykh, an aristocratic or religious chieftain. The titles which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi, and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief mulla of Rowanduz is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi. No local pattern could be discerned to the aversion of calling a child by his proper name in public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to wander about the streets of the town, sometimes to their peril.

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or dervish, the mullá, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("so much as a hundred dinars," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a dishdasha or cassock, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy is never practised, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

opposing sides. Occasionally these "boys" can disturb the adult authorities, as in 1950 when some of the "riders" took the money of the son of the assistant commandant of police. Another game is played with a rubber ball and a stick by two teams. These face each other and one of the two "chiefs" hits the ball toward his opponents with a stick. If the ball is caught by a number of the opposing side, one of the first team is eliminated from further participation, and so it continues until "it can be seen who remains." A third consists in forming a circle of a dozen or so youths. A ball is thrown quickly among them until one is expelled for dropping it. Hide-and-seek is a favorite, as well as throwing stones or walnuts from a mark on the ground at a hole some distance away. Jik or knucklebones, obtained from a sheep, is played by two. One bone is thrown up in the air and the player endeavors to strike it while still in flight with the second bone so that both will fall in a certain way. Something similar to European or American "marbles" is executed with small wooden balls. The girls commonly play "house," imitating the domestic activities of their elders. The older boys, it might be noted, refuse to play with the girls as unworthy of their dignity. The girls, much more than the boys, are called to perform household tasks, helping the mothers with their work and taking care of the younger children. It is said that a mother will cause the eldest daughter to perform almost all of the domestic activities, instructing her for the rule of a

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the older males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and older brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowandus

al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public. 792 212

To illustrate further the character of the darvish, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rowandus. The story was recorded in the garden of Shakir Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iraq disguised as a Jew, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology. 159 792 [124]

> My real name is Mustafa Anis, but my name as a darvish is Khalifa Hajji Mustafa Rowandusi. I am now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rowandus who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is Anis who helps in my shop and the other is an infant. [551] [587]
>
> I was born in Rowandus and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Anis Hasan 'Usman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the school-boys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had [557]

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357
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Fig. 31. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Tuyuwa.

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It was stated that the first *mâir* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in rapid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[45]. *Mâir* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[46].

[272]
257
234
[415]

Mâir diluted with water becomes *mâirâb*[47], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâir* is also the material from which butter, *Awe*, is churned[48]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâir* is poured into the churning sack, *mâlî*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâir* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[49] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

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The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *dŏy*, sheets of bread folded into corners to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[38], and, rarely, fried eggs, *hêlka*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104 F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[39], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[40], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kŏbâb*—not the Turkish kind[41] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *dŏmâyŏk*[42] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdrĕjân* or eggplant[43] plus pie-plants, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[44] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also grows as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Bakhtiyari is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[45]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the sauce bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225–0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 68), for ladling sauce over the lump of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

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when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[18]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[19].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphonistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierachy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Chirup has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[20]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

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857 562 summer holidays. During their stay at home in the village they led the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They used at night the iron beds, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the house was the waiting upon any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

883 178 The elder of these two sons, aged 18, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers at the Dokan Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in his pattern of behaviour, the structure of which lost its inner coherence. As the leading young man of the village, he left the sheikh's farm every morning on horseback. The other hands from Topzawa and Rikawa covered on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk, only trying in great summer heat). At the Dokan Dam Site he then was submerged among the other unskilled Kurdish labourers, a dirty little mechanic in overalls, resuming his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's home. Here his 12 year old half-sister took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash, if this was performed on the clay terrace outside the central room and not at the garden basin.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation at a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the selling of his hours, for he only received money which was of no interest whatever in the aristocratic village milieu, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the foreigners, a thing he had desperately hoped for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed scale of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

883 562 868 The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the fetching of water, often from far away, and milking out in the mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and washed in the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages knew nothing of schools, but they grew up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

883 [872] For that matter schooling did not enter into the life pattern of boys either among ordinary peasants in the villages. On the other hand their labour was much utilized in agriculture. They watched the sheep and goats. They fetched grass from the mountains as fodder, equipped with sacks and sickles. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

883 329 In the third and fourth environments, the educated and uneducated urban milieus, school-going was customary for both boys and girls.

872 An elementary school scheme exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 5 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 3 year intermediate and a 2 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1940 6 years primary schooling is obligatory when possible.

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If, therefore, the absence of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman labour involved for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Bishop[77] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stokes[78] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child became a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

Activities	I Village Aristocracy		II Peasants		III Educated urban		IV Uneducated urban	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	x		x		x		x	
Work outside home			x	x				
Schooling		x			x	x	x	x
Street life		x		x		x		x

Common to girls in all four female environments is assistance in the house according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help to the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys training is the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an aristocratic village milieu the boys are sent away to school in towns like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

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substituted that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[79] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..., and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[80].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[81]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of this father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[82]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[83], are: father's brother's daughter, *amzad*, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, *pûrzd*, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, *xâlzd*, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, *pûrzd*, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[84] and Barth[85] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Topzawa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Surgalu. In Serkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[86]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice so common in Islam areas.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taifur's brother said that if the desired bride had an older brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Topzawa said further that a man in his milieu was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

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pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feebleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

554 normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. T
788 two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to
292 hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordain
788 pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urb
[565] milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst p
rims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around t
10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

[292] Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the ho
rca, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the m
put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colo
for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled

[918] On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpe
covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientat
to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be perform
running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black sto
must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*
which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seve
fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, w
here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at t
instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting
Marwa, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland th
corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in
interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, howeve
had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ri
to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the hom
land should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani,
[242] in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, wh
visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. T
[252] dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of choppe
almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half w
laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

788 Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommend
that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Childr
527 in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock
857 children was composed of boys and girls from 5-6 up to 11 years of age. Syings had been set up
the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket mone
was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'idd-i-qurbān* or *qurbān bairām*, that is spent in Minā on the return from 'Arafāt to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safā* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Minā where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Minā. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mina* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman: When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

726 *dakhalat* (as it is called). They described
727 in stirring tones how they retired to some caves a couple of hundred yards from the village and watched the bombs falling on their homes. The only fly in the ointment was that it was their own houses being destroyed and not somebody else's. Apparently they regarded the affair with some amusement, and themselves as naughty boys who had been punished by having to rebuild their houses afterwards. It had taken them two months' hard work to rearrange the village before the onset of winter; so they decided that in future they would not be led astray by promise of excitement unless they were on the side of the British.

527 Another example of the sporting spirit
• 857 of the Kurds and their disregard for safety is shown in the great sling fights which take place between the children of adjacent villages or of different parts of

[text continued on p.392(A)]

[p.391(B)]

526 the town. At intervals they go outside
• 857 the houses armed with slings and stones. Sometimes as many as fifty boys of all sizes and ages may gather on each side. They commence a great battle, hurling stones at each other with their slings until one side finds the fighting too fierce and beats a retreat. Woe betide the passing stranger who unwittingly walks across 'no man's land' while a battle is in progress!

Now that football has been introduced in Kurdistan the time-honoured battles with slings are being forgotten. Except in the summer, when it is too hot for violent exercise, they rarely take place, the majority of the time being taken up in kicking footballs about. The Kurds have taken to football like ducks to water. In the afternoons, when school is finished, every

[text continued on p. 392(e)]

square yard of uncultivated ground around the town is used for this game. Those who cannot find space in other parts run up and down the streets playing football.

The social system of the Kurds is essentially feudal. Up to recent times no man could prosper or even feel safe unless under the protection of a powerful agha, whose armed retainers guarded the miskin (serfs) from any who might attempt to tyrannize the village. In return for this the agha exercised an overlordship, collecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for marriages, and other taxes. He called out the villagers to fight an enemy when required, and was generally in the position of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An agha used his family as the basis of his power. He produced as many sons as possible, who would be loyal to him in an extremity, and put each in charge of a village, or group of villages, to unite them in the common cause when necessary. If sufficiently powerful he might bring other villages under his control by the simple expedient of annexing them from less powerful protectors. Thus in many Kurdish tribes there is no blood relationship between the aghas and the miskin, but the aghas are of a common descent.

Another important feature in the social system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man. Certain shaikhly families have acquired the title because they claim descent from the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it corresponds to the title of *sayyid* among other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikh are holy men, but do not claim such ancestry. Not unnaturally the former class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the shaikhs have not contented themselves with the religious welfare of the people. Like the priestly class throughout the world, they have at times used religious influence to increase material power, and become analogous to powerful tribal

[p 392 (e)]

[31] personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[844] The Kurd is born into a world of dancing and feasting, for relatives and
• [857] friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grown old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers be-
[852] neath. When he reaches the age of five he
[292] is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of excess shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

852 He has another great festival when he is

304 [text continues on p. 548]

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconvenience, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a cinema for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for plain amusement.

If the society of adults in Rwanda has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chief-boy" over his fellows, and the daughter of a labourer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rwanda not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For 765
most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required,
and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh dis-
tributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly
visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes
must often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals 764
of women and children, depending on the status of their 562
husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. 958
There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or
annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said
that these memorial parties of both men and women visited
the grave "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rwanduz occupies the flat crest of 764
the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak
tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be [197]
encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel
lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are
oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot
above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab
of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some
cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the
next. Only a few have inscriptions, some stelae and [211]
others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus
in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal
clasps and elaborately carved decorations. Finally burial
plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn.
Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble 766
wall, indicating the grave of a sayid, a descendant of

The birth of a girl in Barzinja might cause a husband jealousy

neighbours' guesses, or fathers' negotiations about one with many[1], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[2] by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fixing ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Jeyrâsh[3] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Ekrem[4], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mulla, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Haves (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kemâl, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qâsim, Sa'id, Sardâr, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Afîya, Galîa, Maliha, Nahîd, Nahida, Sahiba.*

In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[5]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Shaikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Shaikh" Taffir. In my experience the term shaikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Shaikh Taffir* and his brother, usually called "*Mam(a)-Tâfir*", but whose real name was *Abdul Qâdir Shaikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert. There was also a third brother, *Kâkâ Bâd* (Elder brother B.) or *Shaikh Bâd*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Shaikh Taffir was likewise addressed as *Shaikh Sardâr*. Thus the word shaikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[6] and Lees[7], both of whom confuse the term "Shaikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Shaikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[8] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[9]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[10].

Additions like these, used in Arabic and Iran[11] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henry, not Madame Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "Khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[12]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Shaikh Taffir's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Maliha Khan.

The Kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child. As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognizes the child as a member of the community

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[84]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[85].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often bag our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, recreation and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered to different place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an accurate feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. The mode social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the home. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Ostrup has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[86]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the home and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the home which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the activities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the loss of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

[illegible] subject of the disagreement is removed from the home, as [illegible] method for the more efficient school. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger replaced on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by the conscious. Also abolished is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Bishop[illegible] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longing and Bradley[illegible] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child becomes a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion one culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than in the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that here they shall be able to master the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. In a small the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child so he is able to attend to his schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any measure of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and other gods with a from an historical angle. Those of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers, Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home

Activity	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]								
[illegible]								
[illegible]								
[illegible]								

A measure of girls in all four levels environments is necessary to the home according to age, thereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the Iranian village milieu, also help in the adult women in work outside the home, offering thereby of social use. Even girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also attend attendance.

The common feature of the boys working in the "most educated". We still have no work the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urban/semi village milieu the boys are sent young to school to occupy the fundamental and formal. In the two urban environments the boys attend fixed schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school during the preparatory school in the village, and in the cases that the work in the fields are in dispensed with.

[illegible] 524

are just as binding as marriage is maintained by Blackman[1] in regard to the Egyptian fellahin. On the other hand, he was never alone with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the two young people were talking together, and he did not very often pay a visit. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the white veil over her head when speaking to him, but at the same time wore shoes in a remarkably shrewdly way, stirred in old, dirty clothes. The two young people were to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with that part of the paid-up bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture items were to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedroom suite in polished wood and so forth. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 13 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed at an Iraqi-Arab hotel in the more thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all four shared a room in which they had both slept and eaten their meals, prepared food having been brought at shops in the town. As at home there was no undressing at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 20 year old brother at the same hotel. There also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay at Baghdad the young couple were never alone but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them.

[515]

Where the prospective bride was on an invitation by her with the women of the house and her elder brother, she (and the other women) were clad and veil, great care being taken that the veil was not lifted or shifted. It was explained that this was in order that nothing could be said about her either by her prospective husband or her future in-laws. There was no actual sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Granqvist[2] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people meet and meet each other while they are engaged, and the prospective bride even talks herself when the young man pays a visit to the home. However, the young people in my interpreter's home at Sulaimani appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their affianced state than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[3], its emphysemic and sociological significance.

513

The bride price made is mentioned in the Quran, Sura 4, verse 4 and Sura 2, verse 2, as the ordained morning-gift, for it expressly lays down that the Faithful are permitted to take in marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the people, who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1778 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from Old Arabs in that greater pleasure was evinced at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could later be obtained for her, only a small increase being given for a return, whereas the Arabs and Turks expect the whole bride price on the bride's affairs and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying: "Many daughters are thus rich from a source of wealth"[4].

[518]

[519]

In a Swedish village called, Sollina, I was told that a 21-22 year old bride was acquired for a bride price of 30 Ore, plus a dress for the bride. Whether the cash-like gold was in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Bishop[5] says of the Bakhtiari that the bride price was for paid in the form of a

ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[586]. Should he have pronounced talāq three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be reassumed by this "stone husband" before the husband can take her back[587]. The Coran forbids the practice of ahalīlmarriage, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as zihār (zahr = back)[588]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of severing the dissolution of the marriage. The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price. If she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station, in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved while the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[589], girls under nine (or up to puberty)[590], whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being maintained (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of taboo within the *aṣīrā* clan to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four houses of the village aforesaid that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the shaikh families in Tegawra, Bargalū, Shaikhī and Sarkan. Ismā'īl[591] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[592]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Tegawra the servant with had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 9 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 13. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the shaikh, within a period lying between 1928 and 1942, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 30 years of age, was married to an old shaikh in Shaikhī. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

795 831 word a mixture of lukewarm and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Shaqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It is also known that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has convinced a certain collectivist era Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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891 989 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 136), the blow on the bride's head, the food released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 138, 139), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 139). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and concealed varieties, the importance attached to representations of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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989 825 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the urbanized village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the condemned urban milieu. They were not used within the urbanized urban milieu.

989 Amulets are supposed to protect against jinns, devils created by God[1], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and concealed. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 489 [822] A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Sirkan); a blue button was hung on a shearing frame (Tuqawa); and a blue button was fastened to a finger sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influences. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[2].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2387a), 0.20 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[3], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2387b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[4] and a sarapkon (E. 2387d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[5]. The chain (E. 2391) was acquired in

Sulaiman, and is called: *Anbar*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver hanging bowl. It is this hanging bowl that Kurds call *Anbar*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[39]. From the chain hang two silver bells[40], two triangular amulet cases of silver[41], two small silver watering cans[42], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[43].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *Ishmâr*, 1.18 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[44] has been inserted to avert evil[45]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *mihrâbân*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[46] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of stone agate[47] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are bangle ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294–2295) known as *gal* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.026 m., [reported to] possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by home craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (blue), their shape (snail shells), their scent (bells), or their material (carnelian, stone agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[48] like leopards, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[49] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklace worn by women[50]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet pockets of which measure 0.073 × 0.08 × 0.013 and 0.06 × 0.06 × 0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[51] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[52] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2302) known as *Sîla*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[53]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (*cf.* p. 108). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aforesaid village reflex. Two itinerant sayyids, recognizable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Shaikh of Tsqurra. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "translators of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kaiak by Barth, who notes that

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 158 -- Analyst]

attend school, but none has yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the chaykhanas or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or certain vagrants, they can be exposed to influence of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family. Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

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[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that se coitum cum caprio per anum faciens, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[48]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[49].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphonistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierachy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Ostrup has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[50]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exhaust the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

4: Hassan E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

● 86 [513] stressing that the child was outside adult society. Children were obedient, unobtrusive, polite and industrious. They were never put to bed in the evening (apart from infants), but fell asleep where and when it suited them. If they had been taken by the women on a visit, they fell asleep in the course of the evening, and when the mother left the child was put on her shoulders, hip or arm and carried home. The children of the house fell to the floor when tired, and were covered with whatever happened to be nearest at hand, often a prayer rug of goat's wool. Later, when the adults arranged their own quarters for the night, the children were carried to the mattress on which they were to spend the night. Everybody rose very early, the children when they awoke. Undressing at night was just as unknown to the children as to the adults, and the same applied in regard to the evening or morning wash. [515] During the day the children were caught, given clean clothes, if necessary, and washed. When there was plenty of warm water in the house their hair was washed.

[864] As the children always stayed among the adults they obtained all the sexual instruction they could understand, and became aware of all phases of life. In regard to conditions with Egyptian Arabs about 100 years ago, Lane[1] says that however much children were caressed and fondled, they feel the deepest and most admirable respect for their parents. He adds that disobedience shown to parents is regarded by Muslims as one of the major sins. To round off the picture of the child's life among Kurds, which in the main agrees with Lane's account of conditions in Egypt, a few examples must be cited of children I met who suffered from difficulties of adjustment. This may serve to throw into relief what I have attempted to describe above as the reason why a child with the Kurds had in general a quiet adolescence devoid of psychic strain. Within the village aristocracy, Sheikh Taifur's youngest, 6 year old, son was cruel to the small birds he carried round in his pockets; he teased the kids and tried to maltreat his donkey. When able to do so he also stole butter from the household store. His father treated him surprisingly gently and affectionately which momentarily restored his balance. But this child, the youngest male offspring, the mother tried to keep at the baby stage, whilst he in vain attempted to compete with his 13 and 18 year old brothers. He appeared to be quite an exception, created by various unfortunate contributary circumstances. That the children of the village tenant farmers attacked one, tried to run off with camera accessories, and showed in the beginning no spontaneous friendliness, must be attributed to the residual xenophobia also evinced by their elders when the European engineers arrived some years earlier to plan the building of the Dokan dam. It was said that from the village of Topzawa, where I came to live and from which workers were later obtained for the construction work, the Europeans had been fired upon. The same hostile attitude retained by the children I met with in the mountains near an isolated farm, where some little girls cast stones at me and some boys on the way home with sacks of grass on their backs, threatened me and struck at me with their sickles before I was permitted to pass along the narrow mountain path. In the urban milieu I met a case where a subordinate Kurdish official's wife on an excursion with his superior's wife, married to the Arab mutesarrif in Sulaimani, fearful that her boys had not behaved correctly to the children of the mutesarrif, began hysterically to hit her children who were quite innocent of the alleged offence. It was said that this same woman, who appeared to be very subdominant, [158] got her children locked in at home for social reasons.

My interpreter and I had her 13 year old half-brother living with her at Topzawa, and later

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

accompanying us on our trips, without there being the slightest suspicion of difficulty with him. We literally scarcely realised his existence so well did he fit into the various situations. In the over-populated home at Sulaimani, however, I once saw my interpreter's mother, the elder of the two wives, run through the room with a glowing twig from the fire to hit him with it for some reason or other. My impression was that the woman unjustifiably had demanded some service or other from the lad, which he had refused, and that it was she who was in the wrong.

In another urban milieu, an absolutely uneducated one insofar as the woman was concerned, I once came across what we should term a difficult and malicious girl of 6–7 years of age. She was the elder of two girls, two others having died, and the mother was clearly unbalanced because the husband, pressed by neighbours and possibly also by personal proclivities, had several times been about to obtain another wife who would bear him the son refused to the present wife. The child was a visible manifestation of the mother's conflict situation, and can, in my opinion, only be considered an exception among the Kurdish children I had an opportunity of observing.

By reviewing the activities of the children in and outside the home in the four different female environments I learned to know in Southern Kurdistan, an attempt will be made to give an impression of their adolescence and upbringing.

Small girls of the village aristocracy took part in women's house work according to their age and ability. They assisted in rolling out the dough for baking from the age of three. They kept the sheep still when being milked in the courtyard, and kept the flies away when their elders were at meals. They helped to pick the vegetables in the field. They assisted adult men and women in the washing of hands, which took place in a squatting position whilst water from a jug was poured over the hands. They filled the samowar with charcoal and took part in washing-up. Last, but not least, they participated in the serving of tea, as it was the children, or, if none was present, the humblest in the company, who fetched the tea glasses from the samowar and returned with them when they were empty (cf. p. 48). This was done with seriousness and decorum, and with no little pride at having reached the stage where that was entrusted to them. They attended to the small brothers and sisters, helped them to eat, and had small ones on their backs when they left the house. School attendance was not part of their life pattern. A *mulla*, however, told me that he had a daughter attending the village boy's school where he taught (Balkha), but that was an exception[1].

Small girls of the village aristocracy were, when grown up, fully trained in the skills expected of them. They were well-acquainted with house work, the care of children, and with decorous behaviour.

In Sheikh Taiba's house at Topzawa most of the house work was done by a 17 year old daughter, who also stood in attendance if, for example, her mother wanted to take a bath in the *hammām*. It was said that until one of the sons—the eldest of whom was only 13—came home with a daughter-in-law, the mother did not wish to give away in marriage the indispensible working power represented by her daughter.

The boys within the village aristocracy were sent to school. As they reached a suitable age, the sons of the sheikh at Topzawa were sent to relatives' homes at Kirkuk or Sulaimani in order to attend school[2]. During these years they glided out of the village milieu, only returning to it during their

peril. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the boys, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The older children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its ewer of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Rowandux tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering dervish who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [854] 833 864

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first 353 574

peril. At the same time, they begin to wear clothing differentiating the sexes, shirts and trousers for the boys, dresses and undertrousers for the girls. The elder children teach them to avoid exposure of the sexual organs in public. Toilet training begins early, at five or six months, by the repetition of a nonsense word which signifies evacuation and is accompanied by the initial use of a pot. Gradually utilization of the latrine and its ewer of water is learned. After two or three years the mother and others of the family begin to punish a child who soils himself. For six months after birth the nails of a baby may not be cut, and the hair of a boy is clipped for the first time at the age of one year. The hair of the girls is stained with henna, and, when it has attained sufficient length, is braided. A girl's ear-lobes are pierced during her early childhood.

An outstanding event for boys between the ages of four and six years is circumcision, which, although not mentioned in the Quran, has come to be an essential attribute of a Muslim. "You are now a Muslim," a father in Rowandum tells a son who has undergone the operation. Generally, one or more persons of wealth who have sons of the appropriate age finance the ceremony for all of the boys in the town who are in need of it. The operation itself is performed by one of the barbers or by a wandering <u>darvish</u> who has made a specialty of such a task. On the appointed day, the boys are gathered in the home of the

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the older males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and older brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

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clife, while having advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the older males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

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as in the case of Mahmud Beg of the Baradost who rules as did his forebears, and must be counted as a factor in everyday life. It is thus that one finds a duality of thought and behavior as far as the two aristocracies are concerned. A landowner in Rowanduz spoke of the chieftains as though they were the only important element in society and, at the same time, alternately praised and castigated two of his sons for their respective success and failure in school. The youth who had failed was regarded as a great disappointment, a condemnation which would not have occurred fifty years ago when the upper echelons of society were either inaccessible or unconnected with the prestige and power of the new servants of the state.

[867]

opposing sides. Eventually these "rounds" are started the adult authorities, as in 1950 when some of the "soldiers" took the enmity of the son of the assistant commandant of police. Another game is played with a rubber ball and a stick by two teams. Those from each other and one of the two "sticks" hits the ball toward his opponents with a stick. If the ball is caught by a member of the opposing side, one of the first team is eliminated from further participation, and so it continues until "it can be even the remains." A third exercise is forming a circle of a dozen or so youths. A ball is thrown quickly among them until one is expelled for dropping it. Hide-and-seek is a favorite, as well as throwing stones or missiles from a mark on the ground at a hole some fifteen away. Jax or knucklebones, obtained from a sheep, is played by two. One bone is thrown up in the air and the player endeavors to strike it while still in flight with the second bone so that both will fall in a certain way. Something similar to Europeans or Americans "marbles" is executed with small wooden balls. The girls commonly play "house," imitating the domestic activities of their elders. The older boys, it might be noted, refuse to play with the girls on account of their dignity. The girls, much more than the boys, are called on perform household tasks, helping the mothers with their work and taking care of the younger children. It is said that a mother will remove the oldest daughter to perform almost all of the domestic activities, instructing her for the role of a

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summer holidays. During their stay at home in the village they led the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They went to sleep late into bed, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the house was the walking upon any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

The elder of these two sons, aged 18, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers at the Dukan Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in the pattern of behaviour, the smallest of which had its inner coherence. As the leading young men of the village, he left the shelter's farm every morning on horseback. The other lands from Tripoline and Kirkuk covered on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (usually an hour's walk), only trying to greet common land). At the Dukan Dam Site he then was submerged among the other unskilled Kurdish labourers, a dirty little mechanic in overalls, renouncing his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's home. There his 12 year old half-brother took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, got it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash. A like was performed on the clay terrace outside the central room and not at the garden taps.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation at a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the setting of his home, for he only received money which was of no interest whatever in the primordial village milieu, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the Europeans, a thing he had desperately longed for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed scale of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the fetching of water, often from far away, and milking ewe in the mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and watched in the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages have nothing of schools, but they grow up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

For their mature schooling did not enter into the life program of boys either among ordinary peasants in the villages. On the other hand their labour was chiefly confined to agriculture. They reaped the sheep and goats. They fetched grass from the mountains or fodder, equipped with sacks and bottles. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

In the chief and fourth environments, the educated and semi-educated urban milieus, schooling was necessary for both boys and girls.

The elementary school system in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 3 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 2 year intermediate and a 2 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1946 6 years primary schooling is obligatory when possible.

from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with naming the child, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the mu'zzein arranges minor matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flour to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employed a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for its cleanliness. The mulla himself, as noted in the section treating society, has a place in the highest ranks of the community, and is usually surrounded by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for their piety. Inasmuch as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim had a compelling personality, this following was an extensive and powerful segment of local society.

The mulla are responsible for religious education, because, although Islamic history is a part of the curriculum in the primary and intermediate schools, religion is not formally taught in any other place than the mosque. Some parents prefer this training to that of the government schools. The mulla hold classes throughout the year, but give particular emphasis to the summer when those children who have completed other courses with their regular educations may, at the behest of their parents, take part. This course is almost solely concerned with reading and interpretation of the Quran, and thus entails, initially, the study of the Arabic language. The parents

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rowandiz enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor youths from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of purification, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase

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In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Bekhia, Sarkan and Sargalu, but not by any means in all. In Taqawra and Rakawa there were no schools. Sometimes there could be a Koran school in connection with a mosque as, for example, at Sargalu, which children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Longrigg and Stocking[1]. I shall here deal with the reflection of the school in the homes where I stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out by Longrigg and Stocking, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed"[2] in a community like the Kurdish. How decisive a watershed, can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Taqawra sheikh's 12 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unadaptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the home. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the wall niches, equivalents for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in this dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the house offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home at Sakhawni, I found examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a folk-school teacher at the Teachers' Training College at Baghdad[3]. During her studies she had lived there as a boarder. The training here lasted two years if the girl was to teach at one of the five 4 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Girsha School for Girls opened in Sakhawni in 1956. As her home I was able to see how incompatible to the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 14 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete her 3 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her protractor and ruler, lay in the wall niches all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried in vain to concentrate on the circles and triangles she was describing or the calculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the lesson. With books and drawing instruments under her black abā she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with two unadapted women in the home, where all contact between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sakhawni's urban milieu, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training as wives and mothers is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were mothers, as was the case at my interpreter's home in Sakhawni, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 14 persons devolved, except for the holidays, on the two uneducated wives at home. In addition there was the threshing of grain and the baking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, as whenever labour is

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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K 562 701 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as having been a little shrivelled up old woman.[1]

K 571 799 Among the nomad and peasant Kûrds, as might be expected, very little attention is paid to education. The sedentary Kûrds in Suleimanieh and other centres, are not, however, wholly uneducated, as they have Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.

K [212] The wives and daughters of the lettered Kûrds are also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kûrdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mollahs to publish works in that language. The Kûrdish tongue

K 147 is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of

K 527 Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feeling often manifests itself among Kûrdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y 571 763 542 The members of the Yezîdi sect, who belong to eleven different tribes, and number between seven and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

[1] Rawlinson, *Six Monarchies*, p. 130.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kûrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kûrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by imâms of their own race, Kûrdish Mullahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kûrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for sanctity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kûrds. To the latter they are,

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lies, usually with the common consent of the tribesmen. 565
Beneath them are commoners, shepherds and peasants, and, in the villages, a number of merchants, craftsmen and laborers. Some of these chieftains own little more than their own tents or houses, while others have immense fortunes and estates. Arab leaders of this type are invariably associated with tribes, but some of the Kurdish chiefs are feudal landlords without tribal affiliation, although their ranks and titles are inherited in the same way. Generally speaking, men belonging to this hereditary group may marry beneath their station, but daughters are never allowed to do so. The chieftains themselves may be illiterate and wear the costume of their people, Arab or Kurd, but, insofar as they are powerful or wealthy, they move freely in the highest echelons of society. There is no vertical mobility in this system, and it is nominally impossible for a commoner, no matter what his power and wealth, to become a chieftain, although one suspects that this has happened in the past.

The second system, paralleling the first, is of a different character and is the civilized society of the state. At its base are again shepherds and peasants, with the addition of the urban proletariat, laborers, servants, soldiers, and the like. The great cleavage in this group is the difference between literacy and illiteracy, judged in terms of matriculation in the secondary schools. It is difficult for us to appreciate the overpowering importance of education in this society. An educated man from the

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lower classes enters upon a new and loftier status, be- 545
coming a gentleman. Never again is he allowed to engage 212
in menial labor, nor the uses of his inferiors. Only 871
certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is 555
the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower 565
classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and thus honor them, and they endure great sacrifices to this [871]
end, sometimes ill-repaid by the young official who scorns their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the bureaucracy is heavily overburdened with men whose training does not permit them to return to "degrading" toil, and every year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the province of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that some Muslim families who have interested themselves in this way have proven much more enterprising and ruthless than their rivals of other religions and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lower government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with unemployed merchants and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the poorest

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ay technical device within their means have been assimilated with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We can," said an MP, "make of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Kurds, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Kurdish aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissensions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

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Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Kurdish chieftains of the Rowandus area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rowandus only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Emin'Ali

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[212] [19]

Both festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the shaʿi, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, perrawʿi, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shawaʿi, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and rawtin "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Syrian, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowanduz played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowanduz. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

knowledge of rutin. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Hawaii," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in consulting the records on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rwanda and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat.

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or influence occasionally elect even to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is called Sheila who is also the corpse-washer, ninety piastres for the women. She enjoys her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich,

from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with saying the child, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the shahada arranges other matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employs a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for the cleanliness. The mullā himself, as noted in the section treating society, has a place in the highest ranks of the commoners, and is usually surrounded by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for their piety. Inasmuch as Mullā 'Abd al-Ghafūr had a compelling personality, this following was an extensive and powerful segment of local society.

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themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Bawanism enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor people from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of pollution, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase

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If, therefore, the object of the exercise is removed from the home, as [illegible] behind for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Bishop[7] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stocks[8] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child become a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater security than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

Activity	I Village of Penjwin		II Penjwin		III Unmixed urban		IV Unmixed urban	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	○		○		△		▽	
Work outside home			▽	▽				▽
Schooling		▽			△	△	△	△
Street life		○		○		○	▽	▽

A common to girls in all four female environments is enclosure in the home according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help in the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys existing in the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urban milieu the boys are sent young to school to learn like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and in the event that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

adulthood that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I sense anyon[illegible] in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6-7 years of age, led in fulsomeness what we should call a street life. Play-grounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, as in any Moslem society, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the house. As work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[39] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sura 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..... and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dohuk Daza Shu with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[40].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[41]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law of the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[42]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[43], are: father's brother's daughter, amidal, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, pûrzâ, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, xâlzâ, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, pûrzâ, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[44] and Barth[45] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Tuparaw the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sergaly. In Sirkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Lynch the marriages of village leaders "tend to have political influence" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[46]. In my experience this was not so, for the most I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as common in Islam areas.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taffer's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 12 year old son of the Sheikh of Tuparaw said further that a man in his tuffen was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that we speak here

...ever tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old enemy patrols who are still alive have been reformed by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and lower ranks.

Whatever the mistakes and shortcomings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the aspirations of the Kurds ... are officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the Mutasarrif of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

misleading to speak of an initiate course organizers in the same way as known is in the West. The actual qualifications of individual mullahs vary tremendously, and financial arrangements for the support of the Mosque are, as for all village mosques are concerned, entirely in the hands of the local community. Two traditionalism and informal controls give a certain unity and enforce certain limits on deviations from a regular norm.

The position of mullah is an achieved status with completely open recruitment. Successful application to the study of the Koran leads eventually to initiation. There is a tendency for Mullahs and Imams to be over-represented, but this seems primarily due to a higher frequency of religious inclinations, resulting from their economic ties in connection. Frequently a dervish will be willing to support his son through some or all of the necessary years of reading and study, and thus achieve for the son what was beyond the reach of the father. At times, through an early interest in the teachings of the village mullah, a boy in a modestly situated family will find his way into the religious field. A striking number of the students are blind, and depend in their studies on the help of their friends.

The traditional pattern is for the student to spend an unqualified number of years roaming from mosque to mosque, seeking out the teachers of high repute and remaining with each for whatever length of time he wishes (see Appendix III). In this period, as well as studying the Koran and the legal interpretation of the text, the student should become familiar with other religious writing, in Persian as well as in Arabic. Finally, when the student and whatever teacher he happens to be with at the time feels he is prepared, he is made to give a sermon, and after a circuit is given the white headdress of the mullah, as well as a diploma confirming his status.

During his studies, the future mullah is dependent on his family or on individual charity for his subsistence. Later, as a full-fledged mullah, he must make whatever arrangements he can. The positions in the mosques of the towns are now government supported, but in the village the office is supported by local resources only. The community expresses its wish to have a mullah and the extent of its ability to pay — generally by revenue on dedicated land and a

appointed was pr. head in the village, possibly at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. This frequently must be augmented by agricultural work on the part of the mullah. It seems that the villagers are free to appoint any personal mullah of their choice to office; once he is appointed, however, it is, as here in practice, impossible to dismiss him.

The actual role of the village mullah is evidently today in a state of rapid change, and considerably reduced as compared to Ottoman times. He has been relieved of a great number of his civil functions — e. g. marriages are not valid unless a license has been procured from the civil administration, and though the mullah still performs the ceremony, his importance is generally reduced. The very dominant position as judge has also been greatly reduced by the establishment of the more and effective administration of Iraq's civil code.

A second role is that of the educator — the mullah will give religious instruction to the boys in the form of important villagers — the only education they will ever have, as well as many also have advanced students visiting him for a period. Though the attaining a certain knowledge of the religion, however, this school of the mullah's does not seem to be of any great consequence, and the mullah himself remains the only literate person in the village.

His main role as power parallels that of the priest in Western society, in that it is concerned predominantly with religious questions in a largely secular world. The mullah calls to morning and evening prayer, gives a sermon on Friday, is especially active in the holy month of Ramadan. In all his activities, he should act as example to his villagers. The weight given to his opinions thus depends on his learning and personal piety, but at the same time, if they are developed to any appreciable degree, these same traits will tend to separate him physically and emotionally from the community and place him in the position of a spectator.

Consequently, he does not achieve the power position in the village that one might have expected. The mullah with low rating on the scale of learning and piety will be disregarded by the villagers — they may not even attend his services, as in the case of one village studied, where the services had been largely discontinued and the

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

635 [illegible]

Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understand how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalism everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, warm face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians [illegible] he did the ancient Medes [illegible] himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Sulaimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Shewe* and *Hiwa*.* All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

* A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Kurdish period, such as *Dangawej* and *Nishtiman*, official organs of the party, which had a printery of Kurdish as the latter was established in Iraq as well as Iran.

by the court clerk, Shukir Effendi, with great ceremony until the debtor should pay. Again, a merchant and a butcher fell into a struggle in the market-place in Rowanduz because the butcher had reduced the merchant's infant children into the prevailing plight with his coins. Words passed, particularly on the side of the butcher, the merchant drew his khanjar, and one beaten from behind with a club by the butcher's son. At this point the police took them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection on their respective characters, fined the butcher a diner for disturbing the peace.

Also without subscription to the primogeny are the teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and responsible to officers of the Ministry in Erbil. By law primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rowanduz district only a small number of children, even sons and daughters of ambitious or wealthy people, are able to attend primary school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to college. The primary school is entered at the age of six or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with the "twelfth class," corresponding to the American first grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include reading and writing in Arabic (in Rowanduz there are special classes in Kurdish), mathematics, history, and social studies, and the course is normally completed at the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school one is entered next, and consists of three classes ("fifth"

through "third"]. Subjects include Arabic, English, general science, geography, history, mathematics, and social studies, and is completed at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The pupil can next enter the secondary school, consisting of two classes ("second" and "first"), successful completion of which consists in matriculation for a college or university education. A successful student usually completes his secondary education at the age of seventeen or eighteen.

In the Rwanda district there are small primary schools at Ipuma and Nyina, but the center of education is in Rwamatuba. Here there are primary schools for boys and girls, and an intermediate school for both. After completion of the intermediate school, students who desire further education must move to Kabil, where they are quartered with friends or relatives, or, if means enough and possessed of the means, rent a house in common with a number of their fellows. Only one or two each year, however, go beyond the intermediate level in the district. The school year lasts nine months, approximating our own, and, as in the local government, Fridays and public occasions are holidays. Classes are held from 7:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. in summer weather, and from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. in the winter. Pupils in the primary schools remain in the same class throughout the day. Boys and girls are mixed in the intermediate school (a matter of some concern to more conservative parents), and have different instructors during the day. In Rwamatuba there were in 1951 about 130 pupils

in the primary schools, and about 35 in the intermediate school. All of the children live in Rwamaiko itself, for there is no system of transportation for the children in outlying villages.

The primary school for boys is a large, mud-brick building standing within a wide grassy yard behind the canal. Constructed in 1935, it is in considerable disrepair today. Within it a number of classrooms open on a small central hall. There are dilapidated rooms for the teachers and the director, a "library," and a almost shapeless canvas gymnasium too. The furnishings, forms and benches of unpainted wood, are the poorest, and the teachers fondly hope for the future construction of a new school with better equipment. The poorer students are furnished their texts, similarly bedraggled from years of use, while those of wealthier homes purchase their own. The primary school for girls is a short distance up the street, a smaller, square mud-brick building established some years ago from private ownership. The intermediate school is to be found in the upper part of the town, a spacious single-storey structure of cement-block, completed in 1950.

The several instructors of the girl's primary school are women. Those of the boy's primary school and intermediate school are men, numbering nine in all, including the three school directors. Because the Turkish language is mandatory for beginning instruction, the teachers are either Muslim Turks or Christians, Europeans or Indonesians, most of whom come from Brill or Bhowl. Some

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In tracing the class make up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Failing to mind the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rawanduz, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be underpressed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissible between fellow-Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Sim- -ilarly, an awareness of the distinction between Kurdish and Muslim is also easily noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its makeup, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest number. The Turks are little involved, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or

[VII]

[VIII]

skills, while having advantages of labour which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few boys, including Hilla, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is an attendant parental formula for manipulation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Bantish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the two sexes turned a corner and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while schoolmates of the poorer girls rarely ignore both school and labour, following their fathers and older brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Ruwenzori

friend school, but none has yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary extracurricular topic of the classroom, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed zealously. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate associative friendship, may be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the chaikhanas or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or patients requests, they are be exposed to influences of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in

[illegible]

Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

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[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. The youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that he solicited passive coitus factors, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

accompanying on our own trips, without there being the slightest suspicion of difficulty with him. We [illegible] actually watched his existence as well did he fit into the various situations. In the once-populated home at Bokkeveld, however, I never saw my interpreter's mother, the elder of the two wives, run through the room with a gleaming ring from the fire to his bed with it for some reason or other. My impression was that the woman unjustifiably had demanded some service or other from the lad, which he had refused, and that it was she who was in the wrong.

In another urban milieu, an absolutely overbalanced one insofar as the woman was concerned, I once came across what we should term a difficult and malicious girl of 6-7 years of age. She was the elder of two girls, now whom having died, and the mother was clearly unbalanced because the two [illegible] present by neighbours and possibly also by parallel prostitution, had several times been about to shoot another with who would have like the war refused in the present wife. The child was a visible manifestation of the mother's conflict situations, and was, in my opinion, only to be considered as an explosive among the Kuvalai children I had an opportunity of observing.

By reviewing the activities of the children in and outside the home in the four different Xosa environments I learned to know in Southern Kaffraria, an attempt will be made to give an impression of their significance and upbringing.

Small girls of the village aristocracy work part in women's home work according to their age and [illegible] ability. They assisted in rolling out the dough for baking from the age of three. They took the dough still when being rolled in by everyone, and kept the flies away when their elders were at meals. They helped to pick the vegetables in the field. They assisted adult men and women in the washing of hands, which took place in a squatting position whilst water from a jug was poured over the hands. They lifted the cauldron with charcoal and took part in washing-up. Later, the last task they participated in the serving of tea, as it was the children, or, if none was present, the handiest in the company, who handed the tea glasses from the cauldron and returned with them when they were empty of tea. This was done with seriousness and decorum, and with no little pride at having reached the stage where that was entrusted to them. They attended to the small brothers and sisters, helped them to eat, and had small jobs on their backs when they left the house. School attendance was not part of their life pattern, it could, however, well be that to had altogether exceeding the village boy's school years.

Small girls of the village aristocracy were, when grown up, fully trained in the daily experience of them. They were well-acquainted with home work, the care of children, and with decorous behaviour.

In Martin Tsatlo's home at Tsgoono most of the home work was done by a 17 year old daughter, who also acted in attendance if, for example, her mother wanted to take a bath in the kaross. It was said that each one of the sons—the eldest of whom was only 16—were happy with a daughter-in-law, the mother did not wish to give away in marriage the indispensable working power represented by her daughter.

The boys within the village aristocracy were sent to school. As they reached a suitable age, the sons [illegible] of the chiefs at Tsgoono were sent to relatives' homes at Elliott or Bokkeveld in order to attend school[1]. During these years they glided out of the village milieu, only returning as a daring their

common holidays. During their stay at home in the village they had the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the house in company with those of their own age. They went at night into love trials, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the house was the making upon any such guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

The elder of these two sons, aged 18, received as a newcomer with the European engineers at the Dokan Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in the pattern of behaviour, the consequences of which had far-reaching consequences. As the leading young man of the village, he left the district's farm every morning on horseback. The other lands from Tajawra and Kikawa covered on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk), only coming in great common bands to the Dokan Dam Site he does was submerged among the other mechified Kurdish labourers, a thing both mechanic to novelty, concerning his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's house. Here the 12 year old half-sister took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash. A like was performed on the day homes outside the animal room and not in the guest house.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers who chose to had meet to do, and a flirtation at a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the calling of the house, for he early resolved money which was of no interest whatever to the aristocratic village calling, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the foreigners, a thing he had deliberately hoped for. He was a typical example of the cradle of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed code of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the tending of water, often from far away, and milking out in the mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and worked in the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages knew nothing of schools, but they grew up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

For the native schooling did not exist over the life pattern of boys often varying ordinary pursuits about and goats. They trotted goats from the mountains or fields, equipped with sacks and skillet. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which would there in good stead later in life.

In the third and fourth environments, the educated and semi-educated urban culture, school-going was necessary for both boys and girls.

An elementary school scheme exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 3 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 3 year intermediate and a 3 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1946 a 4 years primary schooling is obligatory where possible.

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Sulaiva, Sulaiva and Sangala, but not by any means in all. In Tegarama and Rakama there were no schools. Sometimes there would be a Koran school in connection with a mosque as, for example, at Sangala, which children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Lungalog and Nandaru[1]. I shall here deal with the reflection of the school in the home where I record the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out for Lungalog and Nandaru, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "life watershed"[2] in a community like the Kurdish. How decisive a watershed can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish home.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Tegarama district's 12 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unacceptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the home. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or hanging the books anywhere except on the wall niches, repositories for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in this dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, I found examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a folk school teacher at the Teachers' Training College at Baghdad[3]. During her studies she had lived there as a boarder. The morning bell found two years of the girl was in bed at one of the ten 6 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years of the were a pupil in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had when the 3 year course, and we at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Qoratu School for Girls opened in Sulaimani in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible in the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 12 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam to complete her 7 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her grammar and rules, lay in the mud niches all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried to work in concentration on the circles and triangles she was describing in the calculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the house. While books and drawing instruments under her black skirt she wandered off in way with her newly-married sister whose husband had till shortly after marriage in all cultural activities [illegible] to the Kurdish tradition.

[illegible] working school children were many hours a day, their home working as [illegible] from the times for daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult male were needless, as was the case in my host-[illegible]'s home in Sulaimani, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 10 persons involved, except for the holidays, on the two mentioned wives at home. In addition there was the cleaning of grain and the baking of bread which in our railway is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is reserved from the home, an immense labour is

were withdrawn would only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old enemy people who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and as modern ideas are brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, many of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependents, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by extremist calling themselves 'communists' or occasional hoisting over by students and former leaders.

Whatever the mistakes and shortcomings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an incomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the ex-officials imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, [illegible] (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Said, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

through "third"). Subjects include arithmetic, English, general science, geography, history, mathematics, and social studies, and is completed at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The pupil can next enter the secondary school, consisting of two classes ("second" and "first"), successful completion of which constitutes the matriculation for a college or university education. A successful student usually completes his secondary education at the age of seventeen or eighteen.

In the Kuwaiko district there are small primary schools at Igrom and Sutan, but the center of education is in Kuwaiko. Here there are primary schools for boys and girls, and an intermediate school for both. After completion of the intermediate school, students who desire further education must move to Sviti, where they are quartered with friends or relatives, or, if mature enough and possessed of the means, rent a house in common with a number of their fellows. Only one or two each year, however, go beyond the intermediate level in the district. The school year lasts nine months, approximating our own, and, as in the local government, holidays and public occasions are [illegible]. Classes are held [illegible] in summer months, and from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. in the winter. Pupils in the primary schools remain in the same class throughout the day. Boys and girls are mixed in the intermediate school in spite of some concern on more conservative persons'], and have different instructors during the day. In Kuwaiko there were in 1955 about 150 pupils

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
[476]
real nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a
merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
[454]
in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter
practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the
merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
few or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
A number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
culties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [874]
some courses along these lines at night, and were very
surprised at their popularity. The graybeards learning
their arithmetic is still considered a great joke. Usually [522]
the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
and many place high expectations in the help of their sons
at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of 463
the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
here to provide a list of persons according to their
occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
others employed only in the service of those residing in
the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the woman's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowanduz serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowanduz have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shayth of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowanduz in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen

[1] Zwemer, 1946.

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla who already has a position, and, when judged to have shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad, Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an exchange of information of this type between the religious leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory. These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able to recite the entire Quran from memory, an exercise which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery can elicit the strongest emotional responses in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the commoners, and no one in Ravendra could think of a case in which a member of the aristocracy had entered such a career. A pious old-field, as his age and reputation for sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh [arabic, "old man"], a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Sulaka, Sarkan and Sangala, but not by any means in all. In Tajarawa and Bakrawa there were no schools. Sometimes there would be a Quranic school in connection with a mosque as, for example, at Sangala, where children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Longping and Sulaka[1]. I shall here deal with the attendance of the school in the homes where I stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out for Longping and Sulaka, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools functions "like ceremonial"[2] in a community like the Kurdish, from doctrine a materialist, and the work of art observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western patterns, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and changing books brought home by the Tajarawa student's 12 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unacceptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the home. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the mud shelves, reproduction the many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in the dwelling persons, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home in Sulaimania, I found examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a full school teacher at the Teachers' Training College in Baghdad[3]. During her studies she had lived there in a hostel. The training here lasted two years. If the girl was to teach at one of the five 4 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Christian School for Girls opened in Sulaimania in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible in the hostel's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 16 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete her 3 years intermediate school. Her school and calendar books, her protractor and ruler, lay in the mud shelves all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried to rein concentrate on the circles and triangles she was describing in the calculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the lesson. While books and drawing instruments under her black veil she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with new environmental reasons in the home, where all women between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sulaimani's other cities, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training in virtue and tradition is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were mothers, as was the case at my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, all working, cooking and washing for a family of 10 persons involved, except for the holidays, on the two mentioned virtue in home. In addition there was the cleaning of grain and the baking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, as whatever labour is

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which a directly resultable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable summer crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and manna. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called kelek still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugar-beet. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some convenient point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious government programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1953) and from which the engineers have, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit. Foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where possible; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 K.w. (and an ul-

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Bohtan principality was, in the words of another poet, "neither subject to the Persians, nor strengthened by the House of Osman."

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Bedr Khan and General Shevki Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the work of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression was only in long but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadres from which went on to the academy and staff college at Constantinople, and so received a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these were always naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Wilson's "programme of the world's peace" enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be "assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." Shevki Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the northeastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

III.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Kupri. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] In fact a battalion in 1914 was Kurdish was then made the official language of the administration, a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts were at once Sulaimani men.

In the rather unusual setting of an archaeological excavation, the orphaned Kudin Ismail Ismail working beside Lord and Kudin from Kum Sark, the explorer and curator relations of Peru. The arrangement arises on his part. Nothing was earned for a total period of work in the area belonging to the village of Kum Sark. When operations were transferred to Tsagish's territory, Kudin swore he would not stand for it, and promised to arrange his fellow. The two Kum Lord and Kudin were apparently afraid, and were, upon their request, immediately removed from the site, and a settlement with the group of workmen from Tsagish was then achieved, with some difficulty.

Later, Peru, who being an outlier had little to lose, arranged an intrusion the villagers of Tsagish for a further mission (a mission mentioned in Chapter and Kudin), and by arming him as their grandchild, in spite of the armed service the Tsagishes had posted there. The people of Kum Sark, Peru's village, discovered the fire, and disassociated themselves with the action by refusing to provide it with. Since the fire, they are accused of unreasonably favouring him in secret. Kudin is still a strong foe, and has sworn to arrange his fellow for killing Peru.

The immediate points were as in: (1) Kudin's revenge was conditioned on the explorers of his father's murderer only because the murderer himself was out of reach, and because Kudin, due to unprecedented circumstances, found himself working beside the explorers on the land of his own village — all a wrong implied revolt to his honour. (2) Kudin did see massive active support in arranging his father, even though the latter was, at the time of the murder, the right of Tsagish village. (3) The village of Kum Sark was able to disassociate itself from the acts of Peru — possibly because he did not belong to the senior lineage group of that village.

These points would indicate that an ideological process of blood feud, as defined in the more bold of the case, is operating; and other previous superficially similar in blood feud are found, these may better be explained as a slight extension of a strong process of individual revenge, or, in certain cases, a struggle between two lineages for political supremacy.

APPENDIX 2b: The education of a medicine

The scholastic standards of the Sara village medicine might be exemplified by a history of the enrolment and course of study of Abdullah Said Mohammed, now of the village of Kindimara. He was born in Mandoulaye, and grew up in the village of Ngakkoundaya in the Sarma, within lineages Ndokmaya and Gbaya-Kaimbi. His religious environment is the family, his economic base consolidated by the other medical brother of an epileptic father having finished reading the Koran at the age of 6, and then beginning to ngoka, he decided to become a medicine at the age of 12. He finished the Koran again at 14, under the direction of the village medicine. He then travelled to Kindimara, and studied

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] 1 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] 1 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
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[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[

by the court clerk, Ekalu Mfondi, with great ceremony until the doctor should pay. Again, a merchant and a worker fell into a struggle in the market-place in Rwenzobu because the worker had violated the merchant's infant children into the preceding night with his axe. Words passed, particularly on the side of the worker, the merchant drew his knife, and the worker from behind with a club by the worker's son. At this point the police took them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection on their respective characters, fined the worker a shilling for disrupting the peace.

Also without authorization to the primaries are the teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and responsible to officers of the Ministry in Kabil. By law primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rwenzobu district only a small number of children, even and daughters of well-to-do or wealthy people, are able to attend primary school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to college. The primary school is entered at the age of six or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with the "lowest class," corresponding to the American first grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include reading and writing in Arabic (in Rwenzobu there are special classes in English), mathematics, history, and social studies, and the course is normally completed at the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school may be entered next, and consists of three classes ("first

is the primary schools, and about 35 in the intermediate school. All of the children live in Rwanda itself, for there is no system of transportation for the children in outlying villages.

The primary school for boys is a large, mud-brick building standing within a wide ground just behind the hotel. Constructed in 1935, it is in considerable disrepair today. Within it a number of classrooms open on a small central hall. There are distinctive rooms for the teachers and the director, a "library," and a almost shocking covered porches too. The furnishings, forms and benches of varnished wood, are the poorest, and the teachers really long for the future construction of a new school with better equipment. The poorer students are furnished their texts, similarly bedraggled from years of use, while those of wealthier homes purchase their own. The primary school for girls is a short distance up the street, a smaller, square mud-brick building established some years ago from private ownership. The intermediate school is to be found in the upper part of the town, a spacious single-storey structure of concrete-block, completed in 1954.

The normal instructors of the girl's primary school are women. Those of the boy's primary school and intermediate school are men, numbering nine in all, including the three school directors. Because the Kirundi language is mandatory for beginning instruction, the teachers are either Muslim Swahi or Christians, Protestants or Catholicism, most of them some from Africa or Uganda. Some

to native to the town, although one is related to the chief police. It is interesting that a substantial number are Christians, for in contemporary Egypt it is commonplace that Coptic Christians cooperate with their Muslim contractors and fellows. Once the rules are overcome the Christian contractor can be placed in some embarrassment by his Muslim police. Most rural administrators, such as those of Samalout, are young men of power families, graduates of the 'academy' colleges in England, and, within the hierarchy of the Egypt civil service, occupy a low position indeed. They are not highly paid (and one hears little effort the remoteness of the village), and are in some cultural isolation from their administrators, army and police officers. Because of such disabilities, bureaucrats have the not uncommon reputation of being an easy prey to extremist political formulae, and are subject to some official distrust and surveillance. With motivations somewhat complex of his in addition to his other complaints, the teacher is apt to feel his lot is extremely unhappy, if not precarious. On the other hand, the teacher, because he is often married to the daughter of his pupils, is likely to play a much older part in the social life of the town than, say, an army officer, and to enjoy considerable prestige among the lower classes, a role among those just which will be mentioned in later.

Playing a part in the social life of the town that greater is importance than may which is right somewhile

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for
this group. Ba'al Bitteli, for example, cannot read or
write, although he can sign his name and speaks four
languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners
that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although
commoners can enter wives of a chieftain. The
heads of the clans are either sheikh or Sharaf.
are by extremely poor and exist on the distributions.
It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants,
the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if working, are
discharged by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher,
however, does not always like to be called because
he has had a college or university education, and, as
social law poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper
class of the second system.

Sometimes in conversation one does not, as a whole,
see villagers in any particular chieftain, although the
town of Dawoodi Beg owes a great part of the town. "We
do not belong to tribes," Ba'al Bitteli explained, "al-
though perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no asso-
ciation of them." Persons of the lower classes, townsmen
or fellahin from the villages, may, of course, receive such
distinctions. In Kirkuk these, Europeans or Indo-
Pakistanis, just as in many today, form tribal or feudal
allegiances. The working residents of the town, particularly
those engaged in the industries serving Iraqis and Jews,
were called shaykhs, another Turkish term for "gentleman,"

highly ranking civil servants and officers never take up residence in the Agraharam or worship in the town temples. They do not visit the homes of the townsmen or attend their festivals, although, being men of education, they may send gifts to their Sanskrit neighbors on such occasions. The dividing line is to be found in the townsmen, who constitute something of a separate group, looked down on by the higher officials and officers and flattered by the townspeople, perhaps, to some extent, because they exercise great control over the destinies of the sons of the town. It is possible to observe a teacher in deep conversation with some respected merchant in the town. One must disagree to report that one of the teachers in Ramanam fell in love with and married a girl of the town, notwithstanding either in the wealth or the exceptions of her father, much to the delight of her parents and against the advice and wishes of his colleagues and superiors. This created an uneasiness, almost embarrassing situation, which, in fact, the barrier between "educated aristocrats" and townsmen, and the teacher is still subject to criticism, not solely on the part of the official class, although he shares much more extensively than his fellows in the social life of the townspeople.

One of the most salient characteristics of the official class is that its members tremble, with some justice, to be the most "progressive" not only in Ramanam but in India at large, judged, to a large extent, by townsmen

petitions, because he could not repay it. This minor official was not a subordinate of the governor. He assumed this principle operates to limit visiting among officials of different rank, although the matter is partially solved by the club and the prisoners. The latter simply ordered the attendance of those of his subordinates to whom presents at a gathering, and they are then able to attend without inconvenience to their house. Generally speaking, the official class of the town has three citizens, those persons who are afford gambling and drinking and who are interested in those pastimes, those who love the sports but are not interested, and those whom pay does not permit them such luxuries. This last group is largely made up of students who have gatherings of their own, visiting in each other's rooms and exchanging words. The prisoners and other high officials are sensitive to the financial difficulties of the students, and do not include them in their invitations as "outsiders" for an evening's entertainment.

The demands of etiquette, although they may conventionally be assumed to all ranks of society in the town, are to be found in a heightened form in the behaviour of members of the official class. The first of these is that it is considered impolite to address too familiarly anything belonging to another. In the case of children or inmates, the relationships in that role will bring consciousness to the admired object, because such remarks may unwittingly exceed the wishes of the evil eye, or

[illegible] way[1]. As early as 1961 Carsten remarks that: "The isolation of Muslim women, consist of being as a generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard accredited for them by the men of their own culture."[2]

[illegible] In the Swahili village within the exercise of modern Darling were participation in ploughing and harvesting work, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of sesame and fish, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an Arabic town the maintenance of seclusion was also manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village women from the town villages of Tangazwa and Ndzimu, those which the Omani Dara drew to Swahili labourers, would be persuaded to take work as house cleaners or nurses with the European families. Any case would have been paid for where female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was living in flats in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local school for weather, began this above his own building, but no chance at all of asking the owners of his family house or the owners in the district's courtyard. Despite the desirability of the seclusion observing within the village enterprises, seems for him was valid use. He could only like the members of village houses with present women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was exactly of very few cases of these women ever engaged or opened a conversation with him. As Rhodes said[3] says: "... although outwardly, secluded the present women in the Muslim world has very extensive the practicings of the veil". One single present home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the small clay building, but in the office of the Omani Dara Bey, where he himself was well served it in Europeans all the way. In this way he had far more contact with the European rather than his compatriots, and he has had to attached space in the house for his sitting of a Dara wear to himself in that light.

To sum up the conditions among Swahili present women. Outside work-gardens are not a more, the practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's duties of service was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, weeding plants, mealtimes and their observances. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their town [illegible] sisters. However, although outwardly secluded and not subject to visitations, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the small world, one never can build [illegible] between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not mingle. They are open, and at times it interested the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village dance around [illegible] evenings wearing the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from [illegible] in the distance.

As opposed to the village ladies, the women of the prevalent urban ladies have a school training behind them. In many of the they are able to meet the only one explanations open to Muslim women in Zanzibar were working or teaching. Through the homes, shadow of the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting were selling at the women homes, the educated women in Zanzibar obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that opposed by Swahili village women. The case applied to those who stayed for the teaching profession and worked at Mohammed's with girl schools, the Arabic School for Girls, established in 1906.

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[illegible] Chinese [illegible] the Province [illegible] of Hebei. The civil head of the [illegible] is Sunchang responsible for the police administration and the registering and censorship for each postal services in Hebei, Shantung, Kansu [illegible] etc. The organization is closely connected with the police and also comes under the administration of the Kempeitai. Besides the control centers are the military and the gendarmes.

Within the field of our discussion the social services of the government are very limited, though the educational system is worthy of note. There are primary and secondary schools in Hebei and a primary school at Kuanshien. There was for a while a secondary school also at Kuanshien but this was closed following a nationalistic protest by the students who objected to be taught in the Nankai Language instead of English. The children commonly receive their schools either only a few small courses of learning - the case of important fathers and rich merchants. Some of the larger villages have to maintain a part government teacher. Though the population is poor, the practice is less so. The wages offered and the facilities for advancement are so poor that only the most poorest type of individual selects school teaching for his work. In the fields are agency the appointment of government officials has on the whole satisfactory. The current opinion appears to be that all government education officials are good servants. The complaint seems to have the basis for such an attitude. The only advancement among the fields of the [illegible] of which was attached to the village of Kuanshien. Promotion to the town attached to the village of Kuanshien to the control one of the [illegible] there both on the Kuanshien or other countries and the ages of both who bring him to the county for examinations. In Kuanshien the [illegible] of the fields put to which wanted but one question him, but this is itself not a regulation proceeding since the fields and the administration are regarded as enemies by nations - [illegible] from the traditional [illegible] obedience to the Ruler's usual Kuanshien. In another case which is described when Policy Lower the agricultural workers of Kuanshien the workers.

* At the time of my visit the post of Kuanshien of Hebei was held by Chang Pei [illegible] Pei, a Kuan from the relatively [illegible] Province of Kuanshien, a man of great intelligence and personal integrity. I am directly indebted to him for the facilities and information which enabled me to carry out this piece of field work. He was especially alone the new political practices of the town was under his influence. Being relieved by warnings of the events of the Chinese writers, of that time to convict, he was regarded with a certain amount of suspicion by some of the pro elements in the Japanese government. This fact, coupled with a wide reputation for being pro-British - he is known a [illegible] sentiment to admire him, - made my request for [illegible] Kuanshien a matter [illegible] to the consideration that they was hardly opportune.

of childhood, but in later life. If a woman is permitted her own means to her personal home, it is an such a reflection on her loneliness as an herself.

In all of the situations enlisted that the there has been no question of the veil, except for a personal smile and a headband of a personal coat who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of the mother. The veil covers is between couples of marriageable age, and the visiting difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of older houses begin to exempt their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (and, however, having the opportunity to observe the potential betrothed from behind). When he is married, the male situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even close together in a room. There are, of course, some of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two people who are constant guest with other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man would grant the daughter of the personal oasis by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but

other on the cheek. Some of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are thus derived from among their female relatives. It has been said that the males are welcome wellcheats at society events. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to alien houses, the latter going to the kinsmen with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Some of lower stations enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbours out of doors and eating one of the room's meals. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only rare opportunities for such meetings.

Turning now to the events of an individual of Jamaican through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be mentioned first. When a pregnant woman nears the season of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the kinsmen or guest-room. A woman who was next door the term is called, and when she enters all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and confines in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a course be not available, a mat of the house is placed beside the [illegible] or labor.

the residents of Tripporo, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloak or the sleeves of the overcoat to cover the lung-veil if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Crawford mentions as being a part of women's patterns of behaviour in Palestine[4].

On the other hand the lung-veil and overcoat in the town are ever-present and not now an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Sukkenari or the smaller trading centre, Dobbija, would leave the house, even officially from the street, without taking with them the exception in the form of the shawl[5]. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13-14. One of the adolescent daughters in the house of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realized until her father thought right of her one day, when, clad in a fur coat tight, modernized and very decently European outdoor dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the city to buy the necessary veil and cloak. The following day the girl had received forever from the street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu uphold the core practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Yusuf of Tripporo, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She had herself to visit and not in order to walk from Tripporo to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in the evening ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her as the convention could carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Tripporo closely veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Chermakhand pass her black over-garment, and managed in some unseen way to get this pinned for us, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Bergala nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 12 year old brother, her inevitable companion, back to us the Sheikh's house at Tripporo to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Kalorna, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the façade of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear veil and veil after the first day in the village. Town women also walk with them and veil on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn is an urban outfit.

Distribution of 100 cases under the two criteria

Veil type	Place of interview		Female village		Muslim cities		Christian cities	
	respectable	exposed	respectable	exposed	respectable	exposed	respectable	exposed
Complete veil + overcloak + veil cloth		4		4		11.5		4
Head cloth	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Cloth, veiled, veil		3.1		4				4
Complete cloth, veiled veil						4		
Total, all types	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3	3	3	3

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With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[1] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammad, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sura 24, verse 31 of the Koran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Koran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[2]. The restrictions enabling themselves were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all free feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit: in Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the master's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were an gloomy and abortive as barracks. A chair on a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social organization between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the city, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has led to personal hatred in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the older males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and older brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

school subject, but none has yet sought any other answer than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the shebeens or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or certain regrets, they can be exposed to influences of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family. Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that he seldom ever obtains sexual fulness, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

[illegible] holidays. During their stay at home in the village they [illegible] which was that it [illegible] spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They used to [illegible] and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligations resting on the sons of the home was the reading upon any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

The elder of these two sons, aged 16, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers at the Dokan Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in the pattern of fatherhood. His occasions of which was to meet unknown. As the leading young man of the village, he left the district's farm every morning on horseback. The other hands from Tugsarou and Rikawa arrived on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk, only trying in great extreme heat). As the Dokan Dam Site he was submerged among the other unskilled Kurdish labourers, a dirty little excitement in overalls, renewing his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's home. Here his 12 year old half-brother took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash. If this was performed on the day women outside the central room and not at the garden taps.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation of a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the calling of his home, for he only received money which was of no interest whatever to the aristocratic village elders, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the foreigners, a thing he had desperately hoped for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed code of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the tending of cows, often from far away, and milking out in the enclosures. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and readied to the nearest neighbours if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages knew nothing of schools, but they grew up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

For that matter schooling did not enter into the life pattern of boys other among ordinary peasants in the villages. On the other hand their labour was much utilized in agriculture. They reaped the sharp and grain. They fetched grass from the mountains on foddon, equipped with sacks and skillet. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

In the third and fourth environments, the educated and semi-educated urban milieus, schooling was necessary for both boys and girls.

An elementary school where exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 3 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 3 year intermediate and a 3 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1946 6 years primary schooling is obligatory when possible.

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

[372] leader, if he has a son who is being circumcised, or pay for the use of your people, and so give the loan. There is thus a tendency for the headman's son to be circumcised at a common ritual with a large number of boys. This might be thought of as reminiscent of some form of age-grades, and may be vaguely symbolic of loyalty ties within such generations of village boys.

When a child has its first birthday (not), a special dish is commonly prepared and given to the neighbors because the parents are very proud that their child has become so big.

[373] [374] When a girl feels she is growing up, she may, with a few friends, decide she wishes to be tattooed, usually only moderate small designs on face or hands. This is performed by an old woman specialist rarely a resident of the village, but is, everyone insisted, now going out of use as a practice. There is no formal rule as to the age at which this is done, but a girl presenting at too early and age would probably be ridiculed. The controls seem essentially the same as those on the use of cosmetics in Western society, and the time of tattooing does not correspond to puberty in any one-to-one relation as a rite de passage.

[375] Marriage is one of the most exciting festivals of the village; and usually takes place in the autumn when the harvest, in coarse plentiful supplies. The process of choosing a spouse has been discussed above (pp. 94 ff.) — the ceremony itself is most colorful in the case of marriage that connect two villages, since then the aspect of conspicuous exhibition of wealth is most stressed, and the bridal procession from the girl's to the husband's home most impressive. The celebrations should traditionally last three days, and involve all the usual aspect of eating, smoking, and dancing, affording opportunities for all kinds of informal social activities. Unless excessive factionalism interferes, the whole village takes part in the festivities.

[376] *Death.* After a death, the members of the bereaved household remain at home for three days, and friends and relatives come visiting, express their sympathy, and are served food and tea. After three days, the dances of two or three days are run, in honor of the deceased, and the meat is given to the poor — that is, distributed

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There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, and both youths and maidens are set by their parents some other to be betrothed that have reached maturity, usually at sixteen years for the girls and eighteen for the boys. Strong feeling in view found against marriage of a daughter younger than one of her unmarried sisters. Romantic love, just as it is understood in Europe and America, is a prominent feature of adolescence, although there is little element of any physical realization given to the wedding. A youth and maiden in love may arrange more meetings in secret, and exchange gifts, ceremonial headpieces, flowers, apples, or even rings. If both are Christian, they may seek solace in one another. Most of these affairs, however, are confined to the exchange of passionate glances on public festivals, such as a birth, a circumcision, or one of the religious feasts, and are ended by one or the other of the two parties being engaged to some other person. Several young men told of their love for girls in adolescence, and how their parents had slightingly terminated them, youths and maidens alike, by proving they hardly knew or did not particularly desire. It is possible for either a youth or a maiden to talk an such circumstance, sometimes with success. "If a daughter loves a certain youth and her parents ask her to marry another, she may refuse them. She cannot reveal the identity of her loved one to her father or brother (sometimes the youth is unaware of this passion), but her mother usually knows the person of whom she is enamored,

the nations have gradually come on to certain channels, [illegible]
that element we can be most definite, and one of [illegible]
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to prevent [illegible]
cousins. A few Jewish are found in the houses and their [illegible]
value in fielding the rates of interest is considered. In [illegible]
either each of the game divergent, and their exceptions to [illegible]
precision in the moment days of women. A large percentage [illegible]
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for [illegible]
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor- [illegible]
mation in the hospital record, it is thus difficult to [illegible]
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. The [illegible]
fact mortality appears to be high, but no individual who [illegible]
poses statistics seems to have sufficient chances of [illegible]
reaching old age. The number of men in the town figured [illegible]
as sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Mr'ad [illegible]
Offwell was considering a second marriage at sixty, he [illegible]
gives the men who had died (at the age of sixty "of the [illegible]
old age"), and Uncle Offwell led an extremely active [illegible]
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope [illegible]
of the town eight times each day. Pulmonary troubles [illegible]
were common, and there are a few cases of malaria every [illegible]
summer. Most townsfolk have a notion of remedies for [illegible]
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a [illegible]
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople [illegible]
would find himself more welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that [illegible]
there have been a number of changes in Winnicott life since

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of marriage, have their dress in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this place, which [illegible] as "ancient" and "progressive," should contain things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a relatively educated official would not dare to let his wife have the most freedom in the town she was raised in. [illegible] The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was an particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters since otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Rather although, like so many others, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "[illegible] perhaps ago." Fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Karaadam is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are